





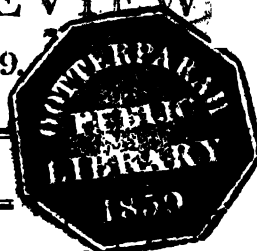




# THE EDINBURGH REVIEW

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ART. I. *Discours sur les Progrès des Sciences, Lettres et Arts, depuis 1789 jusqu'à ce jour (1808); ou, Compte rendu par l'Institut de France à S. M. l'Empereur et Roi. En Hollande, 1809.*

AFTER the intercourse of England with the nations of the Continent has been so long and so unhappily interrupted, it cannot but be acceptable to our readers, to receive, from the most enlightened of those nations, an account of the scientific and literary improvements that have taken place in Europe during the last nineteen years. This account is of high authority, consisting of reports made to the Emperor of the French by Committees of the National Institute, about the beginning of the year 1808. These reports, made by command of the Emperor, are mere abstracts or skeletons of more extensive memoirs, which we may expect hereafter to be published. Even the abstracts, however, are interesting; not only on account of the information they contain, but as belonging to a ceremony, which, if not quite singular, is certainly very uncommon in the courts of princes. They are accompanied with very useful notes by the editor J. L. Kesteloot, a Dutch physician of the University of Leyden.

We are told, that on the 6th of February, his Majesty being in his Council, a deputation from the mathematical and physical classes of the National Institute was introduced by the Minister of the Interior, and admitted to the bar of the Council. M. Bougainville, the oldest member, and therefore the president of the Class, then addressed the Emperor in a short speech; which we shall give in his own words.

SIRE.—Votre Majesté Impériale et Royale a ordonné que les classes de l'Institut viendraient dans son conseil lui rendre Compte de l'Etat des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts, et de leur progrès depuis 1789.

La classe des Sciences Physiques et Mathématiques s'acquiesce  
VOL. XV. NO. 29. A aujourd'hui

aujourd'hui de ce devoir ; et si je me présente à la tête des savans qui la composent, c'est à mon âge que je dois cet honneur.

Mais, Sire, telle est la diversité des objets dont cette classe s'occupe, que même avec la précision dont un savoir profond et l'esprit d'analyse donnent la faculté, le rapport qui en contient l'exposé exige une grande étendue.

Ce n'est donc que de l'esquisse, et pour ainsi dire, de la préface de leur ouvrage, que MM. Delambre et Cuvier vont faire la lecture.

Je ne me permets qu'une seule observation ; c'est que l'époque de 1789 à 1808, en même temps qu'elle sera pour les événemens politiques et militaires une des plus mémorables dans les fastes des peuples, sera aussi une des plus brillantes dans les annales du monde savant.

La part qui est due aux Français pour le perfectionnement des méthodes analytiques qui conduisent aux grandes découvertes du système du monde, et pour les découvertes même dans les trois règnes de la nature, prouvera que si l'influence d'un seul homme a fait des héros de tous nos guerriers, nos savans, honorés par la protection de votre Majesté qu'ils ont vue dans leurs rangs, ont en droit d'ajouter des rayons à la gloire nationale.

After this address from M. Bougainville, which is certainly commendable for its simplicity, though the compliment in the last paragraph might have been better turned, Delambre, secretary of the class of Mathematics, proceeded to read his report, from which we shall select such passages as appear to us the most interesting.

The report begins with the elementary branches of the mathematics, and takes notice of two treatises which have appeared in that department within the limits of the period above mentioned,—those of Legendre and Lacroix. That of Legendre, it is said, is destined to recal geometry to its antient severity, at the same time that it suggests some new ideas concerning an analytical mode of treating several of the elementary parts of that science. To understand these two remarks, it must be observed, that the French mathematicians, having long since abandoned Euclid, had departed also, in many things, from the rigour of strict demonstration ; a practice which, in the Elements, where the foundation of the science is to be laid, was surely much to be condemned. Bossut's Elements of Geometry, which appeared about the year 1775, is almost the only one in the French language, except the two here mentioned, whose geometrical accuracy is aimed at throughout. The work of Legendre, however, has accomplished its object more completely, we think, than that just mentioned, or, indeed, than any other modern treatise of elementary geometry. It is very extensive, including the properties of the sphere, together with the cubature and complanation of the solids bounded by planes, and

and also of the sphere; cylinder and cone. At the same time, the propositions contained in it are purely elementary, that is, such as, by their simplicity and generality, deserve to be considered as the fundamental truths of the science of geometry. Among those analytical methods of demonstration, to which an allusion is made above, we were long since particularly struck with one, of which, as it happens, we can convey some idea without the assistance of a diagram.

It is well known to those who have compared different treatises of elementary geometry, that one of the greatest difficulties which they present, is the doctrine of parallel lines. Euclid was not able to extricate himself from this difficulty, otherwise than by the introduction of a proposition as an axiom, which certainly is by no means self-evident. Later writers have uniformly experienced the same difficulty; and some of them, trying to avoid the introduction of a new axiom, have fallen into downright paralogisms. Legendre, in his Elements, has given two demonstrations on the properties of parallel lines, without assuming any new axiom. One of these, which is contained in the text, is prolix and less simple than the nature of the theorem to be proved entitles us to expect. The other demonstration, however, which is in the notes, possesses the most perfect simplicity, at the same time that it is new; proceeding on a principle that has been long recognized, but from which no consequence, till now, has ever been deduced.

If we could demonstrate, independently of all consideration of parallel lines, that the three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles, the object in view would be accomplished, and the difficulty, in this part of the elements, would be entirely overcome. Now, the theorem just mentioned would be easily demonstrated, if we had proved, when two angles of one triangle are equal to two angles of another, that the third angles are also equal, whatever may be the inequality of the base, or of the triangles themselves. Of this proposition, Legendre gives the following demonstration. If the third angle of a triangle depend not on the other two angles alone, but on these angles and also on the base, then is there some function of these angles, and of the base, to which the third angle is equal. But, if this is true, an equation exists between the angles of a triangle and one of its sides; and, if so, a value of that side may be found in terms of the three angles; that is, the side has a given ratio to the angles; which is impossible; for they are quantities of different kinds, and can have no ratio to one another. Whenever, therefore, two angles of one triangle are equal to two of another,

their third angles are also equal, whatever their bases may be. This reasoning appears to us extremely ingenious and satisfactory. It takes for granted nothing but that an angle and a line are magnitudes which admit of no comparison; a proposition, of which no one who understands the terms can entertain the smallest doubt. The reasoning, however, will not be readily followed by those who are unacquainted with algebra, or to whom the nature of *functions* and *equations* is not tolerably familiar. It is curious, that a principle which all the world knew, and which was received into geometry so long ago as the days of Plato, was never made subservient to the purposes of reasoning, till in the instance just mentioned, where it is found actually to involve in it the solution of a great difficulty. We must, however, take leave of Legendre's treatise, which we cannot sufficiently recommend. The Elements of Lacroix are also extremely valuable, though not marked, so strongly as the preceding, with the characters of originality and invention.

Delambre goes on to remark, that the fine collection of the Greek mathematicians was completed in 1791, by the Archimedes of Torelli. We suppose that he has here in view the splendid edition of Torelli's Archimedes printed at Oxford, not indeed in 1791, but in the year following. He makes further mention of a translation of the same into French by M. Peyrard, with a memoir by Delambre himself on the Arithmetic of the Greeks. 'Before this memoir,' he adds, 'of which your Majesty yourself condescended to furnish the subject, it was difficult to conceive how the Greeks, with a notation so imperfect in comparison of ours, could possibly execute the arithmetical operations indicated by Archimedes and Ptolemy.' This translation of Archimedes, so far as we know, has not yet reached England. The memoir of Delambre must be peculiarly interesting to mathematicians.

On the subject of the ancient geometers and their writings, we must be indulged in a few more remarks. What the collection of the Greek geometers is to which Delambre refers, we do not perfectly understand; but of one thing we are certain, that that collection can never be considered as complete, while the *collections* of Pappus, one of the most valuable remains of ancient science, are known only by a very imperfect translation, and while the original continues shut up in great libraries with other unpublished manuscripts. The most perfect MS. of Pappus, we believe, is at Oxford, and is particularly described by Dr Horsley, in his restoration of the *Inclinations* of Apollonius. The late Professor Simson of Glasgow was the man of all others who had studied Pappus with the greatest care, as well as the greatest intelligence; and all the commentaries on that author which

which his papers afforded, were deposited in the Bodleian Library, so that the University of Oxford is certainly in possession of the best materials that the world affords, for a correct edition of this ancient author. We would willingly look to the learning of that celebrated University for a publication which will be most thankfully received by the whole mathematical world.\*

Before we take leave of that part of the report which relates to the ancient geometry, we must observe, that the most interesting part of it, the geometrical analysis, has not, in later times, been cultivated in France; and very little, as far as we know, in any part of Europe, except Italy and Great Britain. This is so true, that the article of geometrical analysis is not to be found in that great work which the French philosophers and mathematicians intended as a complete description of the science of the 18th century. The neglect, among these philosophers, of a branch of geometry that deserves so well to be cultivated, and is, in fact, one of the most beautiful and elegant inventions in the whole circle of the sciences, is the more wonderful, that the first of the moderns who understood this subject, and who, though destitute of many of the aids which have since been derived from a more complete knowledge of the ancient remains, became a great master of it, was a French geometer. FERMAT flourished about the middle of the 17th century; and in his *Œuvres*, has restored or re-invented some of the finest works of the ancient analysis, and has approached, at the same time, very near to several of the greatest discoveries of the modern. In the former, however, his course was not followed by the mathematicians of his own country; and the man who most nearly trod in the steps of Fermat, was Dr Edmund Halley, in the end of the same century, who, possessing great learning as well as genius, applied the former very successfully to the improvement of science. He was followed by the late Dr SIMSON of Glasgow, and Dr MATHEW STEWART of Edinburgh, who cultivated the ancient analysis with singular assiduity; the former, restoring several of the most valuable works of

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\* Though the MSS. of Pappus, we believe, are but few, there are some now and then to be met with, which an editor would no doubt think it is his duty to consult. One is now in the possession of the Advocates' Library, which was purchased a few years ago. It is very beautifully written; but is probably of no great antiquity. A circumstance that adds to its value is, that the name of ORTENS de Mauran is inscribed on it; so, that it probably was once the property of that learned and ingenious academician.

the antients; and the latter, introducing the geometrical analysis into those branches of physical science, which hitherto had been treated, either in the algebraical manner, or by synthetical demonstration. The late Dr Horsley was a proficient in the antient analysis; and we might add some others of this country, who have cultivated the same subject with success, and whose writings fall within the period to which the report of the Institute is limited. In Italy, the antient analysis has found several followers; among the *Memoirs* of the *Società Italiana*, many problems are found resolved by it; but, on the same subject, we have met with nothing in the transactions of the other societies of Europe. There must be something singular in the causes that have promoted the study of a particular branch of science in distant countries, when no concert or peculiar influence can be supposed to have acted exclusively on them.

Delambre insists at some length on the operations in practical geometry, or what the French call *Geodesie*, that have been lately carried on for the purpose of ascertaining different points relative to the figure of the earth. The first of the operations to which he refers, is that which was undertaken both by France and England in 1787, for the purpose of ascertaining the distance between the meridian of Paris and that of Greenwich. He observes, with respect to these, 'that considering the advanced state of the arts and sciences, it was to be expected that the English would endeavour to surpass every thing of the same kind that had yet been done: they succeeded in doing so: the theodolite of Ramsden, the Indian lights used for signals, the new apparatus employed in the measurement of the bases, produced a degree of accuracy hitherto unknown. The French, on their side, had only angles to measure; and the repeating circle which Borda had invented, though not of so imposing a form as the theodolite of Ramsden, contained in its construction a principle which assured to it a precision at least equal to that of the latter instrument, and more independent of the skill of the artist.'

We believe, that this encomium on the repeating circle of Borda, is very fairly due to it. That circle puts it in our power, not merely to take a mean of a great number of observations, but, as those observations are made without being read off till we come to the last, the error of reading off is no greater for all the observations put together, than it would have been for one observation only; so that, when divided into as many parts as there have been observations made, the result almost vanishes. The repeating circle, therefore, gives a mean of the errors of observation, and of the division of the instrument: and the error of reading off, it goes near to annihilate entirely. This seems to be the true light

light in which these instruments should be viewed; and as they are now made by Troughton, with all the accuracy which that excellent artist gives to whatever passes through his hands, we should think it highly expedient that a comparison was instituted between them and the theodolite of Ramsden, for which the trigonometrical survey affords so good an opportunity.

The success of the measurement of the distance between the meridians of Greenwich and Paris, led to the operation on which the new system of measures was founded. The unit fixt on was a quadrant of the meridian; and, under the impossibility of measuring the whole, the largest arch accessible, that between Dunkirk and Barcelona, was chosen. The operations for this purpose began, under the direction of Mechain and Delambre, in 1792, and were not concluded till 1799. Of these, Delambre gave an account, in a work that was mentioned in a former Number of this Review. The coincidence of two different bases of 12,000 mètres each, and distant 700,000 from one another, demonstrated the extreme accuracy with which the whole had been conducted. Two degrees have been since added, by the continuation of the same meridian to the Balearic Isles.

The same spirit has spread into other parts of Europe; and has produced important improvements in the science of geography. The astronomer Swanberg measured over again, in 1802, the degree that had been measured in Lapland by Maupertuis, and a party of the French and Swedish academicians. Their measure made the degree of the meridian which cuts the polar circle, to be 57,405 toises,—considerably greater than it was found possible to reconcile, by any theory, with the magnitude of degrees measured in lower latitudes. Melanderjelm, a Swedish astronomer, known by several valuable works, proposed to repeat the measurement; and the operation was committed to Swanberg and three others, who, using every precaution, and employing the circle of Borda, found the degree, in the latitude of  $66^{\circ} 20'$ , to be only 57,209 toises; less by 196 toises than the old measurement; agreeing perfectly with other observations; and giving, for the compression at the poles, about one 330th of the earth's semidiameter.

The measurement of Maupertuis and his colleagues occasioned much confusion and debate for near seventy years; and proves, in a remarkable manner, how much worse an inaccurate experiment may often prove than no experiment at all. The great trigonometrical operations carrying on in England are also mentioned by Delambre; though he seems not perfectly informed of their extent. He mentions some in Germany and Switzerland, with which we are not acquainted.



Among the improvements that respect this state of practical geometry, where its operations, by aiming at great accuracy, connect it with more profound and difficult researches, Delambre, with great propriety, reckons the theorem of Legendre, by which the calculation of spherical triangles is reduced, in all the cases of such measurements as we now refer to, to plane trigonometry. The same excellent geometer has extended his theorem to triangles on the surface of a spheroid. (Vid. *Mémoire sur les Transcendentes Elliptiques*, 1 vol. 4to.)

The enumeration which De Lambre gives of the works, containing improvements and discoveries in algebra, is very extensive, and includes several treatises which have not yet found their way into this island. Of those on which we can add to the short notice which our author gives some particulars from our own knowledge, we shall select one or two examples. La Grange, having accepted the office of professor in the Polytechnic school, composed, for the instruction of his pupils, the work which he calls *Calcul des Fonctions*, intended as a commentary and supplement to the *Théorie des Fonctions Analytiques*, which he had before published. These works are both of great value, on account of the new and accurate view which they give of the principles of differential calculus, or of what we call the method of fluxions. For many years, the French mathematicians, and indeed the mathematicians of the Continent in general, gave themselves little trouble about the principles of the new geometry; and, though they extended its methods, rules and applications, much beyond what was done in England, they were not so successful in explaining and demonstrating the fundamental truths of the science, as Newton and his followers. This, we believe, will be generally allowed; and, till a very late period, scarcely admits of any exception. Euler himself, though such a master of the Calculus as to have hardly any equal, yet, in the metaphysics, as we may call it, of that calculus, displays none of his usual talent and accuracy of thought. He contends, that fluxions or differentials have no magnitude whatever, and are truly and literally equal to nothing; which is a harsh and inaccurate way of stating what is much better expressed by Newton in his doctrine of prime and ultimate ratios; or by Maclaurin, where he considers fluxions as the measures of velocity. There were, however, some exceptions to the generality of the observations which we are now making; and D'Alembert, in particular, though he has not written professedly on the subject of the Principles of the Calculus, yet, whenever he has occasion to state any thing relative to it, never fails to do so in the luminous manner that we might expect from a geometer who was a metaphysician and a philosopher. Carnot, whose name is

is well known, was one of the first among the French mathematicians who treated professedly of the metaphysics of the differential calculus. The little tract which he wrote on this subject is full of ingenious and sound views; but such as, though presented in a new form, and one that appeared quite original both to the author and his countrymen, are in reality very little removed from the method of prime and ultimate ratios. Carnot, however, had the merit of accommodating that method to the form and language of the calculus, better than we were accustomed to do, by stating that a differential equation is not an exact, but only an approximate equation, which comes continually nearer to the truth the less the fluxions or differentials are that are involved in it. La Grange, however, has placed the matter on the true foundation; and has shown that, in delivering the general rules of the differential and integral calculus, there is no need for introducing evanescent quantities, or quantities less than any thing that is assigned. Thus, the differential calculus is reduced to the algebra of variable but finite quantities; and it is only when the application of the general formulas is made to geometric magnitudes, that the ultimate ratios of evanescent quantities come to be considered; and they do so in a manner that admits of strict demonstration. This step is undoubtedly one of the greatest that has been made in the new analysis since the period of its invention; and we have often wondered that the works of La Grange, which contain the development of this idea, have not produced a greater sensation among the mathematicians of this island, who have always aimed so much at accuracy in their manner of treating this subject. We will not allow ourselves to suppose that this proceeds from any illiberal jealousy, or any unwillingness to acknowledge the superior success of a foreigner in a pursuit in which they themselves had been engaged. We must rather ascribe this apparent indifference to the general agitation of Europe, and the interruption of all intercourse, even that of letters, between France and England. On the Continent, these works seem to meet with the reception they deserve. The *Théorie des Fonctions* was published in the year 5 of the French Revolution. The first edition of the *CALCUL des Fonctions* was in 1825; and the second edition, which is now before us, in 1866.

Another treatise of La Grange is noticed in this report, *Traité de la résolution des équations numériques de tous les degrés*. This is also a work of great merit, and yet it is but little known in this country, though the memoir which is the foundation of it was published by La Grange in the Berlin memoirs so long ago as the year 1767. It deserves to be particularly studied; and nothing more useful could be done in an elementary treatise of algebra, than

than to give to this method of approximating to the roots of equations the simplest form which it admits of.

The last article under this head is the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place, on which, as is well known, too much praise cannot be bestowed. We have already considered this work with a minuteness that renders any further observations on it unnecessary in this place.

The report mentions three articles in practical mechanics; the timekeepers for finding the longitude, constructed by Berthoud, which gained the prize of the Institute; the hydraulic ram of Montgolfier; and, lastly, a machine approved by the Class of the Sciences, the *Pyréolophorus* of Messrs Lenieps, a new invention, in which, if we understand the very short notice concerning it which the editor has given in a note, the force of air suddenly expanded by heat, is made to raise a weight, or overcome a resistance. In an experiment made with this machine, it is said that a boat, loaded with five quintals, and presenting to the water a prow of the area of six square feet, was carried up the Soane with a velocity double that of the stream. In another experiment, the pressure exerted on a piston of three square inches was in equilibrium with 21 ounces, and the fuel consumed weighed only 6 grains. We want here a necessary element, the time in which these 6 grains were consumed. This omission may perhaps be supplied from another part of the account, where it appears that each stroke of the piston takes up five seconds. The 6 grains were the fuel consumed in six seconds.

Much more information, however, than we have at present, is necessary, in order to form any estimate of the merit of this machine, and to judge whether it has any chance of becoming a rival to the steam engine.

The next general head of the report is Astronomy; and here the new astronomical tables form the first, and indeed the most important article. This subject we have also anticipated in the review of Vince's *Astronomy*, or, as the title ought to have been, of Vince's edition of the *Tables of Burg and Delambre*.

A curious article is given with respect to the comet of 1770, which has long occupied the attention of astronomers, from the singular circumstance that the only ellipse that could be made to agree with its motions during the time it was visible, is one in which it must revolve in five years and a half nearly: yet this comet has never been observed since 1770, and never was seen before. The singular problem to which this paradoxical phenomenon gives rise, was proposed as the subject of a prize by the National Institute, and the prize was gained by M. Burckhardt, a most skilful and laborious astronomer. From immense calculations he

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has made it appear that the attraction of Jupiter had rendered that comet visible, from having been invisible before because of its great distance, and has also rendered it invisible again, by undoing its former effect, and reducing the comet to move in an orbit that does not admit of its coming near enough to the Sun to be visible from the Earth.

It is not one of the least remarkable circumstances in the history of a period big with novelty, that since the beginning of the present century four new planets have been discovered. These are all of them so small, that it is no wonder they escaped observation, and were even by astronomers confounded with the millions of stars of the same apparent magnitude that occupy almost every point of the heavens: From their smallness it follows, that they have no sensible effect in disturbing the motions of the planets already known. Their orbits are considerably eccentric, and the plane of one of them has an inclination to the ecliptic greater than the inclinations of all the other planetary orbits put together. This great inclination and eccentricity will render the calculation of the disturbances produced in the motion of these bodies by the larger planets, (particularly of Jupiter and Mars, between which they are situated), a matter of considerable difficulty, and may be the occasion, as Delambre remarks, of extending the science of analysis beyond its present bounds.

The first of these planets was discovered by Piazzi at Palermo, the third by M. Harding, the two others by Mr Olbers of Bremen. The astronomer last named is of opinion, that these small bodies are the fragments of one large planet which an explosion, from some unknown cause, has burst in pieces; and hence he concludes, that all their orbits ought to cut one another in two opposite points of the heavens, which he found, by calculation, to be, one near the constellation Virgo, and the other near the Whale; and that, of course, they must pass through these points twice in every revolution; so that, in order to discover all the fragments, astronomers ought to examine these two places of the heavens very frequently. In effect, all the four have been found near these points; and the two last, after Olbers had suggested the idea just mentioned.

Since the year 1789, seventeen comets have been discovered; and along with the names of Messrs Mechain, Olbers, &c. by whom they were observed, we are glad to see the name of Miss Herschel. The orbits of all these comets have been calculated. The comet that appeared so remarkable in the autumn of 1807, is thought by Olbers to revolve in a very eccentric ellipse, and to have a periodic time of no less than 1900 years.

Delambre concludes this article with Dr Herschel's description

tion of the heavens, the double, triple, quadruple, and nebulous stars, together with those that have disks like planets, in some cases round, in others irregular. The discovery of the revolution of Saturn's ring by the same excellent astronomer, is also mentioned, as also the coincidence of the time of that revolution with the theory of gravity, and the prediction of La Place. The observations of Dr Herschel on the figure of Saturn himself are not mentioned.

A rumour prevailed for some time, that Piazzi had discovered the parallax of the fixt stars; but as M. Delambre makes no mention of a discovery, which, if real, would be no doubt one of the greatest in astronomy, we must suppose that M. Piazzi's observations have not yet led to any satisfactory result. The notes mention a work, founded mostly on Dr Herschel's observations, by Schröter of Amsterdam, on the dimensions of the universe: it was crowned by the Royal Society of Haerlem in 1802; it cannot fail to be highly interesting; and we very much regret that it has not yet reached this country.

The next general head is that of *Physique Mathématique*, or what we would call experimental philosophy. Delambre begins with remarking, 'that the revolution recently brought about in chemistry, could not happen without turning many experimentalists a little out of their ordinary course, when they saw in a neighbouring science a road opened that promised more numerous discoveries. We shall nevertheless find, in the mathematical branch of Physics, some curious researches and interesting inventions.'

Among these, one of the most remarkable is the *Balance of Torsion*; which, by the twisting and untwisting of a thread or wire, affords a measure for forces that are too small to be appreciated by any other means. It was with this that Coulomb was so successful in determining the law of electric attraction and repulsion, and afterwards in showing that the phenomena of magnetism follow a law altogether similar, namely, the inverse of the square of the distance. By help of the same instrument, he was able to measure the smallest effects of magnetism; to find the temperature (considerably elevated) at which these effects entirely disappear; and to show that magnetism is not, as has been generally supposed, a property peculiar to certain bodies, but one that exists in all, even in those that appear most devoid of it. The same balance enabled him to measure the resistance which fluids oppose to motion, the law of which resistance is expressed by two terms, of which Newton found out only the first, the second not being sensible except in motions that are extremely slow.

The instrument by which Mr Cavendish determined the gravitation of balls of lead toward one another, is, as Delambre observes,

serves, no other than Coulomb's Balance, executed on a large scale. Mr Cavendish found from his experiments, that the mean density of the earth is five times and a half as great as that of water.

Here, however, we must be permitted to observe, that though Mr Cavendish's Balance does not differ in principle from that of the excellent experimenter quoted by Delambre, it was not copied from it. The experiments of Mr. Cavendish were indeed made about the year 1798; and the first experiments of Coulomb with his balance are published as early as the year 1785, if we mistake not. The instrument that Mr. Cavendish employed had however been invented before that period by the Rev. Mr Mitchell, F. R. S., and was purchased at his sale by Mr. Cavendish. We are to consider the instrument therefore as originally an English invention, and re-invented in France by Coulomb, without any knowledge whatever of what was done in England.

We cannot help remarking too, when we reflect on the results obtained from this instrument in the hands of the English and of the French philosopher, that the gravitation measured by the former, may have been affected by the magnetism which the latter supposed he had discovered in all bodies. The effects of the one force may have been mistaken for those of the other, and a degree of uncertainty is thrown on the determinations of both. This observation, however, we only throw out loosely: perhaps an accurate comparison of the experiments might determine how much is to be ascribed to the one cause, and how much to the other: it is right, however, that this source of inaccuracy should be considered.

The application of the Barometer to the measurement of heights, or more properly the formula for determining heights by help of the Barometer, deduced by La Place, is mentioned among the discoveries of the latter. La Place used in his formula the specific gravity of mercury, as it is commonly stated. The coefficient or multiplier of the logarithmic difference which he thus obtained, was found, on comparing his Barometric measures with certain heights, trigonometrically determined by M. Ramond in the Pyrenees, to require a small correction. The coefficient, thus adjusted, was found by Biot to agree perfectly with the experiments on the specific gravity of mercury when accurately repeated; and his experiments also gave the same refraction which Delambre had deduced from astronomical observations.

In the prosecution of these experiments M. Biot found that the refracting power of different gases affords means more accurate than the ordinary processes of chemistry for inquiring into the composition of certain substances, such as the Diamond, which

which he concluded to be partly composed of oxygen. The idea of inferring the chemical composition of bodies from their refracting power, as is well known, was first conceived by Newton: it seems to have been much extended and improved on by the philosopher just named.

It is not taken notice of in the report, but we think it right to remark it, that the rule for barometric measurements had been investigated on strict mathematical and mechanical principles long before it was done by La Place, and formulas brought out, which do not materially differ in their results, though they do considerably in their forms, from that of the French geometer. After De Luc made his improvements, and discovered by trial the very simple rule which he employs, leaving it however quite empirical, and not deduced from principles, a geometric demonstration of that rule was given by Dr Horseley in the Philosophical Transactions. An investigation of the same, purely analytical, was published by Professor Damen of Leyden; and a third, which considers the problem with great generality, and takes into view several circumstances which had not hitherto been attended to, is given by Professor Playfair in the first volume of the Edinburgh Transactions. The investigation of La Place therefore was not entirely new as to its object or its principles, though we believe his method to be original, and in all respects worthy of its author. His rule, even when corrected as above mentioned, does not perfectly agree with that which we employ in this country, of which the form is agreeable to the investigations just mentioned, and the coefficients determined from the excellent experiments of General Roy and Sir G. Shuckborough. It is also less commodious in practice, than either our formula or that of M. Trembley of Geneva. We are not however perfectly prepared to state in what the difference consists, or to what extent it goes. As the question now stands, we think a comparison of the different Barometric formulas is an excellent subject for a mathematical memoir.

Under the article of Magnetism, the report mentions the series of observations published by M. Gilpin, in the Philosophical Transactions for 1806, from which some curious results may be deduced concerning the secular variations of the magnetical meridian. Another article relates to Dr Wollaston's apparatus for measuring, in a manner extremely simple and accurate, the refraction of transparent bodies, (Phil. Trans. 1802.) It is said, that a very valuable addition to this apparatus has been made in France, by M. Malus; and that an analytical consideration of the subject had enabled him to correct an error which had escaped Dr Wollaston. We do not know if any more particular account of M. Malus's improvement has yet reached England.

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The next object of Delambre's report, is Geography and Travels. On this he is very short, and only runs over some of the principal occurrences. 'The taste,' he says, 'to which the successful and brilliant voyages of Bougainville and Cooke had given rise, was not weakened by the disastrous, though not useless, expeditions of Peyrouse and Entrecasteaux. Deputies from the African Society in England, penetrated into countries entirely unknown. Horneman met with the most distinguished reception from the conqueror of Egypt; Mungo Park braved the greatest dangers; and Flinders exposed himself to the most dreadful risks, in order to explore Van Dieman's land, and the coast of New Holland. The ambassadors of the English penetrated into Thibet, into the kingdom of Ava, and into China. Vancouver described the coast he was appointed to survey, with a care and exactness proper to serve as a model for all those who have similar duties to discharge.'

We cannot help remarking, on reading the name of Flinders, that the fate of that skilful and intrepid navigator, at this moment, we believe, languishing in confinement in the Isle of Bourbon, does great discredit to the government of France. Accident put him in the power of France. A voyager, engaged in the cause of science, had a right everywhere to look for friends. Flinders was treated as an enemy. His release, however, was at length agreed to; and orders to that effect sent out to the governor of the Isle of Bourbon: but hitherto, if we are rightly informed, these orders have not been complied with.

The report goes on to mention what the French did in Egypt; the voyages of Marchaud, Baudin, &c.

'Lastly,' (says Delambre), 'to terminate this sketch with an expedition which contains in it every kind of merit, Humboldt has executed, at his own expense, an enterprize that would have done honour to a nation. Accompanied only by his friend Bonpland, he has plunged into the American wilderness; he has brought back with him 6000 plants, with their descriptions; has determined the position of 200 points, by astronomical observation; has ascended to the top, and has measured the height of Chimboracco. He has created the geography of Plants; assigned the limits of vegetation and of eternal snow; observed the phenomena of the magnetic needle and of electric fish; and has presented the lovers of antiquity with much valuable information concerning the Mexicans, their language, their history, and monuments.'

A sketch of these curious travels is given in one of the notes, at the end of the report, but would lead us into too long a digression.

Delambre then concludes his report with a new address to the Emperor. The Institute had it in command, it seems, not  
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only to report on the actual state of the sciences, but to suggest the measures that would promote their further advancement. In this part of his task, Delambre has acquitted himself well, and with considerable address.

‘ Votre Majesté daigne interroger l’Institut sur les moyens d’assurer les progrès ultérieurs ; les progrès des mathématiques ne sont nullement douteux, l’instruction première trouve des sources abondantes dans tous les lycées ; l’école polytechnique est une pépinière de sujets distingués pour tous les genres de service public.—La loi bienfaisante qui a régénéré l’instruction, promettait une école spéciale aux mathématiques ; cette école existait. La Géométrie et l’Algèbre, l’Astronomie et la Physique sont professées au Collège Impérial de France. Un cours d’analyse transcendante y compléterait l’enseignement des sciences exactes. Une opération importante avait été commencée pour donner à la France une perpendiculaire digne de sa méridienne.—Mais nous ne formons point de vœu ; nous attendons avec une confiance respectueuse, ce qu’il plaira à votre Majesté d’ordonner en faveur d’une science dont elle eut elle-même reculé les limites, si des plus hautes destinées ne l’eussent appelée à les protéger toutes également, pour les faire concourir à la splendeur et aux merveilles de son règne.’

A school for instruction in the higher mathematics, and a perpendicular to the meridian of Paris, to be extended across the kingdom with the same accuracy as the meridian itself has been, are the very moderate and disinterested requests of the secretary of the Institute, and the things which he conceives to be most essential for promoting the interest of mathematical science. The respectful manner in which this suggestion is made, and the compliment with which it is accompanied, to some will perhaps appear to savour more of the courtier than the man of science. We are not, however, of this opinion. Respect is what talent and power of a certain eminence must always command ; and that a man of the ability of Napoleon, who had early shown a fondness for science, might have enlarged the bounds of it by discoveries of his own, if his situation had permitted, is a natural and fair conclusion.

• The report that follows next, is that of Cuvier, on the subject of what we call general physics—*Les Sciences Physiques*. It begins with the theory of crystallisation as given by Haüy, which has originated and been brought to its conclusion, as Cuvier remarks, during the period to which these reports are confined. It is indeed true, that the theory, in the view Haüy takes of it, is completed ; but that the real theory of crystals is understood till we know the law of the force, whether polarity, or simple attraction, by which the regular structure of these bodies is brought about, we can by no means admit. The cause that arranges the molecules,—that determines the rate of the decrease of the different plates

plates of which the crystal is composed,—this is still confessedly unknown; it is perhaps without our reach; and if so, we must consider this branch of knowledge as destined to remain for ever imperfect. At the same time, we believe it true, that the principle of Haily does not admit of being carried much beyond what it has been. We admit, too, that in the state to which it is now brought, it furnishes an excellent principle for the arrangement of mineral substances.

Within the period we now treat of, the theory of chemical affinities has undergone an entire revolution in the hands of Berthollet, who denies the existence of elective attractions and absolute decomposition. He has undertaken to prove, that in all the compositions and decompositions made by what is called elective attraction, there takes place a division of the substance combined between two other substances that act upon it with opposite forces; and that the proportion in which this division is made, is determined, not only by the absolute energy with which these substances act, but also by their quantity.

It cannot be denied, that, in this way, chemical forces are represented as being more of the nature of those mechanical forces with which we are best acquainted, than in any other. Their nature, therefore, becomes less paradoxical. At the same time, chemists do not seem perfectly agreed as to the solidity of this new theory, and its conformity to the phenomena of their own science. We certainly do not consider ourselves as qualified to decide this question.

In treating of the recent discoveries concerning Heat, Cuvier begins with remarking, that they constitute a body of science, of which the philosophers and chemists of the first half of the eighteenth century had not the most distant conception.

The discoveries of Black in Scotland, and Wilke in Sweden, led the way to this revolution, by showing, not only that a body absorbs a great quantity of heat when it becomes fluid, and also when it passes into vapour, which it restores when it returns to its primitive condition, but also that unequal quantities of heat are required to increase the temperature of different bodies by the same number of degrees. These truths have led to a great number of others, the influence of which on the sciences, on the arts, and even the affairs of common life, is wholly incalculable.

To these discoveries, if we add those of another kind, in which the same chemists had their share, the production of fixt air in the burning of charcoal by Mr Cavendish, and of water in the burning of inflammable air by the same philosopher and by Monge, and also the augmentation of the weight of metals by their calcination, and the absorption of air at the same time, (which last had been observed by Mr Boyle), we have the constituent parts of the new chemistry.

'The happiness of uniting all these scattered rays of knowledge into one pencil, is what constitutes the glory of Lavoisier. Till he appeared, the particular phenomena of chemistry might be compared to a kind of labyrinth, of which the deep and winding paths had been trod by several laborious travellers: but their points of union, their relation to one another and to the system, could not be perceived but by the genius which was able to rise above the edifice, and, with an eagle's eye, to catch the plan of the whole.' Perhaps some will allege, that there is more splendour than solidity in the opinion which reserves it for the discovery of facts, and withholds all praise from that of their relations. Yet we believe that, on the whole, this is a fair statement of the merit of Lavoisier. As to what relates to Dr Black, we hope that we are not influenced by national partiality, when we say that Cuvier, not intentionally, (for we think both his report and Delambre's remarkable for their fairness) has mentioned too slightly the discoveries of our illustrious countryman. His experiments on magnesia were the first that proved the existence of an aeriform fluid becoming fixed in a solid body, and forming an integrant part of it, so considerable as two fifths of the whole. This was the first step to the creation of pneumatic chemistry.

The new nomenclature of chemistry, and the introduction of a perfectly regular and philosophic language, are next mentioned, as having materially contributed to the advancement of this science. 'From all these causes proceed the great things it has accomplished; almost all the substances in nature have been examined; all the imaginable combinations of them exhausted; the number of the metals carried to 28, and of the earths to 9. New acids have been discovered, or have been formed, &c. The names of Berthollet, Fourcroy, Vauquelin, Chappe, Guyton, Deyeux, Thenard, among the French; of Klaproth, Kirwan, Davy, Tennant and Wollaston among foreigners, have been rendered immortal.'

Speaking of the Galvanic electricity, he observes, that it opens a view into new regions, of which no one can venture to calculate the extent. 'The most powerful, perhaps, of all the agents which nature employs in her operations on the surface of the earth, has remained unknown till the present time. We have but just become acquainted with it. The simple juxtaposition, not only of two metals, but of two different bodies, whatever they be, alters the equilibrium of the electric virtue; and this alteration can produce the most violent motions in the animal economy. It separates the substances that are the most closely united. At this moment it seems about to reveal to us the composition of those alkalis, which the most profound chemistry had hitherto

hitherto regarded as simple bodies. The names of Galvani and Volta, who discovered this mysterious power; of Ritter, Nicholson, and above all of Davy, who have recognised and found out its chemical action, will occupy a large space in the report we are to make of this new and interesting portion of physical science.

Such is the rapidity, we must observe, with which this part of science is advancing, that Mr Davy has actually accomplished the decomposition of soda and potass, since the time when this report was drawn up; and has found those alkalis to be no other than oxyds of metallic bodies, hitherto unknown. He has, indeed, found electricity to exercise an absolute command over the most powerful, and, as we supposed, the most simple and independent of chemical agents. These discoveries have procured him the prize offered by the National Institute.

Among the chemical discoveries of the present time, we have been somewhat surprised to find no mention made of that of Sir James Hall, concerning the power of compression to modify the effects of heat. By subjecting limestone to great compression, while heated, the carbonic acid was prevented from escaping; quicklime was not formed, and the mass was reduced into fusion. This is to be considered as a valuable discovery in chemistry, independently of all the applications of it that may be made to another science. The imperfect communication that takes place between the scientific world of France and England, is probably the cause of this omission.

Mineralogy now approaches in rigour to the exact sciences; thanks to the crystallographic researches of M. Haüy, to the chemical analyses of Klaproth and Vauquelin, and to the description of the external characters and the position of minerals by Werner and his school.—The description of the relative position of minerals, has now become the object of a real science, and replaces those illusory conjectures which have been called by the name of Geology.

We must observe with respect to this passage, that we entirely agree with what is said on the obligation mineralogy has to Haüy and Werner, and the two chemists mentioned above; to which chemists several others from this country might easily be added. The Crystallography of Haüy furnishes us with a principle of arrangement that is perfect so far as it extends, and one that defines accurately those *species* into which minerals are divided. This cannot be said of any other system of classification; not even of Werner's.

As to what concerns Geology, if that science is supposed to treat of the origin of things, or to go back to a period when the composition of the bodies which we call minerals was different from what it is at present, we perfectly agree in thinking that the whole is a most unphilosophical illusion, because maxims

founded on our experience of the present order of things cannot apply to what took place before that order was established. But, if by Geology is meant an attempt to trace the laws of those changes to which minerals are subject, the changes which they have undergone and are still about to undergo, we see no necessity for its conclusions being illusory and chimerical. Though we observe minerals only for an instant, or a portion of time that is quite evanescent, compared with the great cycles in which the series of their changes must revolve, yet we may discover such characters as ascertain important facts in the history of those changes. The preliminary investigation is no doubt that which Cuvier points out,—the relative situation of the different kinds of minerals, and in general the accurate description of their present condition. But this philosopher does not seem to be aware, that there is in the very research concerning the present state of minerals as much danger from theory, and from hasty generalisation, as in the conclusions, that geologists have drawn concerning the past or future fortunes of the world. The language in which Werner and his school describe the facts concerning the mineral kingdom is full of theory, and of theory as unsupported and as remote from experience, as any thing to be met with in the Cartesian vortices. The knowledge of the great facts therefore concerning the relative position of mineral bodies, though it has made considerable progress, yet, in our opinion, as far as the observations of the Wernerian school are concerned, is not in that high road to perfection which this learned and eloquent reporter appears to imagine. The force that is every day applied to make the new observations agree with the old, and to assimilate the structure of the whole world to that of Saxony and Bohemia, is much more likely to produce retrogradation than advancement.

Our author then passes rapidly over the improvements in physiology, comparative anatomy, and natural history, and touches on the practical sciences of medicine and agriculture; under the former of which, he particularly mentions vaccination, and the destruction of contagion by fumigation. He goes on to the improvements in the mechanical arts, particularly that of the stereotype printing, valuable from the cheapness with which it may be executed; and thereby promising to carry the works of genius into the cottage of the peasant. We shall only take notice of the conclusion of his report.

Your Imperial Majesty has commanded this class to propose the means that seem to it best calculated for maintaining among those who cultivate the sciences, that emulation by which they are at present animated; for directing their efforts to the most important objects, and for securing to them successors of equal zeal and ability.

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Without wishing to anticipate the measures which the wisdom of your Majesty is preparing for the public education, we will take the liberty, in our extended report, of submitting some ideas on the regulation of the first or popular instruction in the physical sciences, and for spreading more effectually, among the people, the knowledge connected with husbandry and the useful arts. We have also proposed that your Majesty should ordain the drawing up of a *new system of physical evidences*. Science demands this work; our country is that in which it can be most easily executed; and it would be desirable to see the name of Napoléon, which is already placed at the head of so many great monuments, so many wise laws, and so many useful institutions, decorating the title-page of a fundamental work in science. Of all the establishments formed, and of all the labours undertaken by the command of Alexander, Aristotle's History of Animals is the only one which now remains, an everlasting testimony of the love of that great prince for natural knowledge. A word from your Majesty can create a work which shall as much surpass that of Aristotle in extent, as your actions surpass in splendour those of the Macedonian conqueror.

The answer of the Emperor is very short.

MM. the Presidents, Secretaries, and Deputies of the First Class of the Institute—

‘I was desirous to hear you on the progress of the human mind in these later times, in order that what you should have to say to me might be heard by all nations, and might shut the mouths of those detractors from the present age, who represent knowledge as retrograde, only because they wish for its extinction.

‘I was also willing to be informed of what remained for me to do to encourage your labours, that I might console myself for not being able otherwise to contribute to their success. The welfare of my people, and the glory of my throne, are equally interested in the prosperity of the sciences.

‘My minister of the interior will make a report on your demands. You may constantly rely on the effects of my protection.’

Though we admit that Delambre and Cuvier have done well; the first, in recommending a school for instruction in the higher parts of the mathematics, and an extension of those geodetical operations from which so much benefit has already resulted; and the second, in recommending some further care of the popular instruction in agriculture and the arts, as well as a new and fundamental work on natural history, in its most extensive sense—though we are not disposed to quarrel with the high compliment contained in the prediction, that this work would not farther surpass the natural history of Aristotle, than the achievements of Napoleon have exceeded those of Alexander; yet we are well aware that there are other improvements still more important, and more imperiously called for, which the spirit of Philosophy

would demand, if her real and unbiassed sentiments could be conveyed to the ears of Napoleon. 'Cease,' she would say, 'from the fatal and endless pursuit of military aggrandisement. Give peace to Europe, for your victories enable you to do so; and let the moderation and liberality of the terms insure its continuance. Restore that intercourse and mutual confidence among the nations which are essential to their happiness, no less than to the advancement of knowledge; and let their prosperity be considered as one of the means of promoting the welfare of your own people. The sciences will then flourish spontaneously, and will require no protection but that which secures their tranquillity and independence; and you yourself will have the felicity, more singular than all that you have yet experienced, of adding to the titles of Hero and Conqueror, that of the Father of your people.'

The National Institute of France is divided into four classes. The first, is that of the mathematical and physical sciences; the second, that of the French language and literature; the third, has for its object history and ancient literature; the fourth, the fine arts. The two reports that we have considered, and which make the principal part of the book before us, are from the first class. The three others are of inferior interest; and besides, the length to which our review has already extended precludes our entering on them particularly. In the report from the third class, on the subject of history and ancient literature, speculative philosophy seems, in a certain degree, to be included; and we find, accordingly, some notice taken of the revolutions which that philosophy has undergone in Germany and elsewhere. The *Ecole d'Ecosse*, as the author of the report (M. Lévesque) is pleased to call it, is also made honourable mention of. As no sect of philosophers is known in Scotland by a name which we owe to the politeness of our neighbours, we should have been at some loss to distinguish what system was understood by this phrase, if we had not before met with it in the *Histoire Comparée des Systemes de Philosophie*, by M. Degerando, where we find this title applied to a succession of philosophers which begins with Dr Hutcheson of Glasgow; comprehends in it Reid, Fergusson, &c.; and at present terminates in Professor Dugald Stewart, to whose writings, as Degerando remarks, Reid's philosophy owes its fullest development, and the greatest share of its celebrity with foreign nations. Sometimes, when the same author speaks more loosely, he appears to include, in the Scottish school, almost all the philosophers that have flourished in that country since the time of Hutcheson, whether they have supported or combated the philosophy of Locke. In this way he includes Lord Kames, David Hume, Adam Smith, &c.; forming a succession of eminent men, of which, in so short a period,

period, and in so narrow a country, there are but few examples in the history of letters.

On the whole, throughout these reports we find great liberality with regard to foreign nations; and if more room is occupied by French improvements and discoveries than by any other, this may be in reality a just allotment; or it may in part be an effect of that perspective which, in intellectual, as in visible objects, represents the nearest as the largest, so as sometimes to deceive the justest eye, and the most impartial judgment.

In one instance we think that this fairness is a little departed from, when it is said, that no nation has cultivated historical composition so much as the French, nor produced so great a number of historians that deserve to be quoted. 'It was to a Frenchman,' the report adds, 'that Italy owed the first history of Rome, written by a modern; and it was a Frenchman who first made the English acquainted with the history of their own country.'

Those, however, who have studied history in the best school, will not be very apt to admit, that the dull and unphilosophical narrative of Rapin could bring an Englishman acquainted, as he ought to be, with the history of his country. Whatever the French themselves suppose, it is not the opinion of strangers that they excel in historical composition. For our part, we hope that we are not altogether deceived by national partiality when we say, that we do not know three modern historians, of any country, that can be compared with three of which this island boasts, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. They are historians whom no age but such a one as the present could produce: it is in vain to look for any thing antient to be opposed to them. It is only among future generations that rivals to them can be found.

One remark has struck us forcibly, in looking over the second and third reports, that no mention is made of the works on political economy, commerce, statistics and the like, that in different parts of Europe have, within these few years, increased the mass of knowledge on all these subjects. Works on legislation are mentioned; but no enumeration is subjoined. We do not observe that Malthus's Essay on Population is any where taken notice of. All this looks as if there were a class of subjects, and one too of the highest importance to society, that is at present interdicted in France. This is weak policy, and unworthy of a great monarch. The subjects prohibited will be only so much the more forcibly imprinted on the minds of the people. They will be like the statues which the jealousy of a Roman emperor excluded from a procession in which they had a right to appear—*'Præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus,—eo ipso quòd effigies eorum non visebantur.'*



But whatever be the case with this branch of knowledge, it is but fair to state, that the physical and mathematical sciences, and many parts of literature, have been cultivated in France and in the rest of Europe, to great effect, during the last nineteen years, notwithstanding the agitation and distress which have every where prevailed. We are certainly not of the number to whom the Emperor alludes, who pretend that science is retrograde, because they wish it to be extinguished. We rejoice to think that it cannot be extinguished; and that this is a revolution which no individual is sufficiently powerful to effect. Indeed, we have reason to think, that those branches of knowledge that are least favoured by the Emperor, and to which his protection is not extended, are at this moment studied in France with great assiduity.

ART. II. *The Columbiad: a Poem.* By Joel Barlow. pp. 454.  
4to. Philadelphia, 1807. Reprinted for Phillips, London.  
8vo. pp. 420. 1809.

As epic poetry has often been the earliest, as well as the most precious production of national genius, we ought not, perhaps, to be surprised at this goodly firstling of the infant Muse of America. The truth however is, that though the American government be new, the people is in all respects as old as the people of England; and their want of literature is to be ascribed, not to the immaturity of their progress in civilisation, but to the nature of the occupations in which they are generally engaged. These federal republicans, in short, bear no sort of resemblance to the Greeks of the days of Homer, or the Italians of the age of Dante; but are very much such people, we suppose, as the modern traders of Manchester, Liverpool, or Glasgow. They have all a little Latin whipped into them in their youth; and read Shakspeare, Pope and Milton, as well as bad English novels, in their days of courtship and leisure. They are just as likely to write epic poems, therefore, as the inhabitants of our trading towns at home; and are entitled to no more admiration when they succeed, and to no more indulgence when they fail, than would be due, on a similar occasion, to any of those industrious persons.

Be this, however, as it may, Mr Barlow, we are afraid, will not be the Homer of his country; and will never take his place among the enduring poets either of the old or of the new world. The faults which obviously cut him off from this high destiny,  
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may be imputed partly to his country, and partly to his subject—but chiefly to himself. The want of a literary society, to animate, controul and refine, and the intractableness of a subject which extends from the creation to the millennium, and combines the fables, mythologies of savages with the treaties and battles of men who are still alive, certainly aggravated the task which he had undertaken with no common difficulties. But the great misfortune undoubtedly is, that Mr Barlow is in no respect qualified to overcome these difficulties. From the prose which he has introduced into this volume, and even from much of what is given as poetry, it is easy to see that he is a man of a plain, strong, and resolute understanding,—a very good republican, and a considerable despiser of all sorts of prejudices and illusions; but without any play or vivacity of fancy,—any gift of simplicity or pathos,—any loftiness of genius, or delicacy of taste. Though not deficient in literature, therefore, nor unread in poetry, he has evidently none of the higher elements of a poet in his composition; and has accordingly made a most injudicious choice and unfortunate application of the models which lay before him. Like other persons of a cold and coarse imagination, he is caught only by what is glaring and exaggerated; and seems to have no perception of the finer and less obtrusive graces which constitute all the lasting and deep-felt charms of poetry. In his cumbersome and inflated style, he is constantly mistaking hyperbole for grandeur, and supplying the place of simplicity with large patches of mere tameness and vulgarity. This curious intermixture, indeed, of extreme homeliness and flatness, with a sort of turbulent and bombastic elevation, is the great characteristic of the work before us. Instead of aspiring to emulate the sublime composition of Milton, or the natural eloquence and flowing nervousness of Dryden, Mr Barlow has bethought him of transferring to epic poetry the light, sparkling, and rawdry diction of Darwin, and of narrating great events, and delivering lofty precepts in an unhappy imitation of that picturesque, puerile, and pedantic style, which alternately charms and disgusts us in the pages of our poetical physiologist. Infinitely more verbose and less spirited than Darwin however, he reminds us of him only by his characteristic defects; and, after all, is most tolerable in those passages in which he reminds us most of him.

Such is the general character of this transatlantic Epic as to style and taste in composition. As for the more substantial requisites of such a work, it is unfortunately still more defective. Though crowded with names, and confused with incidents, it cannot properly be said to have either characters or action. In sketching the history of America from the days of Manco Capac down to the

the present day, and a few thousand years lower, the author, of course, cannot spare time to make us acquainted with any one individual. The most important personages, therefore, appear but once upon the scene, and then pass away and are forgotten. Mr Barlow's exhibition accordingly partakes more of the nature of a procession, than of a drama. River gods, sachems, majors of militia, all enter at one side of his stage, and go off at the other, never to return. Rocha and Oella take up as much room as Greene and Washington; and the rivers Potowmack and Delaware, those fluent and venerable personages, both act and talk a great deal more than Jefferson or Franklin.

It is plain, that in a poem constructed upon such a plan, there can be no development of character,—no unity, or even connexion of action,—and consequently no interest, and scarcely any coherence or contrivance in the story. Of a work of this magnitude and curiosity, however, it is proper that our readers should be enabled in some measure to judge for themselves; and therefore, we shall proceed to lay before them a short abstract of the plan, and to subjoin such extracts as are calculated to convey a just notion of its execution.

Columbus, it is well known, was repaid for his great discovery with signal ingratitude; and was at one time loaded with chains, and imprisoned on the instigation of an envious rival. The poem opens with a view of his dungeon, and a long querulous soliloquy addressed to its walls. All on a sudden the gloom is illuminated by the advent of a celestial personage; and the Guardian Angel of America is introduced by the name of Hesper, who consoles and soothes the heroic prisoner, by leading him up to a shadowy mount, from which he entertains him with a full prospect of the vast continent he had discovered, and sets before him in a long vision which lasts till the end of the poem, all the events which had happened, and were to happen, in that region, or in any other connected with it.

Thus, the whole history, past, present, and future, of America, and inclusively of the whole world, is delivered in the clumsy and revolting form of a miraculous vision; and thus truth is not only blended with falsehood and fancy, but is presented to the mind under the mask of the grossest and most palpable fiction. Mr Barlow, of course, judges differently of his plan; and maintains, not only that it gives great interest and dignity to the story, but that it has enabled him to observe the unities of time, place, and action, more rigidly than any other poet,—the whole action consisting in what takes place between Columbus and Hesper, which must be supposed to occupy but a few hours. There never was so cheap and ingenious a method of satisfying the

the unities as this. Here is a poem of some seven or eight thousand verses, containing a sketch of universal history, from the deluge to the final conflagration, with particular notices of all the battles, factions, worthies, and improvements in America, for the last half century; and when we complain of the enormous extent and confusion of this metrical chronicle, we are referred to some fifty forgotten lines at the outset, from which, it appears, that Columbus came to the knowledge of all these fine things by seeing them rehearsed before him one dark night on the top of a mountain in Spain. If this apology is to be received, Mr Scott might hold out his beautiful *outlaw*, the Lay of the Last Minstrel, as a perfect pattern of the unities,—since the whole story is told in one afternoon in the dressing-room of the Dutchess of Buccleugh. The antient poets, in like manner, had nothing more to do than to prefix a notice, that the whole piece was dictated to them by a muse in any given grove or bower. Nay, even a degenerate modern, it would seem, might, upon the same principle, securely evade this most rigorous law of the unities, by merely notifying in verse, that his rambling Epic was all composed by him in the course of one term, and within the precincts of one garret. Is it possible that self-partiality should have so far blinded a man of Mr Barlow's acuteness, as to make it necessary to remind him, that the unity which the reader requires in a long poem, must be in the subject, and not in the manner of introducing it; and that the miscellaneous history of four thousand years does not become one story, by being represented in one vision, any more than by being bound up in one volume? It is time, however, to give a short sketch of this visionary legend.

The first part of it belongs rather to geography than to civil history; and contains a long description of the American hills, lakes, rivers, and vegetable productions. The next chapter goes on to the animal kingdom; and is chiefly occupied with the physiology of its human natives, and a theory about its population. Two whole books are then devoted to the fabulous exploits of Manco Capac and Ocella, the Osiris and Isis of the Peruvian mythology,—their institutions civil and religious, and their conquest and conversion of the more ferocious savages around them. After this, there is a very short sketch of the Spanish oppressions, followed out by a speculation upon the Popish superstition, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition. The voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the colonisation of Virginia, are then commemorated: and the next book contains the history of the Canadian war 1757, with the defeat of Braddock and the death of Wolfe; and then begins the story of the colonial war, which is given with considerable detail in the course of the two following books. This ends

ends the historical, and introduces the prophetic part of Mr Barlow's poem. The eighth book is dedicated to a survey of the progress which America is destined to make in art, virtue and happiness; and the ninth and tenth, which close the work, to a view of the general happiness of mankind, when all the nations of the earth shall have been taught, by the example of America, to renounce war and violence, to unite in one great federal republic, and to hold a grand annual congress of sages in Egypt, for the purpose of renouncing all prejudices, and consulting for the general happiness. With this beatific vision Hesper closes his splendid exhibition; and leaves Columbus quite comforted and satisfied in his dungeon.

Before proceeding to lay before our readers any of the passages which make up this comprehensive detail; it is proper, and indeed in some respects necessary, to apprise them, that this American bard frequently writes in a language utterly unknown to the prose or verse of this country. We have often heard it reported, that our transatlantic brethren were beginning to take it amiss that their language should still be called English; and truly we must say, that Mr Barlow has gone far to take away that ground of reproach. The groundwork of his speech, perhaps, may be English, as that of the Italian is Latin; but the variations amount already to more than a change of dialect; and really make a glossary necessary for most untravelled readers. As this is the first specimen which has come to our hands of any considerable work composed in the American tongue, it may be gratifying to our philological readers, if we make a few remarks upon it.

It is distinguished from the original English, in the first place, by a great multitude of words which are radically and entirely new, and as utterly foreign as if they had been adopted from the Hebrew or Chinese; in the second place, by a variety of new compounds and combinations of words, or roots of words, which are still known in the parent tongue; and, thirdly, by the perversion of a still greater number of original English words from their proper use or signification, by employing nouns substantive for verbs, for instance, and adjectives for substantives, &c. We shall set down a few examples of each.

In the first class, we may reckon the words *multifluxian*—*cosmogyrat*—*crass*—*role*—*gride*—*conglaciate*—*colon* and *coloniarch*—*trist* and *contristed*—*thin*—*gerb*—*lulibrious*—*croupe*—*snow*—*emban*—*lowe*—*brume*—*brumal*, &c. &c.

The second class is still more extensive, and, to our ears, still more discordant. In it we may comprehend such verbs as, to *utilise*, to *vagrate*, to *oversheet*, to *empathm*, to *inhumanise*, to *transboard*, to *reseek*, to *bestorm*, to *unneed*, &c. &c.; such adjectives

adjectives as *bivaulted*, *imbeaded*, *unkeeled*, *laxed*, *forestered*, *homiciduous*, *millennial*, *portless*, *undungeoned*, *lustrcd*, &c.—*conflicting fulminents*; and a variety of substantives formed upon the same plan of distortion.

The third or last class of American improvements, consists mainly in the violent transformation of an incredible number of English nouns into verbs. Thus we have, 'to *spade* the soil'—'to *sledge* the corn'—and 'to *keel* the water.' We have also the verbs, to *breeze*, to *rainbow*, to *hill*, to *scope*, to *lot*, to *lamp*, to *road*, and to *reroad*, to *sang*, to *fray*, to *bluff*, to *tone*, to *ferester*, to *gyve*, to *besom*, and fifty more. Nor is it merely as verbs that our poor nouns are compelled to serve in this new republican dictionary; they are forced, upon a pinch, to do the duty of adjectives also; and, accordingly, we have science distinguished into moral science and *physic* science; and *things* discussed with a view to their *physic* forms and their final ends.

The innovations in prosody are not less bold and meritorious. We have *galaxy* and *platina* with the middle syllable long.

'New constellations, new *galaxies* rise.'

'The pale *platina* and the burning gold.'

*Contents*, *allied*, *bombard*, and *expanse*, are accented on the first syllable.

'Each thro' the adverse ports their *contents* pour,' &c.

And *empyrean* is made short in the penult; as in that fine line,

'Empulsing the *empyrean*, or dissects a gaz.'

The rhimes are equally original;—*plain* rhimes to *man*—*blood* to *God*, and *share* to *war*, in three successive couplets.

Before closing these hasty and imperfect notices of the characteristics of this new language, it seems proper to observe, that if Mr Barlow's authority is to be relied on, it may also be known from all other tongues by an utter disregard of all distinction between what we should call lofty and elegant, and low and vulgar expressions. These republican literati seem to make it a point of conscience to have no aristocratical distinctions—even in their vocabulary. They think one word just as good as another, provided its meaning be as clear; and will know no difference, but that of force and perspicuity. Thus, we hear of rivers that *tap* the upland lakes; and are told, that, in North America, there are 'hills by hundreds,' of such a height, that, if set beside them,

'Taurus would shrink, Hemodis *strut* no more.'

In the same taste, in an elaborate description of the celebrated feat of William Tell, our attention is particularly directed to the stretching of his *knuckles* as he draws the cord, and to the skill with which 'he *picked the pippin*' off his boy's head. Niagara, we are afterward informed, '*bluffs* high his head,'

'And Chili *bluffs*, and Plata *flats* the coast.'

And, in a pompous description of a storm, we see the crew  
 'spring to quarters,' 'haul their wind,' and get their shrouds  
*afoul*; and learn, after all, that

'Crew and cargo glut the watery grave.'

The great river Plata, too, appears with extraordinary magnificence—

'And highland drains with lowland drench repays.'

Inland navigation is justly extolled for the saving which it occasions in the *carrier's* toil. Contagion is said to be promoted by 'heaps of putrid meat;' and steams are represented as arising from her 'box.' With an equal regard to dignity, the flames, in a great conflagration are represented as 'sucking up the cinders.' Some of the republican forces are said to be 'hard pushed;' and others are obliged to 'climb hard' up a hill, to get out of the reach of the enemy. The tripod of the Delphic priestess, moreover, is elegantly called her 'stool;' and the watchword of the night sentinels is pleasantly termed 'sly.'

From the view which we have now given of the diction of this American Epic, it might perhaps be concluded, that the whole must be equally unintelligible and intolerable to an English reader; and that we could not be serious in saying, that Mr Barlow had stolen the style of Darwin, who versifies, in general, with great elegance, and seldom mixes any thing with his English but terms of science or of art. The truth is, however, that the greater part of Mr Barlow may be understood by a careful reader, even in this country; that his versification is generally both soft and sonorous; and that, notwithstanding the occasional lowness and constant want of purity of his diction, there are many passages of rich and vigorous description, and some that might lay claim even to the praise of magnificence. The fatal want of simplicity, passion and character, unfortunately leave no room to doubt of his destiny as an Epic poet; but there is a power, now and then, both in his descriptive and didactic passages, that, under stricter management, might turn to some account in another department of poetry. That he resembles Darwin, no one, we think, will doubt, after glancing at the following passages.

Indignant Frost, to hold his captive, plies  
 His hosted fiends that vex the polar skies,  
 Unlocks his magazines of nitric stores,  
 Azotic charms and muriatic powers;  
 Mail, with its glassy globes, and brume congeal'd,  
 Rime's fleecy flakes, and storm that heaps the field.  
 The lopsen'd ice-isles o'er the main advance,  
 Toss off the surge, and thro the concave dance;  
 Whirl'd high, conjoin'd, in crystal mountains driven,  
 Adp over Alp, they build a midway heaven;

Whose

Whose million mirrors mock the solar ray,  
 And give condensed the tenfold glare of day.  
 As tow'rd the south the mass enormous glides,  
 And bridleless rivers furrow down its sides;  
 'The thirsty sailor steals a glad supply,  
 And sultry trade winds quaff the boreal sky.

But oft insidious death, with mist o'erstrown,  
 Rides the dark ocean on this icy throne;  
 When ships thro vernal seas with light airs steer  
 Their midnight march, and deem no danger near.  
 The steerman gaily helms his course along,

And laughs and listens to the watchman's song,' &c. p. 26-8.  
 The same tone pervades the following account of the origin of  
 the Mississippi.

High in the north his parent fountains wed,  
 And oozing urns adorn his infant head;  
 In vain proud Frost his nursing lakes would close;  
 And choke his channel with perennial snows;  
 From all their slopes he curves his countless rills,  
 Sweeps their long marshes, saps their settling hills;  
 Then stretching, straightening south, he gaily gleams.  
 Swells thro the climes, and swallows all their streams;  
 From zone to zone, o'er earth's broad surface curl'd,  
 He cleaves his course, he furrows half the world;  
 Now roaring wild thro bursting mountains driven,  
 Now calm reflecting all the host of heaven;  
 Where Cynthia pausing, her own face admires,  
 And suns and stars repeat their dancing fires.  
 Wide o'er his meadowy lawns he spreads and feeds  
 His realms of canes, his waving world of reeds;  
 Where mammoth grazed the renovating groves,  
 Slaked his huge thirst, and chill'd his fruitless loves,' &c. p. 31.

And this sketch of the feats of Prometheus, though more nearly  
 approaching to a caricature of the original faulty model.

'Prometheus came, and from the floods of day  
 Suns his clear soul with heaven's internal ray,  
 Probes the dense earth, explores the soundless main,  
 Remoulds their mass thro' all its threefold reign,  
 O'er great, o'er small extends his physie laws,  
 Empalms the empyrean or dissects a gaz,  
 Weighs the vast orbs of heaven, bestrides the sky,  
 Walks on the windows of an insect's eye,' &c. p. 128.

For the lovers of well-sounding catalogues, there is a great  
 deal of such melodious natural history as the following.

'Where Mexic hills the breezy gulph defend,  
 Spontaneous groves with richer burdens bend.  
 Anana's stalk its shaggy honours yields,  
 Acassia's flowers perfume a thousand fields,

Their



Their cluster'd dates the mast-like palms unfold,  
 The spreading orange waves a load of gold,  
 Connubial vines o'erthop the larch they climb,  
 The long-liv'd olive mocks the moth of time,  
 Pomona's pride, that old Grenada claims,  
 Here smiles and reddens in diviner flames ;  
 Pimento, citron, scent the sky serene,  
 White woolly clusters fringe the cotton's green,  
 The sturdy fig, the frail deciduous cane  
 And foodful cocoa fan the sultry plain.' p. 35.

A modern battle, Mr Barlow observes in his preface, is ' far more magnificent, more sonorous, and more discoloring to the face of nature, than an antient one could have been ; and is consequently susceptible of more pomp and variety of description.' He adds also, that he found these descriptions particularly easy to write. It is but just, therefore, to present the reader with a specimen of one of them. The following exhibits, we think, in very fair proportion, the characteristic faults and excellences of this writer.

- As hovering clouds, when morning beams arise,  
 Hang their red curtains round our eastern skies,  
 Unfold a space to hail the promised sun,  
 And catch their splendors from his rising throne ;  
 Thus glow'd the opposing fronts, whose steely glare  
 Glanced o'er the shuddering interval of war.  
 From Albion's left the cannonade began,  
 And pour'd thick thunders on Hesperia's van,  
 Forced in her dexter guards, that skirmisht wide  
 To prove what powers the forest hills might hide ;  
 They break, fall back, with measured quickstep tread,  
 Form close, and flank the solid squares they led.  
 Now roll, with kindling haste, the long stark lines,  
 From wing to wing the sounding battle joins ;  
 Batteries and field-parks and platoons of fire,  
 In mingled shocks their roaring blasts expire.  
 Each front approaching fast, with equal pace,  
 Devours undaunted their dividing space ;  
 Till, dark beneath the smoke, the meeting ranks  
 Slope their strong bayonets, with short firm shanks  
 Protruded from their tubes ; each bristling van,  
 • Steel fronting steel, and man encountering man,  
 In dreadful silence tread. As, wrap'd from sight,  
 The nightly ambush moves to secret fight ;  
 So rush the raging files, and sightless close  
 In plunging thrust with fierce conflicting foes.  
 They reach, they strike, they stagger o'er the slain,  
 Deal doubtful blows, or closing clench their man,  
 Intwine their twisting limbs, the gun forgo,  
 Wrench off the bayonet and dink the foe ;

Then

Then struggling back, reseize the musket bare,  
 Club the broad breech, and headlong whirl to war.  
 Ranks rush on ranks with equal slaughter gored;  
 Warm clippings streams from every lifted sword  
 Stain the thin carnaged corps, who still maintain,  
 With mutual shocks, the vengeance of the plain.  
 At last where Williams fought and Campbell fell,  
 Unwonted strokes the British line repel.

The rout begins, &c. p. 227, 228.

There is a sea-fight given with still greater detail; but more horribly crammed with bloodshed and bombast; and exhibiting, in a very striking way, the greatness of this author's mistake as to the true fountains of force and grandeur in description. The first four lines are laudable.

So, hazing thro the void, at first appear  
 White clouds of canvass floating on the air,  
 Then frown the broad black decks, the sails are stay'd,  
 The gaping portholes cast a frightful shade,  
 Flames, triple tier'd, and tides of smoke, arise,  
 And fulminations rock the seas and skies  
 From van to rear the roaring deluge runs,  
 The storm disgoring from a thousand guns,  
 Each like a vast volcano, spouting wide  
 His hissing hell-dogs o'er the shuddering tide,  
 Whirls high his chainshot, cleaves the mast, and strows  
 The shiver'd fragments on the staggering foes;  
 Whose gunwale sides with iron globes are gored,  
 And a wild storm of splinters sweeps the board.  
 Nor sun nor sea nor skyborn lightning gleams,  
 But flaming Phlegethon's asphaltic steams  
 Streak the long gaping gulph; where varying glow  
 Carbonic curls above, blue flakes of fire below.  
 The huddling troops, infuriate from despair,  
 Tug at the toils of death, and perish there;  
 Grenadoes, carcasses their fragments spread,  
 And pikes and pistols strow the decks with dead.  
 Now on the Gallic board the Britons rush,  
 The intrepid Gauls the rash adventurers crush.  
 There swell the carnage; all the tar-beat floor  
 Is clogg'd with spatter'd brains and glued with gore;  
 And down the ship's black waist fresh brooks of blood  
 Course o'er their clots, and tinge the sable flood.' p. 233-235.

The final surrender of Cornwallis is described with considerable pomp of numbers; and is perhaps among the most unexceptionable passages in this division of the poem.

Cornwallis first, their late all-conquering lord,  
 Bears to the victor chief his conquer'd sword,  
 Presents the burnisht hilt, and yields with pain  
 The gift of kings, here brandisht long in vain.

Then bow their hundred banners, trailing far  
 Their wearied wings from all the skirts of war.  
 Battalion'd infantry and squadron'd horse  
 Dash the silk tassel and the golden torse ;  
 Flags from the forts and ensigns from the fleet  
 Roll in the dust, and kiss Columbia's feet.  
 Here Albion's crimson Cross the soil o'erspreads,  
 Her Lion crouches and her Thistle fades ;  
 Indignant Erin rues her trampled Lyre,  
 Brunswick's pale Steed forgets his foamy fire,  
 Proud Hessia's Castle lies in dust o'erthrown,  
 And venal Anspach quits her broken Crown.

Long trains of wheel'd artillery shade the shore,  
 Quench their blue matches and forget to roar ;  
 Along the encumber'd plain, thick planted rise  
 High stacks of muskets glittering to the skies,  
 Numerous and vast. - As when the toiling swains  
 Heap their whole harvest on the stubbly plains,  
 Gerb after gerb the bearded shock expands,  
 Shocks, ranged in rows, hill high the burden'd lands ;  
 The joyous master numbers all the piles,  
 And o'er his well-earn'd crop complacent smiles :  
 Such growing heaps this iron harvest yield,  
 So tread the victors this their final field.' p. 243, 244.

These upon the whole are very favourable specimens of Mr Barlow's modern heroics. When he proceeds to immortalize the worthies of the revolution war, his inferiority to Homer becomes rather more conspicuous. Take the following sample of his muster-roll.

' Wythe, Mason, Pendleton with Henry join'd,  
 Rush, Rodney, Landon, friends of humankind,  
 Persuasive Dickinson, the farmer's boast,  
 Recording Thomson, pride of all the host,  
 Nash, Jay, the Livingstons, in council great,  
 Rutlege and Laurens held the rolls of fate.' p. 157.

His picture of modern War, *spitting* out pikes, muskets, and mortars, is not less preposterous ; nor can we say much for such couplets as the following.

' Blaze-trailing fuses vault the night's dim round,  
 And shells and langrage lacerate the ground.' p. 223.

The most absurd passage, however, of the whole poem, is that in which the river Delaware is represented as opposing Washington's passage, and calling in the aid of Frost to render his waves innavigable. The gross stupidity of the fiction can only be surpassed by the heavy turbulence of the execution. Mr Barlow must submit to have part of this precious passage extracted.

' The god perceived his warning words were vain,  
 And rose more furious to assert his reign,

Lash'd

- Lash'd up a loftier surge, and heaved on high  
A ridge of billows that obstruct the sky ;  
And, as the accumulated mass he rolls,  
Bares the sharp rocks and lifts the gaping shoals.  
Forward the fearless barges plunge and bound,  
Top the curl'd wave, or grind the flinty ground,  
Careen, whirl, right, and sidelong dasht and tost,  
Now seem to reach and now to lose the coast.

- Still unsubdued the sea-drench'd army toils,  
Each buoyant skiff the flouncing godhead foils ;  
He *raves and roars*, and in delirious woe  
Calls to his aid his ancient hoary foe,  
Almighty Frost, &c.

Roused at the call, the Monarch mounts the storm ;  
In myriad flakes he robes his nitrous form,  
Glâres thro the compound, all its blast inhales,  
And seas turn crystal where he breathes his gales.  
Earth heaves and cracks beneath the alighting god ;  
He gains the pass, bestrides the roaring flood,  
Shoots from his nostrils one wide withering sheet  
Of treasured meteors on the struggling fleet ;  
The waves *conglaciate* instant, fix in air,  
Stand like a ridge of rocks, and shiver there.  
The barks, confounded in their headlong surge,  
Or wedged in crystal, cease their oars to urge ;  
Some with prone prow, as plunging down the deep,  
And some remounting o'er the slippery steep.' p. 184—186:

Then comes the angel Hesper, who mauls the poor god of frost with the trunk of a tough fir tree, and knocks the ice to pieces in which the boats had been entangled.

- Stroke after stroke with doubling force he plied,  
*Foiled the hoar Fiend and pulverized the tide.*  
The baffled tyrant quits the desperate cause ;  
From Hesper's heat the river swells and thaws,  
The fleet rolls gently to the Jersey coast,  
And morning splendors greet the landing host.' p. 189.

The philosophic or prophetic part of the poem, in which the author, reviewing the past destiny of man, ventures to delineate his future progress, is far superior in our estimation to the narrative or historical part. His retrospects have far more breadth and dignity, and his anticipations far more spirit than his chronicle. We take the following passage almost at random.

- At last, a soil more fixt and streams more sweet  
Inform the wretched migrant where to seat ;  
Euphrates' flowery banks begin to smile,  
Fruits fringe the Ganges, gardens grace the Nile ;  
Nile, ribb'd with dikes, a length of coast creates,  
And giant Thebes begins her hundred gates,

Mammoth of human works! her grandeur known  
 These thousand lustres by its wrecks alone;  
 Wrecks that humiliate still all modern states,  
 Press the poised earth with their enormous weights,  
 Refuse to quit their place, dissolve their frame  
 And trust, like Ilion, to the bards their fame.  
 Memphis amass'd her piles, that still o'erclimb  
 The clouds of heaven, and task the tooth of time;  
 Belus and Brama tame their vagrant throngs,  
 And Homer, with his monumental songs,  
 Builds far more durable his splendid throne,  
 Than all the Pharaohs with their hills of stone.

High roll'd the round of years that hung sublime  
 These wondrous beacons in the sight of time;  
 Studs of renown! that to thine eyes attest  
 The waste of ages that beyond them rest;  
 Ages how fill'd with toils! how gloom'd with woes!  
 Trod with all steps that man's long march compose.' p. 286.

The origin and progress of Superstition is drawn with the same strong hand.

' And where the mosque's dim arches bend on high,  
 Mecca's dead prophet mounts the mimic sky;  
 Pilgrims, imband'd strong for mutual aid,  
 Thro dangerous deserts that their faith has made,  
 Train their long caravans, and famish'd come  
 To kiss the shrine and trembling touch the tomb,  
 By fire and sword the same fell faith extend,  
 And howl their homilies to earth's far end.

Phœnician altars reek with human gore,  
 Gods hiss from caverns or in cages roar,  
 Nile pours from heaven a tutelary flood,  
 And gardens grow the vegetable god.  
 Sun, stars and planets round the earth behold  
 Their fanes of marble and their shrines of gold;  
 The sea, the grove, the harvest and the vine  
 Spring from their gods and claim a birth divine;  
 While heroes, kings and sages of their times,

Those gods on earth, are gods in happier climes.' p. 292, 293.

The following reflections on the sad alternation of light and darkness, of civilization and barbarism, that has marked the past history of the species, are expressed with power and feeling.

' What strides he took in those gigantic times  
 That sow'd with cities all his orient climes!  
 Did not his Babylon exulting say,  
 I am a queen, &c.  
 Where shall we find them now? the very shore  
 Where Ninus rear'd his empire is no more:

The dikes decay'd, a putrid marsh regains  
 The sunken walls and tomb-encumber'd plains.  
 The fox himself has fled, his gilded den,  
 Nor hold the heritage he won from men;  
 Lapwing and reptile shun the curst abode,  
 And the foul dragon, now no more a god,  
 Trails off his train; the sickly raven flies; &c. p. 295-6.

After a transient glimpse of the glories of Greece, the author proceeds—

- ‘ Yet from that splendid height o’erturn’d once more,  
 • He dast in dust the living lamp he bore.  
 Dazzled with her own glare, decoy’d and sold  
 For homebred faction and barbaric gold,  
 Greece treads on Greece, subduing and subdued,  
 New crimes inventing, all the old renew’d;  
 Canton o’er canton clumbs; till, crush’d and broke,  
 All yield the sceptre and resume the yoke.’ p. 296-7.

These and other instances awake in the mind of Columbus some sad forebodings, that the returning tide of violence and superstition may again blot out the intelligence which seems so firmly established.

- ‘ Tho two broad continents their beams combine  
 Round his whole globe to stream the day divine,  
 Perchance some folly, yet uncured, may spread  
 A storm proportion’d to the lights they shed,  
 Veil both his continents, and leave again  
 Between them stretch’d the impermeable main;  
 All science buried, sails and cities lost,  
 • Their lands uncultured, as their seas uncrust.  
 Till on thy coast, some thousand ages hence,  
 New pilots rise, bold enterprize commence,  
 Some new Columbus (happier let him be,  
 More wise and great and virtuous far than me)  
 Launch on the wave, and tow’rd the rising day  
 Like a strong eaglet steer his untaught way,  
 Gird half the globe, and to his age unfold  
 A strange new world, the world we call the old.  
 Froth Finland’s glade to Calpe’s storm-beat head  
 He’ll find some tribes of scattering wildmen spread;  
 But one vast wilderness will shade the soil,  
 No wreck of art, no sign of antient toil  
 Tell where a city stood; nor leave one trace  
 Of all that honors now, and all that shames the race.’

p. 300-1.

The angel allays these apprehensions, by reminding him of the mighty changes that have been wrought on the frame of human society by the press, the magnet, and the spirit of commercial independence;

independence; and proceeds to lay before him the enchanting scenes of human innocence and enjoyment which await those later times, when war shall have ceased, and self-interest and philanthropy been discovered to coincide.

' The Hero look'd; beneath his wondering eyes  
Gay streamers lengthen round the seas and skies;  
The countless nations open all their stores,  
Load every wave and crowd the lively shores;  
Bright sails in mingling mazes streak the air,  
And Commerce triumphs o'er the rage of war.

From Baltic streams, from Elba's opening side,  
From Rhine's long course and Texel's laboring tide,  
From Gaul, from Albion, tired of fruitless fight,  
From green Hibernia, clothed in recent light,  
Hispania's strand that two broad oceans lave,  
From Senegal and Gambia's golden wave,  
Tago the rich, and Douro's viny shores,  
The sweet Canaries and the soft Azores,  
Commingling barks their mutual banners hail,  
And drink by turns the same distending gale.  
Where Asia's isles and utmost shorelands bend,  
Like rising suns the sheeted masts ascend;  
Coast after coast their flowing flags unroll,  
From Deimen's rocks to Zembla's ice propt pole,  
Where Behren's pass collapsing worlds divides,  
Where California breaks the billowy tides,  
Peruvian streams their golden margins boast,' &c. p. 321-2.

' Again he look'd. Another train of years  
Had roll'd unseen, and brighten'd still their spheres;  
Earth more resplendent in the floods of day  
Assumed new smiles, and flush'd around him lay.  
Green swell the mountains, calm the oceans roll,  
Fresh beams of beauty kindle round the pole;  
Thro' all the range where shores and seas extend,  
In tenfold pomp the works of peace ascend.  
Robed in the bloom of spring's eternal year,  
And ripe with fruits the same glad fields appear;  
O'er hills and vales perennial gardens run,  
Cities unwall'd stand sparkling to the sun;  
The streams all freighted from the bounteous plain  
Swell with the load and labor to the main,  
Whose stormless waves command a steadier gale  
And prop the pinions of a bolder sail.' p. 337-8.

The last scene of the vision is the grand congress of sages, who are to assemble from all corners of the world, in the central plains of Egypt, to consult for the happiness of the federated universe; and, finally, to abjure all the prejudices by which men

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are now divided and debased. A statue is erected to the genius of human kind, and

‘Beneath the footstool all destructive things,  
The mask of priesthood and the mace of kings,  
Lie trampled in the dust; for here at last  
Fraud, folly, error all their emblems cast.  
Each envoy here unloads his wearied hand  
Of some old idol from his native land;  
One flings a pagod on the mingled heap,  
One lays a crescent, one a cross \* to sleep;  
Swords, sceptres, mitres, crowns and globes and stars,  
Codes of false fame and stimulants to wars,  
Sink in the settling mass: since guile began,  
These are the agents of the woes of man.’ p. 340.

Our readers, we suspect, have now enough of this performance. As a great national poem, it has enormous—inexpiable—and, in some respects, intolerable faults. But the author's talents are evidently respectable: and, severely as we have been obliged to speak of his taste and his diction in a great part of the volume, we have no hesitation in saying, that we consider him as a giant, in comparison with many of the puling and paltry rhymsters, who disgrace our English literature by their occasional success. As an Epic poet, we do think his case is desperate; but, as a philosophical and moral poet, we think he has talents of no ordinary value; and, if he would pay some attention to purity of style, and simplicity of composition, and cherish in himself a certain fastidiousness of taste,—which is not yet to be found, we are afraid, even among the better educated of the Americans,—we have no doubt that he might produce something which English poets would envy, and English critics applaud. In the mean time, we think it quite certain, that his present work will have no success in this country. Its faults are far too many, and too glaring, to give its merits any chance of being distinguished; and indeed no long poem was ever redeemed by the beauty of particular passages—especially if its faults were owing to affectation,

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\* We have put this word in italics, not to insinuate any charge of impiety against Mr Barlow, but to guard him against that imputation. From the whole strain of his poem, in which he speaks with warm approbation of reformed Christianity,—specifies the purity and evangelical charity of the priesthood as one of the prime blessings of his millennium,—and breaks out into a holy rapture on the prospect of the coming of the Redeemer,—we are satisfied that he here speaks of the cross merely as the emblem of the low and persecuting superstition of the crusaders, papists, and other sectaries, who make the crucifix an object of idolatrous veneration.



and its beauties addressed rather to the judgment than to the heart or the imagination. If it will be any comfort to Mr Barlow, we will add, that we doubt very much whether *any* long poem of the Epic character will ever again be very popular in Europe. All such works have necessarily so much of imitation about them, as nearly to extinguish all interest or curiosity in the reader, and at the same time to lead to dangerous comparisons. The style and title of an Epic poem immediately puts us in mind of Homer, Virgil, and Milton;—and who can stand against such competitors? We even suspect, if we must tell the whole truth, that the works of those great masters themselves were better suited to the times that produced them, than to the present times. Men certainly bore long stories with more patience of old, than they do now. Witness the genealogies and monkish legends and romances which delighted our remoter ancestors, and through which even vanity is now scarcely sufficient to drag a few of their descendants. Epic poetry is the stage beyond these; and though the inimitable merit of the composition, as well as traditionary fame, will insure the immortality of a few great models, we doubt very much whether it would be in the power, even of equal talents, to add another name to that illustrious catalogue. In the present state of society, we require, in poetry, something more natural or more impassioned, and, at all events, something less protracted and monotonous than the sober pomp and deliberate stateliness of the Epic.

There is one thing, however, which may give the original edition of Mr Barlow's poem some chance of selling among us,—and that is, the extraordinary beauty of the paper, printing and embellishments. We do not know that we have ever seen a handsomer book issue from the press of England; and if this be really and truly the production of American artists, we must say, that the infant republic has already attained to the very summit of perfection in the mechanical part of bookmaking. If her home sale can defray the expense of such a publication as the present, it is a sign that a taste for literature is spreading very widely among her inhabitants; and whenever this taste is created, we have no doubt that her authors will improve and multiply to a degree that will make all our exertions necessary to keep the start we now have of them.

ART. III. *Essays on Professional Education.* By R. L. Edgeworth, Esq. F. R. S. &c. 4to. • pp. 446. London. 1809.

THERE are two questions to be asked respecting every new publication—Is it worth buying? Is it worth borrowing? and we

we would advise our readers to weigh diligently the importance of these interrogations, before they take any decided step as to this work of Mr Edgeworth; the more especially as the name carries with it considerable authority, and seems, in the estimation of the unwary, almost to include the idea of purchase. For our own part, we would rather decline giving a direct answer to these questions; and shall content ourselves for the present with making a few such slight observations as may enable the sagacious to conjecture what our direct answer would be, were we compelled to be more explicit.

One great and signal praise we think to be the eminent due of Mr Edgeworth: In a canting age he does not cant;—at a period when hypocrisy and fanaticism will almost certainly ensure the success of any publication, he has constantly disclaimed to have recourse to any such arts;—without ever having been accused of disloyalty or irreligion, he is not always harping upon Church and King, in order to catch at a little popularity, and sell his books;—he is manly, independent, liberal—and maintains enlightened opinions with discretion and honesty. There is also in this work of Mr Edgeworth an agreeable diffusion of anecdote and example, such as a man acquires who reads with a view to talking or writing. With these merits, we cannot say that Mr Edgeworth is either very new, very profound, or very apt to be right in his opinions. He is active, enterprising, and unprejudiced; but we have not been very much instructed by what he has written, or always satisfied that he has got to the bottom of his subject.

On one subject, however, we cordially agree with this gentleman; and return him our thanks for the courage with which he has combated the excessive abuse of classical learning in England. It is a subject upon which we have long wished for an opportunity of saying something; and one which we consider to be of the very highest importance.

‘The principal defect,’ says Mr Edgeworth, ‘in the present system of our great schools is, that they devote too large a portion of time to Latin and Greek. It is true, that the attainment of classical literature is highly desirable; but it should not, or rather it need not, be the exclusive object of boys during eight or nine years.’

‘Much less time, judiciously managed, would give them an acquaintance with the classics sufficient for all useful purposes, and would make them as good scholars, as gentlemen or professional men need to be. It is not requisite, that every man should make Latin or Greek verses; therefore, a knowledge of prosody beyond the structure of hexameter and pentameter verses, is as worthless an acquisition as any which folly or fashion has introduced amongst the higher classes of mankind. It must indeed be acknowledged, that there are some rare exceptions; but even party prejudice would al-

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low, that the persons alluded to must have risen to eminence though they had never written sapphics or iambics. Though preceptors, parents, and the public in general, may be convinced of the absurdity of making boys spend so much of life in learning what can be of no use to them; such are the difficulties of making any change in the ancient rules of great establishments, that masters themselves, however reasonable, dare not, and cannot make sudden alterations.

‘The only remedies that can be suggested might be, perhaps, to take those boys, who are not intended for professions in which deep scholarship is necessary, away from school before they reach the highest classes, where prosody and Greek and Latin verses are required.

‘In the college of Dublin, where an admirable course of instruction has been long established, where this course is superintended by men of acknowledged learning and abilities, and pursued by students of uncommon industry, such is the force of example, and such the fear of appearing inferior in trifles to English universities, that much pains have been lately taken to introduce the practice of writing Greek and Latin verses, and much solicitude has been shown about the prosody of the learned languages, without any attention being paid to the prosody of our own.

‘Boarding houses for the scholars at Eton and Westminster, which are at present mere lodging houses, might be kept by private tutors, who might, during the hours when the boys were not in their public classes, assist them in acquiring general literature, or such knowledge as might be advantageous for their respective professions.

‘New schools, that are not restricted to any established routine, should give a fair trial to experiments in education, which afford a rational prospect of success. If nothing can be altered in the old schools, leave them as they are. Destroy nothing—injure none—but let the public try whether they cannot have something better. If the experiment do not succeed, the public will be convinced that they ought to acquiesce in the established methods of instruction, and parents will send their children to the ancient seminaries with increased confidence.’ p. 47—49.

We are well aware that nothing very new can remain to be said upon a topic so often debated. The complaints we have to make are at least as old as the time of Locke and Dr Samuel Clarke; and the evil which is the subject of these complaints has certainly rather increased than diminished since the period of those two great men. An hundred years, to be sure, is a very little time for the duration of a national error; and it is so far from being reasonable to look for its decay at so short a date, that it can hardly be expected, within such limits, to have displayed the full bloom of its imbecility.

There are several feelings to which attention must be paid, before the question of classical learning can be fairly and temperately discussed.

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We are apt, in the first place, to remember the immense benefits which the study of the classics once conferred on mankind; and to feel for those models on which the taste of Europe has been formed, something like sentiments of gratitude and obligation. This is all well enough, so long as it continues to be a mere feeling; but, as soon as it interferes with action, it nourishes dangerous prejudices about education. Nothing will do in the pursuit of knowledge, but the blackest ingratitude;—the moment we have got up the ladder, we must kick it down;—as soon as we have passed over the bridge, we must let it rot;—when we have got upon the shoulders of the antients, we must look over their heads. The man who forgets the friends of his childhood in real life, is base; but he who clings to the props of his childhood in literature, must be content to remain as ignorant as he was when a child. His business is to forget, disown and deny—to think himself above every thing which has been of use to him in time past—and to cultivate that exclusively from which he expects future advantage: in short, to do every thing for the advancement of his knowledge, which it would be infamous to do for the advancement of his fortune. If mankind still derive advantage from classical literature proportionate to the labour they bestow upon it, let their labour and their study proceed; but the moment we cease to read Latin and Greek for the solid utility we derive from them, it would be a very romantic application of human talents to do so from any feeling of gratitude, and recollection of past service.

To almost every Englishman up to the age of three or four-and-twenty, classical learning has been the great object of existence; and no man is very apt to suspect, or very much pleased to hear, that what he has done for so long a time was not worth doing. His classical literature, too, reminds every man of the scenes of his childhood, and brings to his fancy several of the most pleasing associations which we are capable of forming. A certain sort of vanity, also, very naturally grows among men occupied in a common pursuit. Classical quotations are the watchwords of scholars, by which they distinguish each other from the ignorant and illiterate; and Greek and Latin are infensibly become almost the only test of a cultivated mind.

Some men through indolence, others through ignorance, and most through necessity, submit to the established education of the times; and seek for their children that species of distinction which happens, at the period in which they live, to be stamped with the approbation of mankind. This mere question of convenience, every parent must determine for himself. A poor man, who has his fortune to gain, must be a quibbling theologian, or a classical pedant, as fashion dictates; and he must vary his error with the  
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error of the times. But it would be much more fortunate for mankind, if the public opinion, which regulates the pursuits of individuals, were more wise and enlightened than it at present is.

All these considerations make it extremely difficult to procure a candid hearing on this question; and to refer this branch of education to the only proper criterion of every branch of education—its utility in future life.

There are two questions which grow out of this subject; 1st, How far is any sort of classical education useful? 2d, How far is that particular classical education, adopted in this country, useful?

Latin and Greek are, in the first place, useful, as they inure children to intellectual difficulties, and make the life of a young student what it ought to be, a life of considerable labour. We do not, of course, mean to confine this praise exclusively to the study of Latin and Greek; or to suppose that other difficulties might not be found which it would be useful to overcome: but though Latin and Greek have this merit in common with many arts and sciences, still they have it; and, if they do nothing else, they at least secure a solid and vigorous application at a period of life which materially influences all other periods.

To go through the grammar of one language thoroughly, is of great use for the mastery of every other grammar; because there obtains, through all languages, a certain analogy to each other in their grammatical construction. Latin and Greek have now mixed themselves etymologically with all the languages of modern Europe—and with none more than our own; so that it is necessary to read these two tongues for other objects than themselves.

The two ancient languages are as mere inventions—as pieces of mechanism incomparably more beautiful than any of the modern languages of Europe: their mode of signifying time and case by terminations, instead of auxiliary verbs and particles, would of itself stamp their superiority. Add to this, the copiousness of the Greek language, with the fancy, majesty and harmony of its compounds; and there are quite sufficient reasons why the classics should be studied for the beauties of language. Compared to them, merely as vehicles of thought and passion, all modern languages are dull, ill contrived, and barbarous.

That a great part of the Scriptures have come down to us in the Greek language, is of itself a reason, if all others were wanting, why education should be planned so as to produce a supply of Greek scholars.

The cultivation of style is very justly made a part of education. Every thing which is written is meant either to please or to instruct. The second object it is difficult to effect, without attend-

ing to the first ; and the cultivation of style is the acquisition of those rules and literary habits which sagacity anticipates, or experience shows to be the most effectual means of pleasing. Those works are the best which have longest stood the test of time, and pleased the greatest number of exercised minds. Whatever, therefore, our conjectures may be, we cannot be so sure that the best modern writers can afford us as good models as the antients ;—we cannot be certain that they will live through the revolutions of the world, and continue to please in every climate—under every species of government—through every stage of civilization. The moderns have been well taught by their masters ; but the time is hardly yet come when the necessity for such instruction no longer exists. We may still borrow descriptive power from Tacitus ; dignified perspicuity from Livy ; simplicity from Cæsar ; and from Homer some portion of that light and heat which, dispersed into ten thousand channels, has filled the world with bright images and illustrious thoughts. Let the cultivator of modern literature address himself to the purest models of taste which France, Italy and England could supply, he might still learn from Virgil to be majestic, and from Tibullus to be tender : he might not yet look upon the face of nature as Theocritus saw it ; nor might he reach those springs of pathos with which Euripides softened the hearts of his audience. In short, it appears to us, that there are so many excellent reasons why a certain number of scholars should be kept up in this and in every civilized country, that we should consider every system of education from which classical education was excluded, as radically erroneous, and completely absurd.

That vast advantages, then, may be derived from classical learning, there can be no doubt. The advantages which are derived from classical learning by the English manner of teaching, involve another and a very different question ; and we will venture to say, that there never was a more complete instance in any country of such extravagant and overacted attachment to any branch of knowledge, as that which obtains in this country with regard to classical knowledge. A young Englishman goes to school at six or seven years old ; and he remains in a course of education till twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. In all that time, his sole and exclusive occupation is learning Latin and Greek : \* he has scarcely a notion that there is any other kind of excellence ; and the great system of facts with which he is the most perfectly acquainted, are the intrigues of the Heathen Gods ; with whom Pan slept ?—with whom

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\* Unless he goes to the University of Cambridge ; and then classics occupy him entirely for about ten years ; and divide him with mathematics for four or five more.

whom Jupiter?—whom Apollo ravished? These facts the English youth get by heart the moment they quit the nursery; and are most sedulously and industriously instructed in them till the best and most active part of life is passed away. Now, this long career of classical learning, we may, if we please, denominate a foundation; but it is a foundation so far above ground, that there is absolutely no room to put anything upon it. If you occupy a man with one thing till he is twenty-four years of age, you have exhausted all his leisure time: he is called into the world, and compelled to act; or is surrounded with pleasures, and thinks and reads no more. If you have neglected to put other things in him, they will never get in afterwards;—if you have fed him only with words, he will remain a narrow and limited being to the end of his existence.

The bias given to men's minds is so strong, that it is no uncommon thing to meet with Englishmen, whom, but for their grey hairs and wrinkles, we might easily mistake for school-boys. Their talk is of Latin verses; and it is quite clear, if men's ages are to be dated from the state of their mental progress, that such men are eighteen years of age, and not a day older. Their minds have been so completely possessed by exaggerated notions of classical learning, that they have not been able, in the great school of the world, to form any other notion of real greatness. Attend, too, to the public feelings—look to all the terms of applause. A learned man!—a scholar!—a man of erudition! Upon whom are these epithets of approbation bestowed? Are they given to men acquainted with the science of government? thoroughly masters of the geographical and commercial relations of Europe? to men who know the properties of bodies, and their action upon each other? No: this is not learning; it is chemistry, or political economy—not learning. The distinguishing abstract term, the epithet of Scholar, is reserved for him who writes on the Cæolic reduplication, and is familiar with Sylburgius his method of arranging defectives in  $\alpha$  and  $\mu$ . The picture which a young Englishman, addicted to the pursuit of knowledge, draws—his *beau idéal* of human nature—his top and consummation of man's powers—is a knowledge of the Greek language. His object is not to reason, to imagine, or to invent; but to conjugate, decline and derive. The situations of imaginary glory which he draws for himself, are the detection of an anapæst in the wrong place, or the restoration of a dative case which Cranzius had passed over, and the never dying Ernesti failed to observe. If a young classic of this kind were to meet the greatest chemist, or the greatest mechanician, or the most profound political economist of his time, in company with the greatest Greek scholar, would the slightest comparison between them ever come across his mind?—would he ever

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dream that such men as Adam Smith and Lavoisier were equal in dignity of understanding to, or of the same utility as, Bentley and Heyné? We are inclined to think, that the feeling excited would be a good deal like that which was expressed by Dr George about the praises of the great King of Prussia, who entertained considerable doubts whether the King, with all his victories, knew how to conjugate a Greek verb in *mu*.

Another misfortune of classical learning, as taught in England, is, that scholars have come, in process of time, and from the effects of association, to love the instrument better than the end;—not the luxury which the difficulty encloses, but the difficulty;—not the filbert, but the shell;—not what may be read in Greek, but Greek itself. It is not so much the man who has mastered the wisdom of the antients, that is valued, as he who displays his knowledge of the vehicle in which that wisdom is conveyed. The glory is to show I am a scholar. The good sense and ingenuity I may gain by my acquaintance with antient authors, is matter of opinion; but if I bestow an immensity of pains upon a point of accent or quantity, this is something positive: I establish my pretensions to the name of Scholar, and gain the credit of learning, while I sacrifice all its utility.

Another evil in the present system of classical education, is the extraordinary perfection which is aimed at in teaching those languages; a needless perfection; an accuracy which is sought for in nothing else. There are few boys who remain to the age of eighteen or nineteen at a public school, without making above ten thousand Latin verses;—a greater number than is contained in the *Æneid*: and after he has made this quantity of verses in a dead language, unless the poet should happen to be a very weak man indeed, he never makes another as long as he lives. It may be urged, and it is urged, that this is of use in teaching the delicacies of the language. No doubt it is of use for this purpose, if we put out of view the immense time and trouble sacrificed in gaining these little delicacies. It would be of use that we should go on till fifty years of age making Latin verses, if the price of a whole life were not too much to pay for it. We effect our object; but we do it at the price of something greater than our object. And whence comes it, that the expenditure of life and labour is totally put out of the calculation, when Latin and Greek are to be attained? In every other occupation, the question is fairly stated between the attainment, and the time employed in the pursuit;—but, in classical learning, it seems to be sufficient if the least possible good is gained by the greatest possible exertion; if the end is any thing, and the means every thing. It is of some importance to speak and write French; and innumerable delicacies would be gained by writing



writing ten thousand French verses : but it makes no part of our education to write French poetry. It is of some importance that there should be good botanists ; but no botanist can repeat, by heart, the names of all the plants in the known world ; nor is any astronomer acquainted with the appellation and magnitude of every star in the map of the heavens. The only department of human knowledge in which there can be no excess, no arithmetic, no balance of profit and loss, is classical learning.

The prodigious honour in which Latin verses are held at public schools, is surely the most absurd of all absurd distinctions. You rest all reputation upon doing that which is a natural gift, and which no labour can attain. If a lad won't learn the words of a language, his degradation in the school is a very natural punishment for his disobedience, or his indolence ; but it would be as reasonable to expect, that all boys should be witty, or beautiful, as that they should be poets. In either case, it would be to make an accidental, unattainable, and not a very important gift of nature, the only, or the principal, test of merit. This is the reason why boys, who make a very considerable figure at school, so very often make no figure in the world ; — and why other lads, who are passed over without notice, turn out to be valuable important men. The test established in the world, is widely different from that established in a place which is presumed to be a preparation for the world ; and the head of a public school, who is a perfect miracle to his contemporaries, finds himself shrink into absolute insignificance, because he has nothing else to command respect or regard, but a talent for fugitive poetry in a dead language.

The present state of classical education cultivates the imagination a great deal too much, and other habits of mind a great deal too little ; and trains up many young men in a style of elegant imbecility, utterly unworthy of the talents with which nature has endowed them. It may be said, there are profound investigations, and subjects quite powerful enough for any understanding, to be met with in classical literature. So there are ; but no man likes to add the difficulties of a language to the difficulties of a subject ; and to study metaphysics, morals, and politics in Greek, when the Greek alone is study enough without them. In all foreign languages, the most popular works are works of imagination. Even in the French language, which we know so well, for one serious work which has any currency in this country, we have twenty which are mere works of imagination. This is still more true in classical literature ; because what their poets and orators have left us, is of infinitely greater value than the remains of their philosophy ; for, as society advances, men think more accurately and deeply, and imagine more tamely ; works of reason-  
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ing advance, and works of fancy decay. So that the matter of fact is, that a classical scholar of twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, is a man principally conversant with works of imagination. • His feelings are quick, his fancy lively, and his taste good. Talents for speculation and original inquiry he has none; nor has he formed the invaluable habit of pushing things up to their first principles, or of collecting dry and unamusing facts as the materials of reasoning. All the solid and masculine parts of his understanding are left wholly without cultivation; he hates the pain of thinking, and suspects every man whose boldness and originality call upon him to defend his opinions and prove his assertions.

A very curious argument is sometimes employed in justification of the learned minutiae to which all young men are doomed, whatever be their propensities in future life. What are you to do with a young man up to the age of seventeen? Just as if there was such a want of difficulties to overcome, and of important tastes to inspire, that, from the mere necessity of doing something, and the impossibility of doing any thing else, you were driven to the expedient of metre and poetry;—as if a young man within that period might not acquire the modern languages, modern history, experimental philosophy, geography, chronology, and a considerable share of mathematics;—as if the memory of things was not more agreeable, and more profitable, than the memory of words.

The great objection is, that we are not making the most of human life, when we constitute such an extensive, and such minute classical erudition, an indispensable article in education. Up to a certain point we would educate every young man in Latin and Greek; but to a point far short of that to which this species of education is now carried. Afterwards, we would grant to classical erudition as high honours as to every other department of knowledge, but not higher. We would place it upon a footing with many other objects of study; but allow to it no superiority. Good scholars would be as certainly produced by these means, as good chemists, astronomers, and mathematicians are now produced, without any direct provision whatsoever for their production. Why are we to trust to the diversity of human tastes, and the varieties of human ambition, in every thing else, and distrust it in classics alone? The passion for languages is just as strong as any other literary passion. There are very good Persian and Arabic scholars in this country. Large heaps of trash have been dug up from Sanscrit ruins. • We have seen, in our own times, a clergyman of the University of Oxford, complimenting their Majesties in Coptic and Syrophenician verses; and yet we doubt whether there will be a sufficient avidity in literary men to get at the beauties of the finest writers which the world has

yet seen ; and though the *Bagoat Gheeta* has (as can be proved) met with human beings to translate, and other human beings to read it, we think that, in order to secure an attention to Homer and Virgil, we must catch up every man—whether he is to be a clergyman or a duke,—begin with him at six years of age, and never quit him till he is twenty ; making him conjugate and decline for life and death ; and so teaching him to estimate his progress in real wisdom, as he can scan the verses of the Greek tragedians.

The English clergy, in whose hands education entirely rests, bring up the first young men of the country, as if they were all to keep grammar schools in little country towns ; and a nobleman, upon whose knowledge and liberality the honour and welfare of his country may depend, is diligently worried, for half his life, with the small pedantry of longs and shorts. There is a timid and absurd apprehension, on the part of ecclesiastical tutors, of letting out the minds of youth upon difficult and important subjects. They fancy that mental exertion must end in religious scepticism ; and, to preserve the principles of their pupils, they confine them to the safe and elegant imbecility of classical learning. A genuine Oxford tutor would shudder to hear his young men disputing upon moral and political truth, forming and pulling down theories, and indulging in all the boldness of youthful discussion. He would augur nothing from it, but impiety to God, and treason to kings. And yet, who vilifies both more than the holy poltroon, who carefully averts from them the searching eye of reason, and who knows no better method of teaching the highest duties, than by extirpating the finest qualities and habits of the mind ? If our religion is a fable, the sooner it is exploded the better. If our government is bad, it should be amended. But we have no doubt of the truth of the one, or of the excellence of the other ; and are convinced that both will be placed on a firmer basis, in proportion as the minds of men are more trained to the investigation of truth. At present, we act with the minds of our young men, as the Dutch did with their exuberant spices. An infinite quantity of talent is annually destroyed in the Universities of England, by the miserable jealousy and littleness of ecclesiastical instructors. It is in vain to say we have produced great men under this system. We have produced great men under all systems. Every Englishman must pass half his life in learning Latin and Greek ; and classical learning is supposed to have produced the talents which it has not been able to extinguish. It is scarcely possible to prevent great men from rising up under any system of education, however bad. Teach men demonology or astrology, and you will still have a certain portion of original genius, in spite of these or any other branches of ignorance and folly.

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There is a delusive sort of splendour in a vast body of men pursuing one object, and thoroughly obtaining it; and yet, though it is very splendid, it is far from being useful. Classical literature is the great object \* at Oxford. Many minds so employed have produced many works, and much fame in that department; but if all liberal arts and sciences useful to human life had been taught there;—if some had dedicated themselves to chemistry, some to mathematics, some to experimental philosophy,—and if every attainment had been honoured in the ratio of its difficulty and utility,—the system of such an University would have been much more valuable, but the splendour of its name something less.

When an University has been doing useless things for a long time, it appears at first degrading to them to be useful. A set of lectures upon political economy would be discouraged in Oxford, probably despised, probably not permitted. To discuss the enclosure of commons, and to dwell upon imports and exports,—to come so near to common life, would seem to be undignified and contemptible. In the same manner, the Parr, or the Bentley of his day, would be scandalized in an University to be put on a level with the discoverer of a neutral salt; and yet, what other measure is there of dignity in intellectual labour, but usefulness? And what ought the term University to mean, but a place where every science is taught which is liberal, and at the same time useful to mankind? Nothing would so much tend to bring classical literature within proper bounds, as a steady and invariable appeal to utility in our appreciation of all human knowledge. The puffed up pedant would collapse into his proper size, and the maker of verses, and the rememberer of words, would soon assume that station which is the lot of those who go up unbidden to the upper places of the feast.

We should be sorry, if what we have said should appear too contemptuous towards classical learning, which we most sincerely hope will always be held in great honour in this country, though we certainly do not wish to it that exclusive honour which it at present enjoys. A great classical scholar is an ornament, and an important acquisition to his country; but, in a place of education, we would give to all knowledge an equal chance for distinction; and would trust to the varieties of human disposition, that every science worth cultivation would be cultivated. Looking always to real utility as our guide, we should see, with equal measure, a studious and inquisitive mind arranging the productions

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\* We speak merely of reputation. Sad, indeed, is the fate of this University, if its object has been classical literature alone; and it has failed even in that.

of nature, investigating the qualities of bodies, or mastering the difficulties of the learned languages. We should not care whether he were chemist, naturalist, or scholar; because we know it to be as necessary that matter should be studied, and subdued to the use of man, as that taste should be gratified, and imagination inflamed.

In those who were destined for the church, we would undoubtedly encourage classical learning, more than in any other body of men; but if we had to do with a young man going out into Public Life, we would exhort him to contempt, or at least not to affect, the reputation of a great scholar, but to educate himself for the offices of civil life. He should learn what the constitution of his country really was,—how it had grown into its present state,—the perils that had threatened it,—the malignity that had attacked it,—the courage that had fought for it, and the wisdom that had made it great. We would bring strongly before his mind the characters of those Englishmen who have been the steady friends of the public happiness; and, by their examples, would breathe into him a pure public taste, which should keep him untainted in all the vicissitudes of political fortune. We would teach him to burst through the well paid, and the pernicious cant of indiscriminate loyalty; and to know his Sovereign only as he discharged those duties, and displayed those qualities, for which the blood and the treasure of his people are confided to his hands. We should deem it of the utmost importance, that his attention was directed to the true principles of legislation,—what effect laws can produce upon opinions, and opinions upon laws,—what subjects are fit for legislative interference, and when men may be left to the management of their own interests. The mischief occasioned by bad laws, and the perplexity which arises from numerous laws,—the causes of national wealth,—the relations of foreign trade,—the encouragement of manufactures and agriculture,—the fictitious wealth occasioned by paper credit,—the laws of population,—the management of poverty and mendicity,—the use and abuse of monopoly,—the theory of taxation,—the consequences of the public debt. These are some of the subjects, and some of the branches of civil education to which we would turn the minds of future Judges, future Senators, and future Noblemen. After the first period of life had been given up to the cultivation of the classics, and the reasoning powers were now beginning to evolve themselves, these are some of the propensities in study which we would endeavour to inspire. Great knowledge, at such a period of life, we could not convey; but we might fix a decided taste for its acquisition, and a strong disposition to respect it in others. The formation of some great scholars we should certainly prevent, and hinder many  
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from learning what, in a few years, they would necessarily forget; but this loss would be well repaid,—if we could show the future rulers of the country that thought and labour which it requires to make a nation happy,—or if we could inspire them with that love of public virtue, which, after religion, we most solemnly believe to be the brightest ornament of the mind of man.

ART. IV. *A View of Spain; comprising a descriptive Itinerary of each Province, and a general Statistical Account of the Country.* Translated from the French of Alexander de Laborde. 5 vol. 8vo. London, 1809.

THIS work is not without value; though its faults and defects greatly overbalance its merits. It contains some useful, and much minute information, interspersed with reflections, that are often judicious and well founded; but it is, on the whole, a dull, prolix, tasteless performance, without life or spirit, and full of the grossest errors and inconsistencies. The author, a Mr Alexander de Laborde, whom his translator has converted into 'an elegant scholar and erudite antiquary, possessed of a highly cultivated taste, and extensive information on all literary and philosophical subjects,' is editor of an expensive, showy publication, called *Voyage Pittoresque de l'Espagne*, which was undertaken, some years ago, by the banking-house of Laborde at Paris, as a commercial speculation, to be executed by artists paid and employed under its direction. As the superintendence of a publication of this sort, which was to derive its chief value, not from the authors that compiled, but from the artists that decorated and embellished it, could add but little to Mr Laborde's literary reputation, he was induced, while preparing it for the press, to employ himself in collecting materials for a work of a more respectable description, in which he proposed to treat, not only of the present state of Spain, but of the causes that, in past times, had 'influenced the progress of its industry, civilization and prosperity.' Unfortunately, however, for this literary project, he was interrupted in the midst of it by the revolution of Bayonne, the nomination of Joseph Bonaparte to the vacant throne of Spain, and the unexpected resistance of the Spanish nation to a change of dynasty, which they foresaw must reduce their country to be a mere dependancy of France. The interest which these extraordinary events produced throughout Europe, and the sympathy so generally felt, even in France, for a people that had the courage or temerity to engage in so

unequal a contest, excited the regret of Mr Laborde, that his work was not further advanced to its conclusion. 'Fortunate,' he exclaims, 'would be the author, who was prepared at this moment to trace the events which, through every period, have contributed their influence in the fate of this monarchy.' But regret was useless. So far from being ready to publish 'a philosophical and political history' of Spain, he had not even completed his statistical account of that country. 'It would have taken me three years,' he observes, 'to have executed this work tolerably, which it was necessary to finish in a few months. If I had delayed it, it would have been of no use.' As a mercantile speculation, we admit that it would have been of less value, had Mr Laborde's publication been kept back till it was rendered fit to meet the public eye. Possibly the fate of Spain might have been decided before it could have appeared; and certainly, in that case, it would have 'experienced a less favourable reception in France,' and might not have 'passed, in a short time, through several editions.' But, whatever it might have lost in the rapidity of its sale, we will venture to assure Mr Laborde that it would have gained in the permanence of its reputation. It might not have been published till it had become to Spain 'what the ancient ordinances of war, the arrêts of Parliament, and the liberties of the Gallican church are now to France.' But it would have been purged of anachronisms and historical blunders; freed from inconsistencies and contradictions; its errors corrected; its deficiencies supplied; its superfluities retrenched; and its plagiarisms more skillfully concealed, or, if that was impossible, more honestly acknowledged.

Mr Laborde's work consists of an introduction, which occupies about one fourth of his first volume, and is by far the best written and most entertaining part of his book; of short directions for traveling in Spain, which are chiefly taken from Fischer; of some interesting observations on the climate and physical geography of that country, furnished by M. Humboldt; of a descriptive itinerary of its provinces, which fills more than two volumes and a half, and is incredibly tedious, flat and uninteresting, without accuracy or fidelity to recommend it; and, lastly, of dissertations on the population, manufactures, commerce, government, laws, literature and manners of the country, which form the two concluding volumes. Each of these divisions requires that we should make such remarks upon it, as to enable our readers to appreciate the value of Mr Laborde's performance.

In his introductory discourse, Mr Laborde follows the opinion of Capmany, that Spain has been at no period so populous, industrious, commercial and opulent, as at the close of the 18th century.

century. \* 'It will no doubt,' he says, 'appear strange to assert, that Spain was never more flourishing, better cultivated, or, perhaps, more populous, than at present.' † He acknowledges, in a subsequent part of his book, that the same view of the subject had been taken by Capmany; ‡ and in a note annexed to his Introduction, he mentions the *questiones criticas* of that author, as a work which had been extremely useful to him. § But, when it is considered, that he has not only adopted the system of Capmany, but borrowed *all* the facts and proofs that he brings in support of it, from the works of that acute, learned and accurate historian, we cannot but think, that some more full and explicit acknowledgment was due to one from whom he had taken so much. As the matter stands in Mr Laborde's book, he assumes the merit of an original inquirer, and claims the indulgence of his countrymen for 'combating ideas generally received;' when he is, in fact, the mere copyist and translator of the Spanish historian, whom he only mentions incidentally, as one entertaining the same opinion with himself.

But, whether disposed to do justice to the original merit of Capmany, or inclined to take the credit of his inquiries to himself, it was at least to be expected, that, having adopted the system of that author, he would have spared us the repetition of those anile tales and extravagant exaggerations, with which the ordinary books on Spain are usually stuffed. It was not, therefore, without surprise that we found him affirming, in a subsequent part of his book, that, in the 16th century, Toledo had 200,000 inhabitants, || and that Seville contained 16,000 silk looms, 130,000 silk weavers, and a population of 300,000 souls. ¶ We discovered, to our astonishment, that though Mr Laborde had adopted Capmany's opinion in his Introduction, and in some other parts of his book, he continued, in other parts, to assure us, with the utmost gravity, that the silk manufactures of Spain employed 1,100,000 persons in the 16th century; \*\* and to repeat such absurd fables, as that 300,000 Moors quitted Seville, when that city was surrendered to St Ferdinand; †† that in the kingdom of Granada, at the time of its conquest, there were three millions of inhabitants, 400,000 of whom lived within the walls of Granada; ‡‡ and that Cordova, under the Caliphs, contained a million, and Tarragona, under the Romans, two millions and a half of inhabitants. §§ That Mr Laborde, even before

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\* See our review of Capmany's book, No. 20, p. 422.

† Intro. p. 5. ‡ Vol. IV. p. 7. § Intro. p. 37

|| Vol. III. p. 295. ¶ Vol. II. p. 45 & 55.

\*\* Vol. IV. p. 324. †† Vol. II. p. 22.

‡‡ Vol. II. p. 98 & 119. §§ Vol. IV. p. 11.



he met with Capmany's book, should ever have credited such idle fictions, gave us no favourable opinion of his judgment; but that, after embracing the system of Capmany, he should retain and publish these specimens of his former labours, could arise only from that mercantile avidity, which had made him hurry on the publication of his book, in order to catch the market before it was closed.

The inconsistencies and contradictions are infinite, into which this haste to come out with his book has plunged him. He tells us, in one place, that the population of Catalonia, Roussillon and Cerdagne, did not exceed 365,000 souls, in 1368; \* and yet he would make us believe, in another part, that only eighty years before that period, the city of Tarragona alone contained 350,000 inhabitants. † Navarre has at present little more than 220,000 inhabitants; but Mr Laborde would persuade us, that, in the middle of the 14th century, its population amounted to 800,000 souls. He states the population of Spain at ten millions in 1688, and at eight millions in 1700; making a diminution of two millions, or of one-fifth of the whole population of the kingdom, in twelve years; during which the country suffered neither from pestilence nor from famine. ‡ But his credulity with respect to numbers is without bounds. No assertion startles him, if it is brought forward in the shape of figures. He estimates the Jews expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella at 800,000; and reckons that two millions of Moriscoes were compelled to leave their country by the impolitic edicts of Philip III. § On this last subject, however, he is more excusable in his errors; for the greatest authors have been equally careless and credulous when they touched upon it. Numbers swell in their hands in a manner almost incredible. Zurita, who lived in the time of Charles V., tells us, on the authority of a contemporary author, that the number of Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella was 170,000; though some authors, he adds, have magnified their number to 400,000. || Mariana takes the number of 170,000 from Zurita, but converts it into families; making the exiles amount to 170,000 families, or 800,000 individuals ¶; and later authors, improving on Mariana, have changed his 800,000 individuals into 800,000 families; augmenting, by that means, the total number of exiles to near four millions of souls. Exaggeration has not been less busy with the Moriscoes. From public registers it appears, that the Moriscoes expelled from Valencia, Aragon, Andalusia, Granada, Murcia, and Extremadura, did not much exceed 360,000 individuals; \*\* and

\* Vol. I. p. 105.

† Vol. IV. p. 6.

‡ Vol. IV. p. 27.

§ Vol. IV. p. 18.

|| Zurita, Vol. V. p. 9.

¶ Mariana, l. 26. cap. 1.

\*\* Bleda, p. 1041-1060.

and allowing 50,000 for Catalonia, the whole number banished may be reckoned at 410,000; instead of 900,000, which is the common calculation, or of two millions, the number assigned by Mr Laborde.

It has been a common opinion, that the discovery of America was prejudicial to Spain; though there are not wanting authors who have maintained the contrary with great plausibility and force of argument. Mr Laborde is of the latter party, and undertakes to prove, 'that the discovery of America was never injurious either to the population or industry of Spain.\* He observes sarcastically of his opponents, that 'there was something acute in maintaining that the country of gold had produced poverty;'+ and adds, 'that, on the contrary, if any thing could have roused the Spaniards from their beloved indolence, it was the discovery of a new continent, which, providing a more prompt allurements to speculation, opened a new career to all adventurers, and taught them, that the advantages of commerce and property are greater than those of a military and wandering life.† This reasoning is not without plausibility; but when we look into facts, and recur to history, we find little to countenance or support it. It was not by their example that the adventurers, who discovered and conquered the new world, could inspire their countrymen with the love of industry, or wean them from their immoderate attachment to the unsettled habits and precarious enjoyments of a military life. These adventurers acquired wealth, not by industry, but by rapine; not by cultivating the soil, but by plundering the cultivators. It was not by their skill and labour in peaceful pursuits, but by their sagacity and boldness in military enterprizes, that they amassed those riches, which dazzled the eyes and excited the emulation of their countrymen. Mining was the only branch of industry with which they were acquainted; but mining was in their hands a gaming adventure, in which they embarked without capital or knowledge,—allured by the riches, which sometimes rewarded, and undeterred by the ruin that more frequently attended such speculations. Nor was there such demand for her manufactures in the new world as could give, for some time at least, any considerable stimulus to the industry of the mother country; for we are informed, that sixty years after the discovery of America, the number of Spaniards in all the provinces did not exceed 15,000.§ Gold and silver, it is true, were poured in abundance into Spain; but when we consider through what hands they passed, and in what objects they were consumed, it ceases to surprise us that they were

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\* *Intro.* p. 6.

† *Ibid.* p. 62.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 74.

§ Robertson's *America*, Book 8.

were of little effect in rousing a spirit of industry among its inhabitants. The more opulent of the adventurers who returned from America, finding no materials of refined luxury in the rude industry and coarse manufactures of their native country, had recourse to the finer productions of Italy and Flanders, for objects to please their taste, and gratify their vanity. Those who came back with moderate fortunes, were of greater use to their country, by increasing the demand for its productions, and, as Ustariz informs us, by assisting the relations whom they had left at home, with capital to invest in cultivation, or embark in manufactures. \* That some encouragement was given to industry,—that some progress was made in opulence, in consequence of the wealth remitted from the colonies to the mother country, cannot be denied; but the effect was slight and transient. Before industry had taken root, or capital accumulated in Spain, oppression and prejudice interfered to check ~~them~~, war and taxation concurred to exhaust the other. The Crown, indeed, was enriched by the new world, and enabled to engage in vast and expensive enterprises, till then unheard of among the States of Europe. But, what were the consequences to Spain? Her strength was consumed in unnecessary wars, excited by the bigotry, or undertaken to gratify the ambition of her sovereigns. Her free constitution was subverted by the American revenue, which rendered her Kings independent of the Cortes. It was not the defeat of Padilla, but the victory over Montezuma, that gave the deathblow to her liberties. Whatever evils she has suffered from arbitrary government, Spain owes them to the followers of Cortez and Pizarro. The same hands that slaughtered the Indians, forged shackles for their countrymen at home. Mr Laborde asks, whether ‘Charles V. or Philip II. would have been less ambitious, if America had not been discovered?’ We answer,—their ambition might have been the same, but their power would have been less.

We are far from denying, that, for the last century, the intercourse of Spain with America has been highly beneficial to her. But we are now considering, not the present advantages of that connexion, but the influence which it exerted on the mother country during the 16th and 17th centuries.

To prove that emigration to America has not been prejudicial to population in Spain, Mr Laborde argues, that during the period when America is supposed to have produced the most fatal effects on the population of the mother country, the provinces of Arragon were in as deplorable a state as those of Castille, though ‘none but Castilians were allowed to trade or settle in the new world’

world for two centuries after its discovery.' \* This argument would not be without weight, provided the fact on which it rests had any foundation in truth. But so far is that from being the case, that natives of Arragon had a right to trade with the new world from the date of its first discovery; † and long before the period mentioned by Mr Laborde, an act was solemnly passed by Philip II. declaring the natives of Arragon equally admissible with his Castillian subjects to all honours and employments, civil or ecclesiastical, in the new world. ‡ Had Mr Laborde taken the trouble of only looking into the *recopilacion de las Indias*, § he would have found there a law as early as 1596, declaring that all persons should be considered as foreigners in the Spanish colonies, except natives of Castille, Leon, Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Navarres, and the isles of Majorca and Minorca as appendages of the crown of Arragon; a law evidently intended not to confer any new privileges on the natives of Arragon, but to exclude from all participation in the commerce or settlement of the Indies the Italian and Flemish subjects of the King of Spain. Such is the accuracy of Mr Laborde's facts, and such the confidence to be placed in his researches.

He next proceeds to inform us, that from the statements published by his friend Baron Humboldt, it appears that the population of New Spain doubles itself every 19 years; and as it does not consist at present of more than 1,200,000 persons of European descent, he concludes that the number of emigrants from Europe, who have settled in the colony since its first discovery, cannot have been great. || But he who proves too much, proves nothing. If Mr Humboldt's tables are exact, and the rate of increase has been the same since the first settlement of the colony, it would follow that the present population of New Spain, derived from an European stock, was descended from 38 individuals; but surely Mr Laborde will not maintain that the number of emigrants from the mother country has not been greater than this?

On the question itself, whether emigration to America has been a cause of depopulation in Spain? we conceive it almost unnecessary to offer an opinion. We have always considered that belief as a popular error of the most vulgar sort. It was unnecessary for Mr Laborde to have argued at so much length against it, and unfortunate to have argued with so little skill or effect. He has not even availed himself of the important observation of Ustariz, that Galicia, Asturias, Biscay and Navarre, the provinces

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\* Introd. p. 63.

† Antunez, Mem. hist. p. 268.

‡ Fueros de Arragon, 1585.

§ Lib. 9. tit. 27. law 28.

|| Introd. p. 65.

vinces which send most emigrants to America, are the best peopled provinces of the mother country. \*

After combating the opinion, that Spain has been impoverished and depopulated by her American possessions, Mr Laborde proceeds to the refutation of what he is pleased to term another paradox of the philosophers, viz. that the Inquisition in Spain has been 'the nurse of ignorance.' † His argument is, that the Inquisition was the consequence, not the cause of the bigotry of Spain. But, when he acknowledges that for the last sixty years the Inquisition has been actively employed in preventing the circulation of the best French and English books in that country, ‡ we apprehend that he unwarily admits the very fact against which he has been contending. The lenity with which he judges of the Inquisition in past times is truly edifying. He justifies the burning of Jews and Moriscoes on grounds of political expediency; and though he appears to have more compassion for the Spanish Lutherans, because they were old Christians, he cannot help applauding the government that punished them, for its steadiness in repressing, and sagacity in foreseeing the consequences of heresy among its subjects. But, while he is the apologist of atrocities which none of his countrymen for centuries past have mentioned without horror, he is unjust towards the Inquisition when he represents it as having become of late years a mere instrument in the hands of the government. He must have known that the attempts of the late profligate court of Spain to convert its members into state inquisitors were uniformly unsuccessful, and that this much decried and ill constituted tribunal displayed a firmness and rectitude of conduct, on these occasions, which would have done honour to the purest and most respectable courts of justice. The principle of the Inquisition is so bad that we rejoice at its abolition; but when we consider the quarter from which it has been struck, we must believe that its virtues and not its vices have hastened its dissolution.

The itinerary or description of the provinces of Spain, which forms the body of Mr. Laborde's book, contains, besides general remarks on each province in particular, a minute description of every thing to be seen in its most remarkable towns and villages, with an account of the principal roads, and even of the cross roads that lead from one place to another. Such a road book, if well executed, would be an useful and amusing companion to a traveller in Spain, though to every one else it must be dull and tiresome in the extreme. We should therefore have confined our observations on this part of Mr Laborde's performance

\* Ustariz, p. 21.

† Introd. p. 62,

‡ Ibid. p. 94.

ance to the general topics on which it occasionally dilates, if we had not by chance discovered, in looking into his itinerary, that, instead of being a work which had cost him 'many years labour, and many thousand pounds expense,' it is little else than a compilation from Ponz; a patch-work composition, collected and put together with infinite pains and industry, by the help of a common post book, from the tedious and prolix volumes of that unsparing and indefatigable traveller. Our suspicion of this deceit which Mr Laborde has practised on his readers, was first excited by his account of the road from Almaraz to Truxillo, in which he places the Puerto de Miravete, not between the bridge of Almaraz and Jaraicejo where it is really situated, but farther on, between Jaraicejo and Truxillo; \* a mistake of the same nature, as if a tourist in giving his route from London to Edinburgh were to place Highgate hill to the north of Barnes. The Puerto de Miravete is so conspicuous a point in the geography of that country, and so important as a military position, commanding the passage of the Tagus, and overlooking the extensive plain from Talavera to the Tietar, that no one who had ever travelled over the road could have fallen into such a blunder. We were therefore convinced that Mr Laborde had described a journey which he had never performed; and looking into Ponz, we found the secret of his travels, and the source of his mistake explained to us. Ponz happens never to have travelled along the great road from Almaraz to Truxillo, and has therefore given no account of it in his book; but having arrived at Truxillo by a different route, he thought proper to introduce a short description of Jaraicejo which he had left behind; and in giving some account of the adjacent country, he mentions the Puerto de Miravete; and his description being dated from Truxillo, he naturally says that the Puerto is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  league on the other side of the river Almonte. † Mr Laborde follows, and borrows his description; but not adverting to the supposed course of his own travels, which are in the opposite direction, he places the Puerto not  $1\frac{1}{2}$  league to the north, but two leagues to the south of the Almonte, within an equal distance of Truxillo.

After detecting Mr Laborde in this attempt to impose upon his readers, we were led to a more minute examination of his itinerary, in the course of which we discovered innumerable instances where he has described journeys that in our opinion he never made, and criticized objects which we are satisfied he never saw. We found, for instance, though he had been laboriously employed in Extremadura in tracing the Roman ways described

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\* Vol. I. p. 342.

† Ponz, tit. 7. p. 177.

in the itinerary of Antoninus,' \* that from misapprehension of a passage in Ponz, he conducts his reader from Galisteo to Coria, along 'a road almost entirely covered with wrecks of Roman grandeur,' † while Ponz, who really performed the journey, assures us, that at Galisteo we quit the Roman way; which does not proceed to Coria, but goes off to Canaveral and Cáceres ‡ In his account of the road from Anduxar to Cordova, Mr Laborde informs us; that passing the bridge of Alcolea, and proceeding afterwards to Cordova, along the banks of the Guadalquivir; it is necessary to cross the river a second time before we enter that city; § a mistake into which no one could have fallen who had ever made the journey, or reflected on the situation of Cordova upon the north side of the river. At Xerez Mr Laborde places the Carthusian convent 'in a charming situation in the town,' though it happens to be at nearly a league's distance. || In his journey to Cadiz he follows the same route with Ponz, though new and better roads have been since constructed; and in his description of that city and its environs, he finds the same public buildings, and the same improvements going on, as in the time of that painstaking traveller. Ponz is an invaluable assistant for a tourist of Mr Laborde's description, but he is also a very dangerous guide. He is constantly hunting after pictures, statues, altar-pieces, or buildings; and often quits the high road without giving warning to his reader, and pursues zig-zag ways of his own in pursuit of these objects. It requires a vigilant attention to maps and post books not to be misled. Mr Laborde has, on the whole, followed him with laudable caution. But who can be equally on his guard at all times? Ignorance of the country and confidence in Ponz have made him conduct his traveller by a break-neck road from Madrid to San Ildefonso; ¶ and the haste of a copyist has led him, in his route from Malaga to Antequera, to make choice of one road for his journey, and inadvertently to give the description of another. \*\* This is not the only inconvenience attending the use of Ponz. Many places have undergone great changes since the publication of his travels, and therefore it is not always safe to copy his remarks, or trust to his descriptions. Mr Laborde, for example, admires the statue of St Jerome in the convent of Buena Vista near Seville, but laments that 'it is in a bad place to judge of its merits.' †† He is not aware, that since that remark was made by Ponz, ‡‡ the statue has been placed in an excellent situation for being seen. In his journey

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\* Introd. p. 52.

† Vol. I. p. 369.

‡ Ponz, tom. 8. p. 44.

§ Vol. II. p. 24.

|| Vol. II. p. 64.

¶ Vol. III. p. 156.

\*\* Vol. II. p. 93.

†† Vol. II. p. 57.

‡‡ Ponz, t. 9. p. 146.

journey from Madrid to Talavera, he crosses the Guadarrama by a wooden bridge; \* but, though there was a wooden bridge over the river where Ponz passed it in 1778, † he ought to have known that many years ago it was replaced by one of stone. Some of his mistakes are mere errors of translation, which his haste to come out with his book prevented him from seeing and correcting. He has given his readers two descriptions of the village of Tarazona: in the first he states its population at 4000; ‡ in the second he reduces it to 1000, § from a mistake of the word *vecinos* in Ponz, || which means not inhabitants, but householders. He has fallen into the same error in his account of the population of Guadalcaval. ¶ At Plasencia he has confounded the subject of a bust with the artist; \*\* and at Ecisa he has removed the statue of the infant Don Lewis from its pedestal, and placed that of the Apostle Paul in its stead. ††

We shall not fatigue our readers by multiplying examples of such mistakes, nor accumulate further proofs of the charge we have brought against Mr Laborde. We have no doubt of his having travelled in Spain; and though his descriptions of Catalonia and Valencia are not free from very gross errors, we think we see in them internal evidence of his having resided for some time in these provinces. But we have no hesitation in asserting, that his itinerary is not what it pretends to be,—a transcript from his journal, 'left nearly as it was committed to paper on the very spots where it was written;' †† but, on the contrary, a compilation of notes and extracts from Ponz and other authors, collected and put together with an industry that would have merited praise, if its object had been commendable.

It is due to Mr Laborde to add, that he acknowledges, in his introduction, that he has taken his account of 'some roads which he had not travelled, from the Abbé Ponz.' §§ But our charge against him is this, that wherever he could borrow from Ponz, he has compiled his itinerary from the travels of that author. Where Ponz was silent, Mr Laborde was necessarily compelled to draw his materials from other sources. To what extent his own travels have been used for that purpose, we pretend not to have ascertained. But, we think, there is internal evidence in the volumes before us, that he has not, any more than Ponz, travelled over the northern provinces of Galicia, Asturias, and Biscay. On the other hand, as we have not traced his account

\* Vol. III. p. 206.

§ Vol. III. p. 189.

\*\* Vol. II. p. 366.

¶¶ Introd. p. 124.

† Ponz, t. 7. p. 5.

|| Ponz, 3. p. 172.

†† Vol. III. p. 41.

‡ Vol. III. p. 178.

§ Vol. II. p. 2.

¶¶ Introd. p. 124.



of Murcia to any other author, we are inclined to think that part of his Itinerary is original.

Mr Laborde has intermixed, with his itinerary, general remarks upon the provinces, in which he has been particularly careful to furnish us with the most minute details respecting their agricultural productions, their commerce and manufactures. We should have been better pleased, we confess, if these details had been made the foundation of some political or statistical conclusions. Unconnected facts upon these subjects are of little utility; and, unless they have been sifted and examined with judgment, they are little to be relied upon. Mere collectors of facts, without general views or principles to direct them, are apt to be credulous, and sure to be incorrect. Instead of exercising their judgment on the information they receive, they enter in their notebooks whatever they are told, and believe it afterwards, because they find it there. They begin with being deceived, and end with deceiving others. Mr Laborde has concealed from us the sources from which he has derived his information, and has therefore withheld from us the means of estimating its value. His statistical tables of produce, and those printed in 1804 by authority of the Spanish government, are perpetually at variance. But it is not impossible that Mr Laborde's tables may be the more accurate of the two; for we have understood that the others are extremely inexact. We must confess, however, that in the only instance in which we have been able to judge of the accuracy of his information, we have found it incorrect. He states the annual exportation of wine from Xerez at 50,000 quintals; \* but we happen to know, from the best authority, that, for the last few years, the exportation of wine from that territory has varied from 11,000 to 13,000 burts a-year; that is, from 84,000 to 99,000 quintals. Mr Laborde's information is in this instance derived from Ponz. †

In his journey through Catalonia, Mr Laborde is led to make some observations on the Catalans, which show that he has studied their character with attention. His account of the Valencians is more diffuse, but not without merit. His picture of the Murcians, though executed with ability, is evidently delineated by one, who has no disposition to soften or conceal the defects of his subject. His description of the processions, festivals, and other religious ceremonies of these provinces, though meant to be lively and amusing, is, on the contrary, insufferably flat, tedious, and unentertaining. His allusions to history, which frequently occur in the course of his narrative, betray an ignorance,

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\* Vol. II. p. 127.

† Ponz, t. 17. p. 262.

or carelessness, which is quite inexcusable. His mistakes and blunders upon subjects of that sort, are so numerous, and so gross, that, had he not been held up to us as 'an erudite antiquary,' who was only prevented by other avocations from composing a 'philosophical and political history of Spain,' we should have thought it a waste of time to expose them. As it is, a few specimens will be sufficient. He talks of the battle of Munda, as one fought between the sons of Pompey and Augustus Cæsar.\* He tells us gravely, that 'the Alani founded a Gothic dynasty, and fixed their court at Toledo.'† In his enumeration of Gothic sovereigns, he 'includes neither Athanaric, nor Alaric, who reigned in some parts of Spain, the former in 369, the latter in 382, because their reigns were precarious; they left no successors.'‡ These worthy monarchs left no successors, for the best of all reasons, that they had no existence; for the first irruption of the Barbarians into Spain was in 411; and the Goths did not enter the Peninsula till 417, and then in the character of friends and allies of the Romans. Earic, a Gothic king, who reigned in Spain from 467 to 483, and abolished the authority of the Romans in that country, is said by Mr Laborde to have conquered Catalonia in 712.§ Nor is he more correct, or better informed, in his account of the Saracens. Spain, he tells us, was 'at length made subject to the Caliphs of Bagdad.'|| He ought to have known, that Spain had shaken off the yoke of the Caliphs, before the seat of their government was transferred from Damascus. He confounds the Omniades, Almoravides, and Almohades;¶ and criticises the pretension of the Valencians to have had bishops from 517 to 862, because 'we know that the Moors allowed of no bishopric in the beginning of their dominion.'\*\*\* Where Mr Laborde acquired this piece of knowledge, we are curious to know; for the contrary is so notoriously the fact, that no one who has the slightest acquaintance with the history of Spain under the Moors can be ignorant of it. But if Mr Laborde is sceptical about the Valencian bishops, he makes up for it by his credulity with regard to Theudimer's treaty, the original of which he believes is still extant, and preserved in the library of the Escorial.†† To follow him in his course of blundering through the middle ages, would be a task equally irk-

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\* Vol. III. p. 381.

† Ibid. p. 59.

‡ Ibid. p. 60.

§ Vol. I. p. 4.

|| Vol. III. p. 60.

¶ Vol. II. p. 19, 20.

\*\*\* Vol. I. p. 152.

†† Vol. II. p. 155. Theudimer's treaty of peace with the Saracens, concluded in 715, has been published, with a Latin translation, by Casiri, from an Arabic history preserved in the Escorial.

some and unprofitable. We shall mention only two of his mistakes, which are of a nature more ludicrous than the others. He converts Alcala de Henares into a celebrated divine, who flourished in the 4th century; \* and makes the Catalan word *remença*, which means ransom, the name of a town, the inhabitants of which, he tells us, were enfranchised by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1483. †

The two last volumes of Mr Laborde's book are entitled, 'A Sketch of the different Departments of Government, and of the various Branches of productive Industry in Spain;' and are divided into chapters on population, agriculture, &c.; on which we shall make a few observations in the order in which they succeed.

In his first chapter, which is on *population*, Mr Laborde repeats all the fabulous accounts of the antient populousness of Spain, which he had held so cheap in his Introduction; and though he admits, that these 'pompous' statements 'have been reduced to their proper value' by Capmany, he thinks it 'not devoid of probability,' that 'in the time of Julius Cæsar, Spain contained at one time forty millions of people; and at another time, fifty-two.' ‡ To explain the wonderful decrease which is now observed, he has recourse, among other causes, to the multitude of persons killed during the internal warfare that raged without intermission in Spain from the 8th to the 16th century; not to speak of the vast armies that have since perished in Flanders, Italy, and Germany; the whole 'number of victims,' as he justly remarks, being 'beyond calculation.' § What a pity he had not taken also into the account the vast number of persons who died a natural death during the same period, as his calculation must in that case have been still more formidable, and left us in amazement that there were any persons still alive in Spain. We observed with surprise, that he makes the number of Spanish grandees, in 1768, to be 722,794; and the number of married persons, at a later period, to be 3,890,661. We explained the first error, from his mistaking the meaning of the word *Hidalgo*; but what to make of the odd married person, was a puzzling matter to us. Sometimes we were inclined to think, that he had adopted the vulgar story of the Prince of Peace having two wives; but on maturer reflection we are of opinion, that he alludes to the *half marriage* of the Infant Don Lewis; for as two halves make a whole, so two half-married persons may be justly held to make a whole one.

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\* Vol. III. p. 318.

† Vol. IV. p. 4.

‡ Vol. I. p. 6.

§ Vol. IV. p. 14, 15, 16.

The chapter on *agriculture*, which follows that on population, contains a translation of the valuable report of Jovellanos on the obstacles to the progress of agriculture in Spain; and had that report been tolerably well translated, we should have forgiven the innumerable errors with which every other part of the work is filled.\* But justice to the excellent and truly philosophical author of that report, compels us to state, that the translation is in every respect unworthy of its original,—without eloquence—without spirit—and without precision. If any of our readers have had the misfortune to peruse Macpherson's Homer, or Trapp's Virgil, they and they only can judge of its demerits.

We should have bestowed a more patient attention on Mr Laborde's account of Spanish agriculture, if he had condescended to inform us from what sources it was derived; for as to his own agricultural attainments, we held them very cheap, from the moment we discovered that he mistook the *Esporto* rush for Spanish broom.\* Nor do we think that his powers of reasoning upon these subjects, are calculated to inspire us with much confidence in his conclusions. Lamenting the deficiency of horned cattle in Spain, he sagaciously remarks, that if they were used in husbandry, instead of mules, they 'would be still less adequate to the demand.'† Now, we apprehend, with submission to Mr Laborde, that the very reason why there are so few horned cattle in Spain is, the preference of mules to oxen in the labour of husbandry.

He gives an interesting account of the *positos*, or public granaries, in which the peasants were invited, and finally commanded to deposit their grain, as a security against bad seasons, and a resource for seed-time.‡ But he forgets to add, that the late regular government, at the instigation of his own countryman, General Leclerc, and to feed a French army, seized upon the corn so deposited, and gave the peasants, in return, the strongest assurances that it would be replaced, whenever the times were more favourable.

Mr Laborde is a violent enemy of the Merino sheep; and to make them more odious, he pretends, that their custom of travelling, and the servitudes arising from it, were introduced after the great plague in 1349, when there were not people left in the country to cultivate the fields.§ Admitting this to be the case, it proves little against the Merinos; but Mr Laborde ought to have known, that, besides traces of similar migrations in the laws of the Visigoths, mention is made, as early as 1311, in the pro-

\* Vol. II. p. 153, 184.

† Vol. IV. p. 62.

‡ Vol. IV. p. 87.

§ Ibid. p. 52.

ceedings of the Cortes, of the *canadas* or paths for the travelling Merinos; and, as early as 1329, there were *Alcaldes* and *Entregadores* of the Mesta.

The chapter on *manufactures* is a repetition of the vulgar errors, which he had treated with such scorn in his Introduction. Among other instances of credulity, he tells us, that the woollen manufactures of Segovia employed 34,189 persons, \* at a time when contemporary authors inform us, that city contained only 5000 families, and consequently, not 25,000 inhabitants. † But no assertion is too extraordinary for Mr Laborde, when he is in one of his believing moods. He tells us, for example, that the city of Toledo used to make seven millions of red woollen night caps annually, and that the weavers of Segovia manufactured twenty-five thousand pieces of cloth from forty-five thousand pounds of wool. ‡

In a manufacturing country like ours, it is natural to have respect for manufacturing industry; but we apprehend Mr Laborde's admiration of woollens must appear excessive even in Yorkshire. Arts, arms, and letters, have each, in their turn, conferred immortality upon nations; but, in Mr Laborde's judgement, 'general opinion considers the reign of Charles I. as the most brilliant period in the annals of Spain; for that was the epoch when the exportation of cloths, serges, and other stuffs commenced.' §

Mr Laborde's chapter on *commerce* is not exempt from the defects, which we have been compelled to notice in the other parts of his book. Besides a total deficiency of general views in his reasonings, we meet in every page with inconsistencies in his statements, and errors in his facts. He tells us, for example, that 'Galicia exports none of its provisions;' and, in the sentence that immediately follows, he adds, that 'it abounds with cattle, and the inhabitants are principally occupied with fishing and curing pilchards, both of which are exported in quantities to different parts of Spain;' and after enumerating its other branches of trade, he concludes with the following profound remarks. 'Hence results an export trade, which exceeds the import, to the great advantage of Galicia.' ||

As Mr Laborde has been at evident pains to collect information for his reader on the commerce of Spain! It is surprising that he never met with the *Balanza del Comercio de Espana* for 1792, printed by the Spanish government in 1803, where he would have found tables long enough and numerous enough for his purpose. Having had the curiosity to compare some of the statements, in

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\* Vol. IV. p. 327.

† Sandoval—Carlos, &c. Vol. I. p. 224.

‡ Vol. IV. p. 338.

§ Ibid. p. 331.

|| Ibid. p. 382, 383.

Mr Laborde's general table, of the foreign commerce of Spain \* with those of the *balanza*, reducing the quantities in both to the same denominations, we shall present our readers with the results, leaving them to decide, whether most credit is due to Mr Laborde or to the Spanish Customhouse.

<i>Articles.</i>	EXPORTS,	
	<i>according to the Balanza.</i>	<i>according to Mr Laborde.</i>
Wine from Valencia,	272,683 arrobas.	971,500 arrobas.
Ditto from Xerez,	306,536	200,000
Ditto from Malaga,	385,214	1,600,000
Brandy from all Spain,	1,094,609	1,534,375
Raisins from Malaga,	640,000	1,000,000
Barilla, Soda, &c.	214,000	329,000 .
Washed Wool,	417,266	500,000
Unwashed ditto,	28,580	60,000

We shall only add, that, according to Mr Laborde's table, Malaga alone exports one third more of wine than, according to the *balanza*, the whole of Spain does; but, in return, Mr Laborde states the price of Malaga at little more than one third of the price of Sherry.

The chapter on *roads, bridges and causeways*, and that on *canals and inland navigation*, contain little that calls for our animadversion. We observe, however, that several important roads are omitted in Mr Laborde's enumeration; particularly the magnificent one from Corunna to Astorga, and the spacious and excellent one from Badajoz to Seville. Mr Laborde is unreasonable in complaining of a deficiency of bridges in Spain; and when he states that there are only two over the Guadalquivir, he forgets the one at Anduxar, which he must have passed, if he had ever travelled from Madrid to Cadiz by the great post road.

In his chapter on *government*, Mr Laborde exerts himself, for the third or fourth time in the course of his book, to prove to the Spaniards, that, in general, they have been governed by royal families of French extraction. We shall not stop to examine the accuracy of his historical deductions, though we observe, by the way, that he confounds the first house of Burgundy with the house of Bourbon. But for what purpose, we ask, is he so anxious to establish so unimportant a point? It cannot be meant as a reproach to Spaniards, by any Frenchman of the present day, that their ancestors submitted to be governed by princes of a foreign origin. Nor can it be intended as an indirect recommendation of Joseph Bonaparte; for, not to speak of the weakness of

the argument, if so frivolous a consideration were entitled to any weight at all, it ought to operate to his prejudice; his family, though seated on the French throne, being indisputably Corsican.

The account of the *Camara* and *Council of Castille* in the same chapter, is not quite correct; but we suspect that this is, in part at least, the fault of the English translator; to whom we beg leave to suggest, that there is no *cabinet*, no court of *Common-pleas*, no *high constables* in Spain; and that a *Fiscal* is not a *cashier*, but a sort of Attorney-general.

The two following chapters, which treat of the *Military Establishments* and *Finances*, are chiefly remarkable for being behind hand in their information. A state is given of the army for 1798, and one of the navy for 1793. The account of the finances is not brought lower down than 1791. We know, from experience, how difficult it is to procure satisfactory and consistent information upon Spanish finances; and can therefore excuse Mr Laborde more readily in this, than in any other parts of his work, for the deficiencies of its execution. But we own, we are surprised, that he has not been able to obtain more recent accounts than those which he has published; and we cannot pay him the compliment of saying, that he has placed the subject in a clearer light than he found it; or that he appears to have given himself the smallest trouble to digest the information he had collected.

The fourth volume concludes with tables of *Measures, Weights, and Coins*.

The fifth volume begins with a chapter on *Ecclesiastical Government*, in which, we confess, that we have met with rather more of what the French call *onction*, than suits our palate. We have found also the usual proportion of historical blunders; and recollecting that Mr Laborde, in his Introduction, abuses ordinary historians for their attention to unimportant facts, we begin to suspect that he has formed a theory about writing history, without any regard to facts at all. His account of the Muzarabic ritual, is the fruit either of gross ignorance or of great prejudice. Whether *that* or the Roman ritual ought to have been preferred, we pretend not to decide; but that it was untainted with Mahometanism, requires no further argument to convince us, than that it was reestablished by Cardinal Ximenes, and is still preserved in the metropolitan church of Toledo.

The next chapter, on the *Administration of Justice*, contains a very tolerable account of the judicial establishments of Spain, with some good observations on the defective administration of justice in that country; but we observe with regret, that, like the other parts of Mr Laborde's book, it is contaminated with historical blunders. He supposes, that the code of Alaric, called *Breviarium*

*viarium Aniani*, is the same with the *Fuero Juzgo*, and denominates the *recopilacion* or digest of the Spanish law, a collection of occasional edicts by the Kings of Spain.

The chapters on *Nobility, Royal and Military Orders, and Mayorazgos*, require no particular animadversion. From an expression in the chapter on nobility, it appears to have been written before the French Revolution. Many passages, indeed, in Mr Laborde's book, have convinced us, that it is not so recent a compilation as the Introduction would give us to understand. A great part of it, we are satisfied, was put together a long time since, in the same state in which it is now presented to the world. The census of 1797, which appeared in 1801, had not been published when Mr Laborde wrote his chapter on population, as he acknowledges in a passage, which certainly shows that he was then unacquainted with its results.

In his chapters on the *State of Science and State of Medicine*, Mr Laborde gives a melancholy, and, we fear, not exaggerated description of the deficiencies of the Spanish seminaries of education. He sums up his account of them in the following paragraph.

'Such are the establishments in Spain for the advancement of science: in number fully adequate to the wants of the nation; but in spirit, activity and acquaintance with modern discoveries, miserably deficient. Their schools of astronomy are destitute of instruments and observatories; their courses of natural philosophy are without experiments; their teachers of natural history are unfurnished with cabinets; their professors of anatomy give no demonstrations; their schools of chemistry are without laboratories and apparatus; and their libraries are destitute of modern books.'

To the general truth of this picture, we apprehend that little objection can be offered. Some exception might be made in favour of particular schools of education. The University of Salamanca, for example, is no longer in the state described by Mr Laborde. His information upon this, as upon many other subjects, is often singularly behind hand. He mentions, for instance, the *Colégios Mayores* in his account of Salamanca, but seems not to be aware that they have been suppressed for many years. There occurs also, in this chapter, which is certainly none of the worst of his book, a blunder of the most ridiculous kind. 'Lewis Velasquez,' he observes, 'wrote on coins; and Burriel published an able and interesting work on the weights, measures, writing, and antient laws of *California*.' Burriel, it is true, wrote a very curious and learned report, which was published in the name of the city of Toledo, on the antient weights and measures of Castile, containing many interesting particulars, and some original views, on the antient legislature and municipal constitution



tion of the kingdom: he wrote also a very ingenious essay on the origin of the Spanish language, entitled, *Paleografía Española*; and he edited a description of California, compiled by Padre Venegas. These works Mr Laborde has embodied into one, and imagined for it a title compounded of the titles of all three.

The chapters on the *Spanish Literature, Theatre and Language*, demand a much longer commentary than we have leisure or inclination to bestow. Mr Laborde has afforded few materials for criticism; but left ample room for dissertation upon these subjects. His catalogue of authors is full of names; but his estimate of their merits is vague, and seldom extends beyond a general praise or disapprobation of their works. He has contrived, however, in the few remarks he has offered, to console us for their brevity. What regard, in fact, is due to a critic, who pronounces Herrera to be one of the best of the Spanish historians; or what impression does he give of his acquaintance with Spanish literature, when he crowds his pages with obscure names, and omits that of Fray Lewis de Leon, whom his countrymen esteem one of their first poets, and the purest certainly, and best, of their writers in prose? Fray Lewis de Leon is not the only author of celebrity, whom we have missed in Mr Laborde's ample, though ill furnished catalogue. We looked in vain among his poets for Rioja, and among his historians for Moncada, Santa Coloma, Mondejar, Sandoval, Lopez de Ayala, Pulgar, and, if we dare place him in that list, for Antonio Perez. As to the authors of the present day, we very soon discovered, that it was idle to look for them. A passage, which Mr Laborde, in the hurry of publication, had neglected to erase from his original notes, satisfied us, that, whoever was the author of his chapter on Spanish literature, it was composed before 1779, when the poem of the Cid was published by Sanchez, and probably soon after 1758, when Fray Gerundio first made its appearance.

In his account of the Spanish stage, Mr Laborde has given the following description of that amusing species of drama peculiar to Spain, called *Saynete*.

'Saynetes,' he observes, 'are short prose comedies in one act, which very naturally represent the manners, habits and customs of the common people, with their modes of life, and the grotesque and comic scenes to which these may be supposed to give rise. Every thing in these pieces is natural; every thing is imitated with so much fidelity and truth, that the spectator imagines himself a witness of real transactions. The plot is usually simple, but lively; and the dialogue abounds with point and repartee. The acting greatly as-

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sists the effect. The Spanish performers have an inimitable talent for this kind of low comedy; they appear to have been born and bred in the different conditions they represent; and the illusion produced is complete.'

To the truth and accuracy of this description, we can bear ample testimony. A stranger, who is desirous of studying the peculiarities of character, manners, customs, or dress, that prevail in the different provinces of Spain, will not easily find a shorter or better school, and certainly cannot find a more amusing one, than the theatre, when these saynetes are represented.

In his chapter on the *State of the Arts*, we meet with the following remarks on the Spanish school of painting, which appear to us to convey a just and not exaggerated idea of its merits.

'Of all the liberal arts,' observes Mr Laborde, 'painting is that which has been most cultivated in Spain, and in which its natives have best succeeded. The Spanish school is little known, and deserves to be more so. It holds a middle place between the Italian and Flemish schools. It is more natural than the first, more noble than the second, and participates in the beauties of both. It is not in the correctness of design or nobleness of form, that the Spanish artists usually excel, but in the pure imitation of nature, in grace, truth, effect, and expression of feeling.'

But, even upon this subject, where Mr Laborde seems more at home than in any other part of his work, he cannot, by some strange fatality, mention a date, without committing a blunder. Velasquez, whose portraits of Philip III. and IV., and of the Count Duke of Olivares, are among the most valuable of the pictures in the Royal Palace at Madrid, he tells us, was born in 1653, and died in 1725; that is, was born thirty-two years after the death of Philip III., eight years after the death of the Count Duke, and only twelve years before the death of Philip IV. The real dates of the birth and death of Velasquez, were 1599 and 1660.

The concluding chapters on the *Physical Constitution of the Spaniards*, on their *Character and Manners*, their *Usages and Customs*, their *Dress*, their *Ceremonies*, and *Public Festivals*, are executed, on the whole, with judgment and discrimination. We select the following observations on the Spanish character, as affording, with the extracts which we have made in these last pages, the most favourable specimens we have been able to give of Mr Laborde's performance.

'Some customs and some traits of character run through all the provinces. The national pride is everywhere the same. The Spaniard has the highest opinion of his nation and himself, which he energetically expresses in all his gestures, words and actions. This opinion is discovered in all ranks of life and classes of society; in crimes

crimes and in virtues ; among the great and the small ; under the rags of poverty as much as in the royal palace. Its result is a kind of haughtiness, repulsive sometimes to him who is its object, but useful in giving to the mind a sentiment of nobleness and self-esteem, which fortifies it against all meanness. This pride may be considered as one cause of the great number of persons who quit the world, and embrace the ecclesiastical profession ; the slightest contempt, the least constraint, often produces on these haughty dispositions the effect of real misfortunes.

‘ The Spaniards are extremely reserved ; they have little of those exterior demonstrations, of that deceitful show which is called politeness. They do not make advances to a stranger ; they wait for him to begin ; they watch his conduct ; and do not give him their confidence, till they think they know him. Their address is serious, cold, sometimes even repulsive ; but, under this unpromising exterior, they conceal a worthy heart and a great disposition to oblige ; they scatter around their benefits, without endeavouring to make a merit of them ; and grant without having promised. ’

‘ The Spaniard is very slow in all his operations. He often deliberates when he ought to act, and spoils affairs as much by his temporizing as other nations by their precipitation. They have a proverb contrary to one of ours ;—they say, that one should never do to day what may be put off till to-morrow. This slowness of the Spaniards appears incompatible with the vivacity of their imagination ; it is the consequence of the distrust and circumspection that are natural to them ; but when their pride is irritated, their anger provoked, or their generosity stimulated, they wake in a moment from their apathy, and are capable of the most violent and the most noble actions. ’

We apprehend, that, in the last paragraph, Mr Laborde has hit upon the true defect of the Spanish character,—the one certainly the most prejudicial to them in the arduous conflict in which they are at present engaged. This disposition of mind makes them confound procrastination with deliberation ; and imagine that, when they have put off an important determination, they have acquired some security, that, when taken, it will be a right one. To the activity, knowledge, and foresight of their assailants, they have nothing to oppose, but an invincible constancy and firmness, which reverses have never shaken for a moment. If they have not achieved victories, they have not suffered themselves to be dispirited by defeats. If they have been improvident in success, they have not been despondent in misfortune. Their armies have been dispersed, and their towns pillaged, but the possessions of their enemy are still limited by the immediate terrors of his power ; and extend not, after all his victories, beyond the precincts of his camps and garrisons.

The hypocrisy with which Mr Laborde bewails the misfortunes of a war, the most unjust and unprovoked of any undertaken in an

an age fruitful in injustice, deserves to be exhibited in his own words. 'Good Spaniards!' he exclaims, 'who have thus heap'd kindnesses on me without even looking for my gratitude, who have rendered those unhappy times so easy to me, may you, in your turn, find some asylum amidst the troubles which rend your country! Alas! perhaps flames are about to consume those houses in which I have been received! perhaps cannon are already destroying those monuments of your religion and history, of which you are so proud!' Who would believe, that this Mr Laborde, with such sentiments of gratitude on his lips, has lately repaired to Madrid, and there resumed his former connexions with the literary men of that capital, not for the purpose of assisting or consoling them in their misfortunes, but in order to extort from them certain valuable manuscripts, which, in hours of former confidence, they had unwarily made known to him. It is but fair to add, that, in one attempt of that sort, he was checked by the interference of a French officer of rank.

Before bringing this article to a conclusion, we owe to Mr Laborde the justice to state, that we have not been able to see his original work, and that our remarks have therefore been necessarily founded on a translation, which bears evident marks of having been hastily executed, and by one who, we apprehend, is but imperfectly acquainted with many of the subjects treated in the work. But, in justice to ourselves, we have also to add, that we have suppressed many unfavourable criticisms that had occurred to us, when it appeared to us, on further reflection, that the fault might lie, not with the author, but with the translator.

ART. V. *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, with some of the Letters of her Correspondents. Part the First; containing her Letters from an early Age to the Age of Twenty-three.* Published by Matthew Montagu, Esq. M. P. her Nephew and Executor. 2 vol. 12mo. pp. 630. London, 1809.

THESE two sizeable volumes contain a selection from the letters written by Mrs Montagu while under the age of twenty-three. Now, considering that this celebrated lady lived to be upwards of eighty, and probably did not grow less communicative as she grew older and better known, it certainly was not without some alarm that we ventured to calculate, by this scale, the probable bulk of the whole publication. We have read through this introductory part of it, however, without any extraordinary impatience; and trust that, when the time comes, we shall be endow'd

dowed with strength sufficient to do the same duty to the successive parts which may be awaiting us.

A considerable portion of the letters now before us are published, we should suppose, rather as curiosities, than on account of their intrinsic excellence. Several of them—and by no means the worst in the collection—were written, it seems, while the author was under fifteen years of age; and would certainly be considered as extraordinary performances—even in this age of premature womanhood and infant accomplishment. The subsequent letters, indeed, scarcely keep the promise that is held out by those early effusions. They are not at all more lively or more natural; and are all the worse, we think, for being more plentifully garnished with moral reflections and morsels of elaborate flattery. If the correspondence does not improve faster in its subsequent stages, we fear greatly that there will be no climax in the reader's admiration.

The merit of the pieces before us seems to us to consist mainly in the great gaiety and vivacity with which they are written. The wit, to be sure, is often childish, and generally strained and artificial; but still it both sparkles and abounds: and though we should admire it more if it were better selected, or even if there were less of it, we cannot witness this profuse display of spirits and ingenuity, without receiving a strong impression of the talents and ambition of the writer.

The faults of the letters, on the other hand, are more numerous. In the first place, they have, properly speaking, no subjects. They are all letters of mere idleness, friendship, and flattery. There are no events,—no reasonings,—no anecdotes of persons who are still remembered,—no literature, and scarcely any original or serious opinions. The whole staple of the correspondence consists of a very smart and lively account of every-day occurrences and every-day people,—a few common-places of reflection and friendship,—and a considerable quantity of little, playful, petulant caricatures of the writer's neighbours and acquaintances. All this has a fine familiar effect, when interspersed with more substantial matter,—or when it drops from the pen of a man of weight and authority; but whole volumes of mere prattlement from a very young lady, are apt, however gay and innocent, to produce all the symptoms of heavier reading.

A second, and perhaps a greater fault, is want of nature and simplicity; and this, in so far as we can judge, pervades the whole strain of the correspondence. There is an incessant effort to be witty or eloquent, which takes away from the grace of success, and makes failure ridiculous. There is no flow from the heart, —no repose for the imagination,—no indolent sympathy of confidence.

fidence. Every thing is gilded and varnished in the most ostentatious manner, and exposed in the broadest light. It is not the learning only, or the ridicule, that is introduced for effect;—all the familiarity must be brilliant, and all the trifling picturesque. It is evident, in short, that Mrs Montagu wrote rather from the love of her own glory, than from any interest in the subjects of her correspondence; and the less we can sympathize with this feeling, the less we shall be delighted with her performance.

The last, and the most serious want we shall notice in this girl's correspondence, is the want of heart and affection. We naturally reckon upon a little romance in the confidential epistles of a damsel of eighteen; or, at any rate, upon some warmth of attachment: but, in these letters, though we have plenty of eloquent professions of friendship, we confess that we have looked in vain for this common bloom of sensibility. There is no softness, —no enthusiasm,—nothing which could, for one moment, be mistaken for the language of tenderness or emotion. Yet these are letters to chosen friends and early associates; and embrace the period in which the writer became a wife and a mother. It is not enough that the letters of a woman should be lively and witty;—female gaiety loses both its charm and its dignity, when it is not shaded with softness;—even female intellect is not quite respectable without it. The readers of *Mad. de Sevigné* complain, indeed, of the vehemence and anxiety of her attachment to her daughter; yet, importunate as that feeling is, we verily believe that it gives the chief charm to her correspondence. The image of that warm and watchful affection is constantly impressed upon our recollection; it redeems all the levities, and gives an interest to all the details of her letters; and carries us, with ready good nature, into all the anecdotes which appear to have amused a creature at once so sprightly and so kindhearted. Mrs Montagu, on the other hand, no doubt appears very good-natured and obliging; but without any devotedness of affection, or much concern, beyond that of admiration and amusement. On the whole, we think her professions of friendship and serious morality the least attractive parts of her performance. Her ludicrous descriptions and witty remarks, except that they are always too elaborate, are often tolerably successful; but the most entertaining of all, we think, are her lively personalities,—those half malicious, half playful delineations of common acquaintance, by which the merriment and the jealousies of polite society have been chiefly maintained, ever since the period of its first formation.

Those who like the prattlement of young ladies, must naturally have some curiosity to know how they prattled seventy years ago. These volumes will certainly gratify that curiosity; and, indeed,

are so completely devoted to its gratification, that we scarcely know upon what ground to recommend them to those who do not feel it. One other thing, however, they may serve to illustrate; and that is, the very little change that has taken place, during all that time, in the style and tone of familiar intercourse among the polite part of society. There is certainly nothing written so long ago, which is so little antiquated as these letters, or the letters of any other woman of high rank and good education. Taste in literature and in the arts has fluctuated and advanced in many ways in that long interval; and the manners and habits of the lower and middling orders have been slowly improving through a long series of afflictations and absurdities. But the language and manners of the old aristocracy, and especially of the female part of it, have been the same, it appears, for upwards of a century. The style of Lady Mary Wortley and of Mrs Montagu, is as modern as that of their great grandchildren; and not only carries in it that charm of ease and purity which is so often wanting in the writings of professed authors, but still bears the stamp of good society so fresh upon it, that their jokes, and scandals and pleasant-ries, might generally be used as they stand, to enliven the correspondence of any fashionable chronicler of the current year. If there be any distinction between the style of a modern lady, and that of a lady in the time of George I., it is, that the former had a still greater freedom, and perhaps broadness of allusion, than would generally be ventured on by the latter. This slight degree of additional reserve or delicacy, we are not, however, disposed to ascribe to any recent improvement either in purity of manners or refinement of taste; but rather to that great dissemination of opulence which has made fashionable society less select and less safe; and to that intrusion of the half-bred which has made greater caution necessary, both to avoid vulgar misconstruction, and to repress gross imitation. There are some traits of this freedom in the letters before us, for which even these considerations may not be everywhere received as an apology in the works of a virgin of nineteen; though, for our own part, we certainly consider them as no impeachment either of her innocence or her delicacy. There are a few other traits of antiquity, too, as to which it is proper to put the reader on his guard. He will hear of lace-heads and ruffles—of beaux with high toupees—of drums and tea-drinkings—of dutchesses dining at two o'clock—of mothers and intimate friends addressed by the lofty title of Madam—and a few other things equally strange and contemptible: but the general strain of the correspondence he will find very consonant to modern usages and conceptions;—the same proportion of derision directed against the same kind of imperfections—the same tone of familiarity and  
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light-hearted philosophy—the same selfishness and desire of distinction. But it is quite time that the said reader should be enabled to judge for himself.

Her chief correspondents, at this early period, were the Dutchess of Portland, who was a few years older than herself, and Mrs Donellan, a lady who was honoured with the notice of Swift in his later days. The following passages, in a letter to the former, were written under the age of fourteen; and show the first stirrings of her derisive and ambitious spirit, even before her intercourse with society had supplied it with living objects.

‘One common objection to the country is, one sees no faces but those of one’s own family; but my papa thinks he has found a remedy for that, by teaching me to draw; but then he husbands these faces in so cruel a manner, that he brings me sometimes a nose, sometimes an eye at a time; but on the King’s birth-day, as it was a festival, he brought me out a whole face with its mouth wide open. If I could draw well enough, I would send Miss W. her own musty face. I am sorry Le Brun has not seen it, that he might have put it in his book of drawings among the faces that express the several passions; for he has none that express mustiness.’

‘If you design to make any proficiency in that art, I would advise you not to draw old men’s heads. It was the rueful countenance of Socrates or Seneca that first put me out of conceit with it. Had my Papa given me the blooming faces of Adonis and Narcissus, I might have been a more apt scholar; and when I told him I found those great beards difficult to draw, he gave me St John’s head in a charger; so to avoid the speculation of dismal faces, which by my art I dismalized ten times more than they were before, I threw away my pencil. If I drew a group of little figures, I made their countenances so sad, and their limbs so distorted, that from a set of laughing Cupids, they looked like the tormented infants in Herod’s cruelty, and smiling Venus like Rachel weeping for her children. I have heard of some who have been famous landscape painters; others who have been famous battle painters; but I take myself to have been the best hospital painter; for I never drew a figure that was not lame or blind, and they had all something of the horrible in their countenances; and by the arching of their eyebrows, and the opening their mouths, they looked so frightened, you would have thought they had seen their own faces in the glass.

‘I am very sorry I have made so very free with your cousin; but how could I imagine any person who was neither handsome nor agreeable, was your relation! I dare say she is a very distant one; had she been within four or five degrees, she must have been both. I believe Miss D—— and her Fubbsey are now one flesh, or rather one fat. I am,’ &c. I. 14, 19—21.

The next, which contains her earliest observations on life and characters, is of the age of seventeen.



' Our assembly, in full glory, has ten coaches at it; and Lady H——, to make up a number, is pleased, in her humility, to call in all the parsons, apprentices, tradesmen, apothecaries, and farmers, milliners, mantuamakers, haberdashers of small wares, and chambermaids. It is the oddest mixture you can imagine; here sails a reverend parson, there skips an airy apprentice, here, jumps a farmer: and then every one has an eye to their trade; the milliner pulls you by the hand till she tears your glove; the mantuamaker treads upon your petticoat till she unrips the seams; the shoemaker makes you foot it, till you wear out your shoes; the mercer dirties your gown; the apothecary opens the window behind you that you may be sick; and the parson calls out for Joan Saunderson. I must tell your Grace that my papa forgets twenty years and nine children, and dances as nimbly as any of the quorum; but is now and then mortified by hearing the ladies cry, "Old Mr Robinson! Hay sides and turn your daughter." Other ladies who have a mind to appear young, say, "Well! there is my poor grandpapa, he could no more dance so!" Then comes an old batchelor of fifty, and shakes him by the hand, and cries, "Why, you dance like one of us young fellows;" another, more injudicious than the rest, says, by way of compliment, "Who would think you had six fine children taller than yourself? I protest if I did not know you, I should take you to be young;" then says the most antiquated virgin in the company, "Mr Robinson wears mighty well; my mother says he looks as well as ever she remembers him; he used to come often to the house when I was a girl."

' I have not heard any thing of Lady A—— since her wedding. Sir Robert had an apoplectic fit at Sir Philip B——'s a little before they married. Sir Philip is so fond of him and his lady, that it is thought he will leave him some part of his estate, which is very considerable. I don't know from whence the friendship arises; there may indeed be a sympathy in the souls of Sir Philip and Sir Robert, but there never was less resemblance of body. Sir Robert Austin's shadow, by moonlight, would make a dozen of the other. The apothecary in Caius Marius is a corpulent man in comparison of him. I cannot describe him to your Grace, a shadow is too material, and a skeleton too fat. He is really the grim king of the ghosts; he will be president of the court of Death. His wife and he are literally but *one flesh*—for she has all the flesh herself.' I. 43—46.

We give the following letter, which seems to have been written at eighteen, for two reasons;—first, because it affords the earliest, and by no means the least favourable, specimen of the writer's more sententious and serious manner; and, secondly, because it seems to have had the singular distinction of being written on *two several occasions*, to the same noble friend, at the distance of four years. It appears first at p. 54. of the first volume, under date of the year 1738; and again at p. 281, under date of September 25th,

25th, 1741. The only difference is, that, in this last edition, it has a few additional sentences interspersed—to the sensible deterioration, we think, of the composition. In all other respects, the two letters are *verbatim* and *literatim* the same. There is something very ridiculous, we think, in this duplication, however it may be explained. If the fair writer actually made the same letters do duty twice over, after a certain interval for oblivion—as economical preachers are said to do with their sermons—it gives us rather a lower idea of her inventive powers than we should otherwise be disposed to entertain; and, even if it be repeated by mistake, in consequence of two copies being found among her papers, still the variations and the distance of the dates show that she paid a degree of attention to these performances which their intrinsic importance scarcely appears to merit. The letter itself, as it stands in its earliest and best form, is as follows.

‘As your Grace tenders my peace of mind, you will be glad to hear I am not so angry as I was. I own I was much moved in spirit at hearing you neglected your health; but since you have had advice, there is one safe step taken. As for me, I have swallowed the weight of an apothecary in medicine; and what I am the better, except more patient and less credulous, I know not. I have learnt to bear my infirmities, and not to trust to the skill of physicians for curing them. I endeavour to drink deep of philosophy, and be wise when I cannot be merry—easy when I cannot be glad—content with what cannot be mended—and patient where there is no redress. The mighty can do no more, and the wise seldom do as much. You see I am in the main content with myself, though many would quarrel with such an insignificant idle inconsistent person: but I am resolved to make the best of all circumstances around me, that this short life may not be half lost in pains, “well remembering and applying, the necessity of dying.” Between the periods of birth and burial I would fain insert a little happiness, a little pleasure, a little peace: to-day is ours, yesterday is past, and to-morrow may never come. I wonder people can so much forget death, when all we see before us is but succession; minute succeeds to minute, season to season; summer dies as winter comes. The dial marks the change of hour; every night brings death-like sleep; and morning seems a resurrection; yet, while all changes and decays, we expect no alteration; unapt to live, unready to die, we lose the present and seek the future; ask much for what we have not; thank Providence but little for what we have: our youth has no joy, our middle age no quiet, our old age no ease, no indulgence: ceremony is the tyrant of this day; fashion of the other; business of the next. Little is allowed to freedom, happiness, and contemplation; the adoration of our Creator; the admiration of his works; and the inspection of ourselves. But why should I trouble your Grace with these reflections. What my little knowledge can suggest, you must know better: what my

short experience has shown, you must have better observed.' I. 54—56.

We add the following short passages from Bath in the year 1740; to show that the fair writer's vivacity was not chilled by arriving at the mature age of twenty.

'I hear every day of people's pumping their arms or legs for the rheumatism; but the pumping for wit is one of the hardest and most fruitless labours in the world. I should be glad to send you some news; but all the news of the place would be like the bills of mortality; palsy, four; gout, six; fever, one, &c. &c. We hear of nothing but Mr Such-a-one is not abroad to-day. Oh! no, says another, poor gentleman, he died to-day. Then another cries, My party was made for quadrille to-night; but one of the gentlemen has had a second stroke of the palsy, and cannot come out. There is no depending upon people; nobody minds engagements. Indeed, the only thing one can do to-day, we did not do the day before, is to die; not that I would be hurried, by a love of variety and novelty, to do so irreparable a thing as dying,' &c.—'As for modern marriages, they are great infringers of the baptismal vow; for 'tis commonly the pomps and vanities of this wicked world on one side, and the sinful lusts of the flesh on the other. For my part, when I marry, I do not intend to enlist entirely under the banners of Cupid or Plutus, but take prudent consideration and decent inclination for my advisers. I like a coach and six extremely; but a strong apprehension of repentance would not suffer me to accept it from many that possess it. I had little acquaintance with —; for I never run into Aaron's idolatry, nor could I ever bow the knee to Mammon. To say the truth, he is the god of our fathers, and the god of our mothers. As the Israelites made their children pass through the fire to Baal, there are few good Christians who would not make their children pass through misery to Mammon.' I. 76. 77. 83.

This last extract will give our readers some idea of the fashionable freedom, from which, we have hinted, that our more prudish age has shrunk back. There is a great deal of a more decided character, after she comes to be married;—but we shall satisfy ourselves with adding this lively hint to her sister, upon the first appearance of a fashion which we had thought far more modern.

'I do not know what will become of your fine shape; for there is a fashionable make which is very strange. I believe they look in London as they did in Rome after the rape of the Sabines.' I. 126, 127.

And this little anticipation of the exploits of some of her military beaux, who had been ordered on foreign service.

'I think they will die of a panic, and save their enemies' powder. Well, they are proper gentlemen. Heaven defend the nunneries! As for the garrisons, they will be safe enough. The father confessors will have more consciences to quiet than the surgeons will have wounds

wounds to dress. I would venture a wager Flanders increases in the christenings more than in the burials of the week.' I. 183.

These, upon the whole, we think are favourable specimens; and if the whole book were of the same quality, it would be very entertaining. The greater part of it, however, is far inferior; and, though we have too great a regard for our readers to annoy them with many specimens of absolute dulness, we cannot do our duty without laying before them a few instances of that overlaboured and uneasy wit which has afflicted us so often in the course of our reading. We find ourselves just at this description of the furniture of an old mansion.

'There are long tables in the room that have more feet than the caterpillar you immured at Bullstrode. Why so many legs are needful to stand still, I cannot imagine, when I can fidget upon two. There is a goodly chest of drawers in the figure of a cathedral, and a looking-glass, which Rosamond or Jane Shore may have dressed their heads in. Amongst the old furniture, I must not forget the clock, who has indeed been a time-server. It has struck the blessed minutes of the Reformation, Restoration, Abdication, Revolution, and Accession, and, by its relation to time, seems too to have some to eternity. It is like its old master, only good to point the hour to industry,—to wake the slothful soul to labour,—to mark the time by voice, though not by action. It is the minister of old care,' &c. —'If age be honourable, why should I neglect the fane of antique structure, which shook with the wind that blew the Danes to Britain; turned with the blast that sent our hero Richard to the holy wars, and then stood fair for France with Edward, moved with the glorious gale that brought a conquered king from France with our young victor the Black Prince. It pointed out the hour for gallant Henry to attempt a kingdom greater than his own; it obeyed the wind that brought over the chastiser of wicked Richard; then turned full to the happy wind that scattered the Armada, and moved as readily to the fair gale that wafted over our glorious William: but of late days it has seldom stirred; tired of bringing terror to nothing but a timorous valetudinarian, or informing the spleen when the wind is in the east; and, loath to have the idleness of some admiral imputed to its advice, it moves no more, but seems indeed to be founded upon steady and fixed principles, and I believe will turn no more, except it be for Vernon. What will your Grace say to this inventory? I am ashamed; but I observe people are apt to converse like the company they keep; and really I see hardly any thing but this poor fane planted on an aged oak just over against my window, and I hear nothing but the clock telling me how I kill time, while I unhappily reflect the sad revenge it will take upon me; therefore, what can I repeat but what I learn? I am spinning out a happy hour; such I account it when I write to you; and really I have not the art of abbreviation.' I. 141-144.

The same outrageous determination to be witty dictated the following description of a sea captain.

'The good captain is so honest and so fierce, a bad conscience and a cool courage cannot abide him. He thinks he has a good title to reprove any man that is not as honest, and to beat any man that is not as valiant, as himself. He hates every vice of nature but wrath, and every corruption of the times but tyranny. A patriot in his public character, but an absolute and angry monarch in his family, he thinks every man a fool in politics who is not angry, and a knave if he is not perverse. Indeed, the captain is well in his element, and may appear gentle compared to the waves and wind; but on the happy quiet shore he seems a perfect whirlwind. He is much fitter to hold converse with the hoarse Boreas in his wintry cavern, than to join in the whispers of Zephyrus in Flora's honeymoon of May. I was afraid, as he walked in the garden, that he would fright away the larks and nightingales; and expected to see a flight of sea-gulls hovering about him. The amphibious pewet found him too much a water animal for his acquaintance, and fled with terror.' I. 181, 182.

The reader may also take this picture of a country family, as a partner in the same style of drawing.

'His wife he has always kept in the country to nurse seven or eight daughters, after his own manner; and the success has answered the design. He has taught them that all finery lies in a pair of red-heeled shoes; and as for diversion (or, as I suppose they call it, fun), there is nothing like blind man's buff. Thus dressed and thus accomplished, he brought them to our races, and carried them to the ball, where, poor girls, they expected to be pure merry, and to play at puss in the corner, and hunt the whistle; but seeing there was nothing but footing, which they had never been suffered to do in their shoes, and right hand and left, which their father thought too much for women to know, they fell asleep, as they had often been used to do, without their supper.'—'You have no such good folks in Buckinghamshire. There your Grace saw a fine importation of S——'s. They had not one article of behaviour so untaught as to appear natural. These have not one manner that seems acquired by art. The two families would make a fine contrast. Pray do but figure the Mademoiselles Catherine's advancing in state to meet these jumping Joans. To be sure, seeing Madame courtesy so low, they would think she meant to play at leap-frog, and would jump over her head before she got to the extremest sink of her courtesy.' I. 237, 238.

The following, as it nods a little towards seriousness, is considerably worse.

'One sees a good deal of the world at Tunbridge. There is one man drinking waters to cure him of the ill consequence of sloth and avarice, and the melancholy remembrance of having denied himself the

the benefits of his time, and others the assistance of his money. There the splendid South Sea Director would wash away the recollection of his iniquity, and, by magnificence, gild his crime till fools admire and envy it. How many adorn their guilt and misery to catch that approbation from others their own heart denies! These waters would indeed be of great use, could they but make Directors void the worm that never dies; but conscience is a dragon not to be charmed by all the sweetest songs of the Syren pleasure; and in the midst of these diversions, and the gaiety of company, they seem to me not to be able to speak peace to their souls,' &c. I. 247, 248.

The following short passage is in far better taste. She is speaking of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*.

'I am as fatigued with his hero's adventures as if I had rode behind him. He out-quixotes Quixote; knights, brave or miscreant, are unhorsed; ladies, fair or foul, chaste or wicked, fall in love with him: between the lance of Mars and the arrow of Cupid, no age or sex escape him unhurt. Then the fair Princess bathing for the good of the public! I took great care no such accident should happen at Mary-le-bone.—Every one is in wrath at Sir John Norris's return. I hope the next expedition will be in mackarel season, and then we shall take something.' II. 54, 55.

The following remarks upon the effect of Sir Robert Walpole's downfall are more interesting, because more applicable to other times, than most of her occasional moralization.

'I imagine the study of physiognomy must be very entertaining at present. One might see Hope sitting in a dimple, Fear skulking in a frown, Haughtiness sitting on the triumphal arch of an eyebrow, and Shame lurking under the eyelids; then in wise bystanders we might see Conjecture drawing the eyebrows together, or Amazement lifting them up. A man in place bringing his flexible countenance to the taste of the present times, smiling about the mouth as if he was pleased with the change, but wearing a little gloom on the forehead that betrays his fear of losing by it. Men that never were of any consequence wrapping themselves up in the mystery of politics, and seeming significant; as if, when times alter, they had a right to expect to be wise. Then the vacant, smiling countenances of those civil people that would intimate they would do any thing for any body. The asses that, in lions' skins, have brayed for their party, throwing off their fierceness, and appearing in their proper shape of patient folly, that will carry a heavy burden through dirty roads. Then the state swallows, that have ever lived in the sunshine of favour, withdrawing from the declining season of power. Then the thermometers, weathercocks, and dials of the state, will scarce know what to say, how to turn, or which way to point. They who have changed their coat with every blast, what must they do till they know which way the wind blows? Unhappy ignorance, that knows not if preferment comes from the east or from the west, or yet from the south! Then what will those noble pa-

triot's do whose honesty consists in being always angry, now they know not whom to be angry with? These occurrences give one too great an insight into mankind, for one receives bad impressions of them by seeing them in these hurries; while, for haste, they leave the cloak of hypocrisy behind, and show the patched, stained, and motley habit of their minds.' ..

' All I expect, is, to see those that lately have appeared as knaves look like fools; those that have looked like fools appear as knaves. I would the good precept, be angry and sin not, were divided between the parties in power and out of it; that the first would not sin, and the second would not be angry: but between the wickedness of the powerful, and the wrath of the disappointed, there is no peace in Israel.' II. 152, 153.

This is about the best of her seriousness; but her vocation is decidedly for satirical trifling. For example—

' I want to know how the world goes on: we stand still here. Dulness, in the solemn garb of wisdom, wraps us in its gentle wing; and here we dream that others do ill, and happy are we that do nothing. One yawns there is peace in solitude; another stirs the fire, and cries how happy is liberty and independence; another takes a pinch of snuff, and praises leisure; another pulls a knotting shuttle out of her pocket, and commends a little innocent amusement; their neighbour, more laborious, making a lace with two bobbins, says business should be preferred to pleasure and diversions. How wise is every body by their own fire-side, and how happy every one in their own way! What glorious things do the ambitious say of ambition, and what mighty phrases do they adorn the giant with! How civilly do the indolent speak of idleness, and how prettily do the trifling express trifles; how cunning do those think themselves who live in cities, and how innocent do they look upon themselves to be who dwell in the country.' II. 150, 151.

' Among many reasons for being stupid, it may be urged it is being like other people, and living like one's neighbours; and indeed without it, it may be difficult to love some neighbours as oneself: now, seeing the necessity of being dull, you won't, I hope, take it amiss that you find me so; but consider I am involved in mists from the sea, and that the temperament of the air and the manners of the place contribute to my heaviness. It provokes me to hear people that live in a fog talk of the smoke of London, and that they cannot breathe there: a proper reason for them to stay away who were made for nothing but to breathe. "But people in town have other signs of life. But to the good folks that talk in that manner, nothing is an obstruction of life but an asthma." I. 235. '

It would be very easy to cite fifty such passages; but for those who have not already determined to look into the book for themselves, we fear we have already cited too much. We ought, indeed, to have noticed some passages of profound erudition about Horus and Cerberus, Horatius Cocles, and Pythagoras;—and also  
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some of the elaborate eulogies bestowed on the Dutchess of Portland, and my Lord Duke and the infant Marquis ; but meritorious and characteristic as all these things are, we have no longer room for them. • Upon the whole, we think the vivacity of these letters attractive ; — though it is sometimes childish, and almost always theatrical. We think the familiar style excellent, and the eloquence abominable ; and are of opinion, that they would have been infinitely more charming, if two thirds of the wit could have been exchanged for a few traits of simplicity and affection. Comparing them even with the earliest letters of Lady Mary Wortley, it is impossible not to be struck with the vast superiority of the latter, in sound sense, good taste, and facility. There is, in those delightful compositions, such a mixture of just thinking and solid sagacity, as gives both dignity and relief to the wit and trifling which intervenes ; and the trifling itself is far more graceful and striking, both because it is less laboured, and infinitely less verbose. Mrs Montagu certainly comes nearest that admirable model in her lighter strokes of personal satire, and the purity of such parts of her diction as she had not determined to make splendid.

In making these strictures on the letters before us, we do not forget that they were all written under the age of twenty-three ; and have even a reasonable degree of faith in the editor, when he assures us, that if we will only have patience, we shall find her hand improve astonishingly in the course of the next five or six volumes. All we say is, that there are great faults in the volumes before us ; and that we do not exactly perceive the necessity of reading the bad letters before we are favoured with the good. If the letters were all as good as Lady Mary's, the editor may depend upon it, that the public will neither buy nor admire twenty volumes of them ; and if there be ten or twelve volumes out of the twenty that are not quite so good, we are clearly of opinion, that the best thing he can do for his aunt's glory and his own credit, is to suppress these twelve, — together with four or five of the remaining eight. There are many works, besides those of the old Sybil, the value of which may be prodigiously increased by diminishing their number.



ART. VI. *Application de la Theorie de la Legislation Penale, ou Code de la Sureté Publique et Particuliere, fondé sur les regles de la Morale Universelle, sur le droit des gens ou primitif des sociétés, et sur leur droit particulier, dans l'état actuel de la civilisation; redigé en projet pour les Etats de sa Majesté le Roi de Bavière. Dedié à sa Majesté, et imprimé avec son autorization.* Par Scipion Bexon, ancien Avocat, officier du Ministère public, Commissaire du Roi, Juge de Paix, Accusateur militaire, Accusateur public, President du Tribunal Criminel de Paris; actuellement Vice-president du Tribunal Civil de la même ville; ancien Professeur de Legislation Criminelle à l'Université de Jurisprudence, &c. &c. Folio. pp. 752. Paris, 1807.

WE deem it of great importance to give some account of this book, while the penal code of our own country remains in a state of such extreme imperfection, and the community in general seems so indifferent about its amendment.

When a man like Blackstone, in whom education, profession, situation and prospects in life, combined to engender the admiration of whatever was established, and who, in his review of the laws of England, scarcely ever finds room for any thing but praise—when a man of this description appears the herald of blame, we may safely conclude that the evil is not only indisputable, but flagrant. This popular author, however, \* after observing that, ‘in proportion to the importance of the criminal law, ought also to be the care and attention of the legislature in properly forming and enforcing it; and that it should be conformable to the dictates of truth and justice, the feelings of humanity, and the indelible rights of mankind,’ proceeds to tell us, that it has hitherto existed in all the countries of Europe, and England among the rest, in a very different situation; for, on the other hand, he adds, ‘either from a want of attention to these principles, in the first concoction of the laws; and adopting, in their stead, the impetuous dictates of avarice, ambition and revenge; from retaining the discordant political regulations which successive conquerors or factions have established, in the various revolutions of government;—from giving a lasting efficacy to sanctions that were intended to be temporary, and made (as Lord Bacon expresses it) merely upon the spur of the occasion; or from, lastly, too hastily employing such means as are greatly disproportionate to their end, in order to check the progress of some very prevalent offence; from some, or from all of

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\* See his Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. iv. ch. 1.

of these causes, it hath happened that the criminal law is, *in every country of Europe*, more rude and imperfect than the civil.'

This is a remarkable passage; and deserving of the most profound meditation. • It is a description, perfectly just, and, as far as it goes, accurate, of the manner in which a great part, not only of the criminal law, but of the whole body of law, civil, criminal and constitutional, has been built up in every country in Europe. To reason, seriously and sincerely endeavouring to trace out the footsteps of utility, or to discover the regulations by which the greatest prosperity might be secured to the whole community, nations hitherto have owed very little. It is to the accidental, but in several respects unavoidable connexion between the interests of the community, and the interests of the governing classes, that the nations of the world owe almost all that is excellent in the actual system of their laws.

Of the defects in our criminal code, Blackstone goes on to say, \* 'These have chiefly arisen from too scrupulous an adherence to some rules of the ancient common law, when the reasons have ceased upon which those rules were founded.' This, too, is an important observation, and one which we should scarcely have expected from the great champion of 'the wisdom of our ancestors;' and one of the great *abhorers* of innovation. 'Those rules, the reasons for which have ceased to exist,' are they *all* to be discarded? This is rather a sweeping decision; especially if we include among them, as we plainly should, all those which never had any reason, or never any but a bad one. Such a proposition in a more modern author, would run some risk of being represented as absolutely revolutionary and jacobinical. We shall quote but one other passage from this great English lawyer, before proceeding to the work of his foreign disciple.

After exhibiting some samples of absurdity and mischievousness in our criminal laws, and dwelling with lamentation upon the obvious necessity of amendment, he adds, 'Were *even* a committee appointed, but *once in an hundred years*, to revise the criminal law, it could not have continued to this hour a felony, without benefit of clergy, to be seen for one month in the company of persons who call themselves, or are called, Egyptians,† &c. &c. With these few but striking admonitions, as to the wisdom and the necessity of looking at home in all our reflections upon subjects of universal importance, we pass at once to the consideration of the work before us.

The king of Bavaria, like our Edward the First, is a never-ending reformer. During the few months of peace which succeeded the

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\* Commentaries, B. iv. ch. 1.

† Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, B. iv. ch. 1.

the treaty of Amiens, the periodical publications of the Continent were filled with the accounts of the plans which he was pursuing for the improvement of his government, and for meliorating the condition of his subjects. We find, by the publication before us, that he has not abandoned the work, even in the season of war; that he has not shrunk from a fundamental reform of the condition of his people in that cardinal point, on which their condition so eminently depends,—the administration of justice.

The course, too, which he has pursued, is one which, in its general bearing, is distinctly traced by the hand of wisdom. He looked out for an individual whom reputation designated as eminently fit, and whom particular recommendation, no doubt, singled out as the most fit, to draw up a code of laws; and to him he gave a commission to execute the important task.\* The code, as proposed by the author, was printed and published; that whatever the observations of the people for whom it was designed, or of the enlightened men of all Europe, might offer for its improvement, might be received before it was finally adopted; and, if not rejected upon such a trial, that it might afterwards be established with all the advantages which those means of perfecting it could supply. Had the choice of the man, to whom the primary operations were entrusted, been as fortunate as the plan was prudent, our present task would have been much easier, and more delightful, than it is likely to be.

The work to which our attention is now directed, is intended to exhibit a complete set of *penal enactments*, and of regulations or enactments of *police*; together with such elucidations of the general principles of law, as may show the reasons of the several enactments proposed, and afford the instruction most necessary to estimate justly what has here been performed.

The system of penal enactments, together with such provisions as M. Bexon thinks belong to the head of police, he designates by the general title of ‘*Legislation de la Sureté.*’ The idea he seems to have entertained, that police and penal law fell both, and to the exclusion of other branches of law, under this denomination, is the most probable reason that can be assigned for his joining the legislation of police with that of crimes and punishments, as possessing, with each other, a connexion more intimate than subsists between either of them and any other branch of law, and as forming, together, one great and entire department of legal regulation.

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\* Not one individual only has undertaken the work. There is a ‘*Projet redigé pour les états de S. M. le Roi de Bavière, par M. Klinschrod.*’

An indication is afforded thus early, of what is but too fully confirmed in the sequel,—that M. Bexon's manner of thinking is far too vague, for much improvement in the science of legislation to be expected from his best exertions. *Security is not* the object of penal laws and laws of police alone. Civil and constitutional laws contribute to it quite as essentially, and, in many instances, as directly, as penal laws themselves. Security is the joint result of the whole system of legislation; and cannot be obtained where any part is wanting or defective. What, for example, would be the security of property, though the penal laws against theft and robbery were ever so perfect, if there were no civil laws to compel the payment of debts, and the performance of contracts? On a distinction thus perfectly inapplicable, it is melancholy to observe the stress which is laid by M. Bexon. He regards it as a discovery of his own making, of the greatest consequence, and as forming one of the most remarkable characteristics of his book. Formerly, nations, he tells us, were too little enlightened to have any just conception of it. Civil laws occupied, to great purpose, their attention; but the great, and still more interesting subject, 'la législation de la sureté, n'a guères été, dans l'antiquité, l'objet des méditations des écrivains et de la sollicitude des Gouvernemens.'

I. POLICE.—This, as forming the branch of the subject undertaken by M. Bexon, which in his large volume is first presented to our view, is the part on which we shall first submit our observations. He has traversed the ground with sufficient minuteness; and few, among the particulars which called for his notice, have escaped it; but the sort of eye with which he surveyed it, was that of a man better disposed, than qualified, to find out the improvements capable of being effected in it. A few sentences, or articles, as he calls them, from the commencement of his 'Code de Police Administrative,' will afford some means of judging of the species of instruction which, on this head, he has afforded us.

'ART. I. Définition de la Police Administrative.—La police administrative est instituée pour veiller au maintien de la sureté générale et de la paix publique, à la conservation des personnes et des choses.'

He must have had a very singular conception of what a definition is, who could call this a definition. 'Administrative police is instituted for the purpose of watching over the maintenance of general security and public peace, over the preservation of persons and things.' Now, though this may be perfectly just and true, it is no more a definition of the peculiar functions and objects

objects of *police*, than of any other power or institution in society. The executive power of the King, for example—Is not that also set up for the purpose of watching over the general security and the public peace, and for the preservation of persons and things? Is not the *judicative power*, in all its branches, instituted for the same purposes? For what is the *legislative power* appointed, but to watch over the maintenance of the general security and the public peace? Even the *military power* itself is instituted for no other purpose; by being ever ready to aid in suppressing all enemies, both internal and external, by whom that security may be threatened to be disturbed. Let us try another article.

‘L’action de la police administrative precede necessairement celle de la justice; elles sont liees entre elles. consequentes l’un de l’autre, et les contraventions aux reglemens de la première entraînent des peines qui sont prononcées par la seconde.’

This is another picce out of the same mint, and from under the same die;—puerility, prattle, an identical proposition, or a proposition little better than identical. If the business of police be, as M. Bexon defines it to be, to bring criminals before the judgment seat, and that of judicature to pronounce upon them, how could it happen, but that the one of these operations should precede the other; that they should be connected together; and, as the first precedes the last, so the last must be consequent upon the first? All, however, fortunately is not so bad. The fourth article is as follows.

‘Elle ne prononce sur aucune infraction aux lois, mais elle en recherche les auteurs; elle constate les actions defendues, et ressemble les indices et les preuves des faits que sa surveillance n’a pu empêcher.’

Here at last, then, we have some tangible distinction brought into view. What the police does not, is, to exercise judicial power. What it does, is, to find out delinquents, take notice of delinquencies, and obtain proofs. So far as these operations extend, and so far as they are left to be performed by police, she is strictly the handmaid of judicial power; and the service which she renders is twofold. 1. Service in securing the person of the delinquent; 2. Service in securing the evidence of his guilt. These two services, however, are part of the general business of criminal procedure, and, strictly speaking, do not belong to police. Criminal tribunals, if properly constituted, would be the best depositories of all the powers, whether antejudiciary or postjudiciary, immediately necessary to their own decisions. As matters, however, are still situated all over Europe, we can see convenience and utility in employing the powers established for purposes  
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of police, in the antejudiciary part of criminal process; and, accordingly, we are not much displeased to see this employment assigned to them by M. Bexon. We are sorry, however, to observe the limits between the powers of judicature and the powers of police so little understood by this lawgiver, as to find him confounding criminal procedure with police, and representing the offices of the former, if not as the exclusive, at least as the principal and distinctive offices of the latter.

The points on which M. Bexon's code of police is intended to bear, are classed and denominated in the following manner.

1. The several kinds of officers, with their respective functions, necessary to carry the provisions of police into execution;
2. Prisons;
3. Beggars, vagabonds, and the means of providing them with work;
4. Religion;
5. Manners and public decency;
6. The state of persons; under which title are included registration of births, deaths, and acts, the burial of the dead, the cognizance of sudden or secret deaths, &c.;
7. The honour and reputation of persons;
8. Health of persons;
9. Security of persons;
10. Security of persons at the moment of their birth;
11. Commerce in general; under which title the author describes a board of superintendence of commerce, and the functions which he destines it to perform;
12. Sale of commodities;
13. Rural property, of its different kinds;
14. Damage and destruction;
15. Instruction of the people, and in the country.

These subordinate heads the author places in three grand divisions. I. The first five go under the title of 'GENERAL SECURITY AND PUBLIC PEACE'; II. The succeeding five under the title of 'PERSONS'; III. And the last five under that of 'KINGS.'

Such is the nature of M. Bexon's endeavours in legislation, that it is impossible to gain any notion of his general views, except by travelling minutely through all the particulars on which he has thought proper to enlarge; and then endeavouring to combine those particulars according to their general relations; a labour which he as little thinks of performing for his reader as for himself. To do this, even for that department of his work which relates to police, would far exceed the limits which are necessarily assigned to our present observations; and, therefore, we can say little more with respect to its details, than that the author appears to have been most conscientiously industrious; that he has read the best books, and shows a sincere desire to recommend the best regulations. A number of important particulars are thus brought together; and on not a few of those particulars very good suggestions are presented; but, for the improvement of criminal legislation as a science, we greatly fear that higher and more im-

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posing qualifications than are united in M. Bexon will be found indispensable.

But though we cannot supply for M. Bexon those generalizations, without which his labours can be of little use to the advancement of science, we may attempt what, if we can accomplish it, will be of much more importance, viz. to trace accurately the true limits by which the functions of police are separated from that of criminal judicature. The confusion which we have found in the ideas of almost all writers on the subject, and the consequent imperfection which the practical arrangements founded on those ideas every where exhibit, sufficiently demonstrate the utility of offering some precise conceptions respecting this ill defined class of political functions.

In regard to the execution of the laws, the two primary offices are, 1. Those of civil judicature; 2. Those of criminal judicature. It is perfectly plain, in the first place, that, as far as these extend, police has no admission. The functions of judicature may be distinguished into three stages. 1. The antejudicial; 2. The judicial; and, 3. The postjudicial. In the antejudicial functions are included, the cognizance of the occasion for judicial decision, the securing the persons on whom the decision may operate, and the securing the forthcomingness of whatever, in the classes of persons or things, may be supposed capable of serving as evidence. In the judicial functions are included what, using the word in a general sense, may be denominated the trial, comprehending the whole judicial examination of the case, together with the decision. In the postjudicial functions are included whatever is necessary, in the ordinary course of things, to carry the sentence of the law into execution. With the antejudicial, as with the postjudicial, though most frequently with the latter, it has been common for the functions of police to be confounded. That courts of justice, however, if established in the best form, could, with peculiar advantages, exercise all the functions immediately subservient to the distribution of justice, there seems to be no doubt; and, if so, whatever is immediately subservient, either to the collation of rights, or the punishment of offences, is the business of judicature, and *not* of police.

But the security which may be obtained by compelling such as are unwilling to fulfil the obligations imposed upon them by the laws, and by punishing those who transgress the laws, is still an imperfect security; and it is found that certain measures may be adopted for preventing injuries, by which that security may be greatly increased. Whatever is commanded by the law to be done, and has not been done; whatever is commanded by the law not to be

be done, and has been done; the cure of these evils, already existing, belongs to the hand of judicature. But certain things may be done to prevent these evils before they come into existence; and these, as far as they consist in direct interference, constitute what is strictly the business of police. Good laws, for example, for the punishment of housebreakers, if well executed, would afford a certain degree of security to us in our beds; but add to these a well regulated watch, by which the intention to break houses is prevented from being carried into execution, and how greatly is that security augmented!

But evils arising from the lawless actions of their fellow-creatures, are not the only evils which men have to dread. There are physical calamities, and these, in many instances, susceptible, wholly or in part, of prevention. Such are, inundations, fires, contagions, tempests, nuisances, want of the means of subsistence, and various other evils. The prevention or removal of these, or of their effects, as far as it is desirable that government should employ direct means for those ends, forms a class of operations which may be usefully united with the former.

Hitherto there is little or no difficulty. Police is that branch of government, through which measures are taken for *preventing* lawless designs from being carried into execution, and for preventing or removing physical calamities. But besides the prevention of evils, there are various ways in which government, by very simple operations, may promote the welfare of the community; and accordingly, part, at least, of these ameliorating functions have commonly been regarded as entering into the business of police, and have been executed by police establishments with manifest advantage. Such are the superintendence and improvement of public diversions, of the roads, and other means of internal communication. There are, however, other branches of ameliorative administration, which seem of a different class from the functions of preventive police;—the superintendence and improvement of education,—the superintendence and improvement of religious instruction, and various others: and no line of distinction between these and the former can easily be drawn. Now this, it appears to us, has given rise to an unfortunate confusion: for one of the most effectual among the indirect expedients for insuring good government, is to assign a clear and well defined class of duties to every distinct set of public functionaries. It is by this means, much more readily and much more strongly perceived when the business is done well, and when it is done ill. The honour is raised to a much higher pitch which is bestowed upon good conduct; and the infamy to a much higher pitch which falls upon bad conduct. To assign, on the other hand, a confused and ill-



ill-defined mass of duties to any set of public functionaries, is to create a temptation for negligence and misconduct; it is to hold up a screen between them and the public eye; it is even to shelter them in a great measure from the operation of the political sanction; for the same cause that renders inefficacious the superintendence of the people, imbecilitates, at the least, the superintendence of their official superiors. For these reasons, we are inclined to think that there would be no inconsiderable advantage in keeping the preventive operations of police, and the ameliorative functions of government entirely distinct; and as there ought to be a department for preventive operations, so, there ought to be another for ameliorative operations, each under its separate head, that in this, as in all other branches of government, responsibility, and individual responsibility, whenever it is possible, may be secured. But this topic, how important soever, has already detained us too long from the still more important subject, to which the greater part of M. Bexon's work is necessarily devoted.

II. PRINCIPLES OF PENAL LEGISLATION.—In laying down the general principles of penal legislation, and in constructing a penal code, we find, unhappily, the same vacillation in the conceptions of M. Bexon, as the specimens of legislation he afforded us on the subject of police. An extensive acquaintance with particulars is certainly displayed, and the ideas of the best writers are frequently adopted and applied; but powers to discriminate and combine,—to trace extensive diversities and agreements,—to pursue general principles to the ultimate limit in every direction,—in short, to do, in any respect, what can be called service, in putting a complex, and, as yet, a confused subject into order, we must not look to meet with. His play here, as in the case of police, is to adopt the common division which he finds established, and, with little, if any, endeavour to trace connexions, to crowd together, under each of the heads he has chosen, as many particulars as his mind or other helps can suggest to him, assigning them to this head or to that, by any casual point of relation which happens to present itself.

A specimen of the vague generalities with which the pages of speculation which precede his penal code are filled, will be no less necessary than in the case of his philosophizings on the subject of police.

'The first rule of men's actions is morality.' This is one proposition. 'Men's principal obligation is to respect the law of nations.' This is the next proposition. Are *morality* and *the law of nations* here spoken of as the same thing, or as different things? If they are the same thing, why call it by two names,

names, and speak of it in two propositions? This is an express contrivance to confuse and mislead. If they are not the same, but different, let us observe what is said of them. 'The first rule of action is morality.' Well; to say that any thing is a rule of action, is merely to say, in other words, that there is an obligation to obey it. If the first rule of men's actions, then, be morality, it follows, that it is their first obligation to respect, that is, to obey, morality. But we are told, in the next sentence, that it is their *principal* obligation to obey the law of nations. *First* and *principal*, therefore, must mean different things. But after morality is *first* obeyed, how will it be in our power to obey the law of nations *principally*? There are many pages of this sort of misty metaphysics; but we pass on to the article in which he gives us the definition of civil and penal law.

'Art. 8. La loi civile est le tableau des devoirs que l'homme doit remplir dans l'état de société; elle est la série et la classification des droits que conserve, ou que confère le pacte social, et elle en règle l'exercice et l'usage.

'La loi penale est le moyen que la société oppose à la volonté de s'écarter de ses devoirs; elle prononce la privation, ou la perte d'un ou de plusieurs droits, proportionnellement aux divers degrés de la violation du pacte, et des atteintes portées aux droits qu'il assure ou qu'il accorde.'

There are, in the first clause, two definitions of civil law, separate and independent. 1. 'The civil law is the picture of the duties which man ought to fulfil in the state of society.' But, according to this account, civil law covers the whole field of morality; and this is what M. Bexon positively denied only a few sentences before. 2. 'Civil law is the series and the classification of the rights which the social compact preserves or confers; and it regulates the exercise and the use of them.' Civil law, the series, and classification of rights! Civil law is surely something more than this. A mere enumeration and classification would be no law. Any man that has talents for it may enumerate and classify rights, or what he chuses to consider as rights; but any man cannot make laws. To regulate the exercise and use of rights, the next thing ascribed to civil law, is no doubt part of its business; but what is it that constitutes rights? They must be created, before they are ready for regulation. 'Created?' says M. Bexon, 'they are preserved or conferred by the social compact.' The social compact, then, according to M. Bexon, found some rights ready made; others there were which itself made. Now, what were those rights which existed before the social compact, and which the social compact preserved? and what, again, were those which the social compact added to them? and what is

the social compact itself? On these questions, totally unanswered, or rather, on a wretched and exploded theory, assumed as true, does this definition of civil law depend. Let us see, however, how he makes out the limits of penal law, the very subject which he has assumed the task of putting in order.

'Penal law is the means which society opposes to the will of departing from those duties.' The first question to be asked here is, what are 'those duties,' the transgression of which, penal law is the means of preventing? They must be those duties spoken of in the preceding sentence, 'the duties which man ought to fulfil in the state of society.' But man ought to fulfil *all* the duties of morality in a state of society. Therefore penal law, by this definition, is commensurate with the obligations of morality; which the author, as we have seen above, contradicts.

Penal law, continues the definition, 'pronounces the privation, or the loss of one or of several rights, in proportion to the different degrees of the violation of the compact, and of the attempts made against the rights which it secures or bestows.' Well,—here is something intelligible. Penal law is that which punishes. But what does it punish? Why, *the violation of the social compact!* But as no man ever showed, or can show, what are the rights which the social compact either secured or bestowed;—to tell us that penal law is that which punishes the violation of these rights, is to tell us that penal law is any thing which any body pleases.

Were we ever so much disposed, or ever so much qualified to afford, on this occasion, the instruction which M. Bexon unfortunately has not afforded, our limits would not permit. A few reflections may, however, be introduced, for drawing the line of distinction between the penal and other branches of law, and for reducing, to something approaching to precision, the vague ideas which float in the heads even of the best instructed men, on this most important, but little comprehended, subject.

We take it for granted, that it can only be those actions of mankind, from which good or evil may arise, that can be the objects of regulation, or of any denomination of law; and that the end of all law is, to raise the good to its highest, and to reduce the evil to its lowest quantity.

Of these actions, one part is of such a nature, that any coercive measures which the law would employ to produce those of the one sort, and to prevent those of the other, would create more evil, than all the good which could be thus effected, would be sufficient to compensate. Utility is therefore consulted, by leaving all this class of actions to the motives which society itself presents

presents for their regulation, by no further attempting to influence them than by such indirect means,—instruction, for example—praise, blame, reward, discredit, &c.—as the uncoercive powers of the community can employ. This we consider as the proper description of the ground which is occupied by *morality*.

But of these same actions, which are the sources of happiness or misery, another class is of such a nature, that coercive measures may be employed by the law to produce the one, and to prevent the other; the evil produced by the coercion being overbalanced by the good of which it is the occasion. Of the actions, however, which are thus distinguished, part are of such a nature, that if, to the bare compulsion requisite to produce the act, any punishment were added, viz. for not having done it without compulsion, this punishment would produce more evil than good. This, therefore, is the domain of non-penal law. This is the class of actions, of which the legislator commands that one part should be done, and another should not be done, and of which he appoints *force* to cause the one part to be done, and the other not to be done—but, in regard to which, he appoints nothing in the shape of *punishment* to follow the non-fulfilment of his command. Thus, it is the command of the legislator that debts shall be paid; and he appoints force to compel this payment, wherever it is not voluntarily performed; but no punishment is inflicted for the non-payment of debts; and all the measures which are employed against the debtor, are intended merely, however they may sometimes operate, to compel him to pay. As soon as he has paid, the hold of the law upon him is immediately relaxed.

Another class of these actions still remains; a class, in regard to which, it is not only useful to employ force to compel the performance of the good part, and prevent the performance of the bad; but in regard to which, if in any particular instance the good action is omitted, or the evil action is performed, punishment wisely inflicted upon the author of the mischief, may be productive of more good than evil. Thus, to take an example that will at once designate the province of penal, and that of non-penal law: A man has a purse in his pocket; an acquaintance comes up and borrows it of him, but afterwards refuses to return it. The law compels him to pay; but, after payment, inflicts no punishment. If, instead of receiving the purse in loan, he had taken it away by stealth, the law would not have been satisfied with the restoration of the purse; it would have superadded punishment.

This delineation, general as it is, of the field of coercive law, conveys, we think, ideas at once clear and precise, both of its limits, and of its two grand divisions; 1. its first division, law simply coercive; 2. its second division, law coercive and punitive.\*

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\* To the common legal reader, we are aware, that many things in this draught, more especially in the part which relates to the civil branch of the law, will appear to be wanting. But let it be considered, that the fundamental idea of a law is, that it is A COMMAND,—the command of the legislature,—a command sanctioned by the eventual application of force. Now, of such commands, a division into those that are sanctioned by force unaccompanied with punishment, and those that are sanctioned by force accompanied with punishment, seems to be sufficiently complete and comprehensive.

To render the will of the legislature clear and precise, in regard to the actions which it commands or forbids, a variety of definitions are no doubt required. The command, for example, 'Thou shalt not steal,' *i. e.* thou shalt not, in such and such a manner, take from another man his property,—is altogether unintelligible and inefficacious, till the legislature has accurately defined what it is that is to be considered as property. But to define property is a most tedious operation, and requires the designation of all those circumstances by which property is in the first instance acquired, and afterwards transferred. It is very evident, that these definitions are altogether as necessary and essential to the penal branch of law, as to the non-penal; but, as society presents many more occasions for the operations of non-penal, than of penal laws, the non-penal branch presented, of course, the most numerous occasions for the definitions in question; and hence it was, and not from any thing in the nature of the case, that, in the book of laws, they came to be joined with the civil branch, rather than with the penal. This conjunction, arbitrary as it is, has had the effect of making these definitions be considered, as themselves, a part of the civil law. And this it is which, to the legal eye, in the draught of civil law above exhibited, where to these definitions no place is allotted, may present the appearance of a blank.

Amid the obscurity and confusion in which the ideas respecting law have hitherto been involved, it is no wonder that these definitions have been mistaken for law itself. So intimate has the association at last become, that it will require an effort of reflection from most of our readers, to perceive the distinction by which they are so widely and essentially divided from one another. By confounding the ideas, even the modes of expression have been confounded, and definitions presented in the language of commands. Thus, *property in land shall be conveyed by livery of seisin*;—this, though merely an evidentiary

By this account it appears, that the primary operation of the legislator, in regard to coercive law, is to calculate goods and evils. From this it follows, that minute and careful analysis is the only road by which he can arrive at the knowledge of the regulations, by which it is in his power to increase to the utmost the one, and diminish to the utmost the other. Generalization and synthesis are, no doubt, the operations which he employs for putting his laws into order,—for reducing them into the arrangement and form best adapted to general comprehension and recollection; for the construction, in short, of his code. But it is to analysis, and that of a species the most extensive, difficult and laborious, to which the faculties of man can be applied, that he must be indebted for the materials of which a perfect code must be composed. And here lies the mistake of those who have hitherto applied themselves to the work of legislation. Their great business, they conceived, was that of code-making,—was that of generalization and synthesis,—putting together such crude or ready-made materials, as obvious considerations had suggested to others or to themselves; and introducing, perhaps, such detached amendments or supplements, as detached suggestions of utility recommended to them. But to trace the ramifications of good and evil through the whole field of human action; and upon complete and accurate knowledge, thus derived, and thus alone derivable, to found complete and accurate rules for the augmentation of good, and the diminution of evil, has been a task which legislators and code-makers have, from the first of them, down to M. Bexon inclusive, never so much as thought of performing.

Mr Bentham, indeed, (of whose system we have given a very full account in the first article of our 4th volume), is the only author who has attempted this most difficult and most important analysis; and imperfect as his success has necessarily been, we have no hesitation in saying, that he has done more to elucidate the

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true

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evidentiary formality, is talked of as the command of the legislature. What, however, the law says on this occasion is in the way of definition solely. In defining property in land, it was necessary to specify both what was essential to its first constitution, and what to its subsequent transmission;—and this latter, by the law of England, cannot be accomplished without *livery of seisin*. But, that this maxim is laid down substantially in the way of definition, and not of command, is evident from this, that the legislature commands no one either to give or take seisin. What it commands is merely, that land, of which seisin has been taken, shall be considered as the property of the man to whom it is so conveyed; that land, of which seisin has not been thus taken, &c. shall not be so considered.

true grounds of legislative interference, than all the jurists who had gone before him.

When, according to this plan, the legislator sits down to compose a code of simply coercive, or of non-penal laws, his object is, to find out all those actions of men, the doing of which, and all those the not doing of which, would be followed by so much evil, as to surpass what would follow from the means necessary to compel, in each instance, the doing of the one, and the not doing of the other. In this investigation, he has two main points to consider; first, the evil to which each action has a tendency to give birth; next, the evil to which those coercive means he would employ for preventing it, would have a tendency to give birth. These it is his business to compare; and wherever he finds the evil produced by the action, to surpass the evil producible by the means necessary to prevent it, there to establish his coercive law.

Of those actions which are the object of coercion without punishment, the principal class are of the negative kind; the non-payment of debts, the non-performance of contracts in general. The principal part of them, too, refer to property; the non-performance of investitive acts, interception of property, various instances of the usurpation of property, and so on. In regard to acts, the tendency of which is to produce mischief with respect to person, with respect to reputation, or to condition, punishment may, in general, be employed with advantage; and by consequence, they belong to the head of penal law. There are certain acts fit to be commanded for the service of the community; of which the payment of taxes is the principal: these are, for the most part, the object of simply coercive law. There are certain other acts, which may be denominatéd semi-public; such as contributing to maintain the parochial poor, removing nuisances, &c.; which are likewise the object of coercive, non-penal law.

Of the whole field of action, the tendency of which is to produce good or evil, having thus disposed of two great divisions, that to which even coercion cannot be applied with profit, and that to which coercion may be applied with profit, but punishment cannot, there remains one other division, that to which both coercion and punishment may be applied with profit; that is to say, of which the tendency to produce evil is so great, that the prevention of them by punishment will prevent more evil than that to which the punishment is likely to give birth.

In drawing the line by actual law between those cases in which coercion would be useful, but punishment not, as well as between those in which coercion would be useful, and those in which it would not, there must always be something arbitrary; as nature  
has

has pointed out no strongly marked boundary between them. But, provided the general principle is followed faithfully as a guide, any small encroachment upon the one side or the other cannot be of great importance. If the legislator, for example, in drawing up the list of actions which he deems meet for punishment, should include a few cases which it would have been better to have left for simple coercion; as these will be among the most mischievous of the kind belonging to the head of simple coercion, and among the least mischievous of the kind marked out for punishment, the slight penalty which the legislator will apply will not produce evil beyond the good, in any but the slightest degree. On the other hand, if he should leave under the coercive head a few of those cases to which it would have been good to have applied punishment; as these would have been among those to which the gentlest punishment would have been assigned, the degree of evil which can take place through want of it, and which coercion cannot prevent, can never be of much importance.

In the account which M. Bexon has rendered of the principles which guided him, and which ought to guide others in the construction of a penal code, the principal topics are the following.

I. Principes Generaux; \* II. Des Auteurs, des Complices et des Fauteurs, des Delits et des Crimes; III. Des Peines en general, et du mode de leur execution; IV. De la Recidive; V. De l'influence de l'age sur le caractere et la durée des Peines; VI. De l'autorité paternelle et de famille, dans ses rapports avec le Code Criminel, et d'un tribunal de famille; VII. Du Devoir des Juges, dans l'application et la graduation des peines; des Circonstances excusantes, atténuantes, et aggravantes; VIII. Des Actions et de leur prescription; IX. Des Absens ou Contumax, et de la prescription des condamnations; X. Des Frais des Procès Criminels, et des dommages—intérêts; XI. De la Grace; XII. De la diminution de la durée des peines, pendant leur cours, ou de la remission que le coupable peut obtenir par son travail et son repentir; XIII. De la Rehabilitation.

The very order in which these topics are set down for consideration, affords sufficient indication of the confusion in which his ideas on the subject floated in the head of the author. The Second, the Fourth, the Ninth, topics refer to offenders, to certain shades of delinquency. The Third, the Fifth, the Eleventh, and from that to the end, refer to punishments. The Sixth has a joint reference to crimes, the crimes of a particular class of persons, and a particular tribunal for the correction of them. The Seventh has a joint reference to delinquency and punishments.

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The

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\* Of these we have presented a specimen in the leading articles, on which we made some observations in a preceding page.



The Eighth and Tenth refer, principally, neither to crimes nor punishments, but to procedure.

Into the numberless particulars of so extensive a field the nature of the present undertaking absolutely prohibits us from entering. The deficiencies of M. Bexon may be shortly characterized; but to supply them, or to trace them minutely in detail, would be a task to which our limits are far from commensurate. The particulars which here, as elsewhere, M. Bexon presents to view, will not be without utility to the man who brings mind along with him to extract from them, for himself, the conclusions which the philosophic survey of them is calculated to yield: but the reflections with which M. Bexon himself accompanies them, are of the same vague and insufficient sort of which we have already presented specimens in sufficient, and more than sufficient abundance.

III. PENAL CODE. —We come now to that of which, from the nature of the thing, it is possible for us, in the execution of such a duty as ours, to give but a very imperfect account,—the penal code itself. An idea of it, however, not altogether uninteresting, it will be, we think, in our power to convey, in a very moderate compass.

There are two principles of arrangement upon which a code may be drawn up. Crimes may be classified either according to their objects, or according to their malignity; that is, the degrees of punishment of which they appear to stand in need. M. Bexon has made use of both. His division according to the objects is threefold;—according to the degrees it is the same. According to the objects, it is into crimes, I. Against the Public; II. Against Persons; III. Against things. According to the degrees, it is into, 1. 'Contraventions et Fautes; 2. Delits; 3. Crimes.' The mode in which the two are united is as follows. The classification according to the objects, serves to divide the book in the usual manner into chapters, here called titles. Thus, Title I. containing crimes against the public, begins at p. 1. and runs on through a great number of pages. Title II. containing crimes against persons, begins where Title I. ends; and so with regard to Title III. All this is common and convenient. But M. Bexon, as he goes on with these titles, *divides each of his pages into three columns*; and according as he takes up one after another, each species of offence exhibits three diversities of it, provided it has so many, each in its separate column; one column being entitled 'Contraventions et Fautes;' another 'Delits;' and another 'Crimes.' Wherever the particular head of delinquency does not admit of so many varieties, one; or if it so happen, two of the columns are left blank.

Both

Both divisions are imperfect in the highest degree; and the mode in which they are here united, produces complexity, without any corresponding advantage.

As to the division according to the objects of the crimes, it is taken from the old and hackneyed division of the Roman law, the *Jura personarum*, *Jura rerum*, &c.; with that distinction of crimes public from crimes private, which modern lawyers have since introduced. This antiquated arrangement, thus slavishly adopted by M. Bexon, has always appeared to us to be equally irreconcilable with the principles of logic and of utility. 'Crimes against the Public,' and 'Crimes against Persons,'—How are these to be distinguished? Are not many crimes against the public, crimes against persons? Are not many crimes against persons, crimes against the public? This is to confuse, not to divide. Accordingly, so completely confused is M. Bexon, that a large proportion of the crimes which he sets down as crimes against the public, are strictly crimes against individuals: false imprisonment, for example—rape, and so on. The same confusion has place between crimes against the public, and crimes against things. In fact, if persons and things are taken as the ground of arrangement, it is absurd to add the public as a separate head. Accordingly, the Roman lawyers fell into no such blunder. This invention was reserved for the enlightened and logical minds of the modern servants of justice. They did not perceive that public crimes would, upon this plan, be only a subdivision of the other heads, and were included under them; that crimes against persons, for example, were divided into, 1. Public; 2. Private; and that those, against things, admitted of a similar distinction.

It may not be without its use to take notice of a still more notable distinction between public and private wrongs, the most notable that ever was invented,—the grand distinction made by the English law. It is neither more nor less than this, that all those wrongs which are the object of non-penal law are private, and all those which are the object of penal law are public. How any thing so contrary as this to the distinctions which subsist among things could have been thought of, not to say introduced, would appear very extraordinary. But there is an engine in the hands of English lawyers, for which no triumph over reason is too hard. This potent instrument, we mean, is Fiction. Only feign that all acts of such a description as to require punishment are 'crimes against the king's peace, or his crown and dignity,' \*  
and

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\* See Blackstone, B. 1. ch. 7. and b. 4. ch. 1.

and that all acts which require only coercion and not punishment, are not 'offences against the king's peace, or against his crown and dignity,' and you have established your distinction beyond the power of subversion. The mischief, however, which is wrought among the English people by this unnatural figment, might, if this were the proper place for it, be easily shown to be, of great amount.

But, besides this incongruity of making a head for public offences when they are included under other heads, there is an inconsistency no less glaring between the heads, of crimes against persons, and crimes against things. In strictness of speech there can be no crimes against things: crimes against things, are crimes against persons, as connected with things. It is obvious, upon the first hearing, that there can be no crimes but against sentient beings; and the case of the inferior animals may be considered by itself.

In regard to the second principle of classification, the degrees of malignity, or of demand for punishment in crimes, the author has only marked three distinctions; whereas the diversities capable of being marked, and that ought to be marked, are exceedingly numerous. This division, therefore, even if the lines of separation were as well defined as they are ill defined,—goes so little a way, that it can be of scarcely any use, or rather, to speak plain, of no use at all. A plain question will set this in its proper light. Has M. Bexon only three diversities of punishment, as he has but three diversities of malignity in crime? On the contrary, he has a very great number; and as these are necessarily distributed among his columns without rule, this real confusion, mixed with the pretended order of the threefold division, rather thickens the perplexity, than in any degree serves to disentangle it. A counterpart to this division, in respect to the degrees of delinquency, if not the model from which it was borrowed, may be found indeed in the Roman law, in respect to the degrees of evidence; 1. Probatio plena; 2. Minus plena; 3. Semiplena; 4. Major semiplena; 5. Minor semiplena;—(See Heineccii Pand. P. iv. 117.) The copy, however, does not come up to the original; inasmuch as the Roman names serve in some measure to mark the distinctive characters of the objects meant to be distinguished. The French names have no such effect; for, in common use, they are for the most part interchangeable.

This very want of clear and expressive names, appears to us to preclude all idea of arranging a penal code according to the magnitude or atrocity of the offences described in it. Yet it might be of use to annex to the code itself a table, exhibiting a list of the crimes, with their respective punishments, drawn up according

ing to their degrees, beginning at the lowest degree, and ending at the highest. This would be an instructive monitor, exhibiting, at one view, the whole field of interdicted action, and the dangers which, at every part of that field, the infringement of the interdiction brings along with it.

To enter into any detail of particulars so numerous as these which enter into a criminal code, with a view to show its perfections on the one hand, or its defects on the other, would, it is manifest, be an undertaking too extensive by far, for any such design as that which at present engages us. A few very general reflections is all that we can now offer. The author's general notions of punishment are more nearly correct than those which he has expressed on any other branch of the subject. The beneficent ideas which the best authors have disseminated, are those which, for the most part, he has endeavoured to apply; and he has, at least, approximated towards a good application. From unqualified praise, however, even on this point, there are large deductions to be made. The pain of death, for example, is distributed with rather an unsparing hand. An instrument of punishment, so liable to do evil rather than good, so incapable to any good which might not be better accomplished by other means, as the pillory, that characteristic invention of a barbarous age, he carefully retains, and puts to extensive use. He decides for the power of pardoning, that is, the power of weakening the efficacy of the law; though, in a former work, he had violently condemned it. But at that time, he tells us, France had no sovereign!—Such is the apology which, upon taking notice as he does, of his own inconsistency, he thinks it sufficient to make for it.

The vagueness of his notions leads him to mix with his penal enactments a variety of such as necessarily belong to the non-penal branch of law, and even a variety of such as belong to procedure merely. Nay, which is more heterogeneous still, mere elucidations, instead of being exhibited as elucidations, in notes, or according to any other convenient arrangement distinct from the text of the law, are engrossed into the code as part of that text, and are not easily distinguished from the penal mandates with which they are incorporated.

Of all qualities in a legislator, the faculty of defining with clearness and accuracy, of marking strongly in words the boundary of the legal prescription, so that all men may, as certainly as possible, distinguish the actions which it includes, and the actions which it does not include, is one of the greatest importance. A vague law, as far as its vagueness extends, is not merely equivalent to the absence of law, but is a great deal worse. It leaves the power of the judge arbitrary, and covers the arbitrary exercise of that power

power with the semblance of law. Were the judge called upon to decide without a law, his decision would be watched, and tried at the formidable bar of public opinion. When he can hold up a law, by the vague words of which he can show that his decision is in some sense allowed, at whatever expense to justice he may thereby have gratified any of his sinister designs, the blame is immediately supposed to be altogether, or nearly, removed from his shoulders. In this respect, the extent to which vagueness prevails among the mental habits of M. Bexon, disqualified him, to a lamentable degree, for the task he has undertaken. Happily, of the cases composing the object of penal law, by far the greater number are distinguished by lines so broad and strong, that almost any hand suffices to point them out. But in all these, in which the work of definition was a work of difficulty and skill, the performance of M. Bexon has little claim to applause. Among the instances of greatest importance, we may specify his laws relating to the liberty of conscience in matters of religion, to the liberty of the press, the respect due to the sovereign, &c. On these laws all security for liberty ultimately depends. Yet M. Bexon so words his proposed enactments, on those important heads, as to place, by mere vagueness, at the power of the governing men, almost every thing over which they would wish to domineer.

‘Quiconque blâme l’autorité publiquement, ou repand le ridicule sur les lois et les réglemens établis dans l’état, de maniere à affaiblir ou à faire mépriser le pouvoir, commet un delit.’ (*Code de Sureté, &c. liv. iv. tit. 1. art. 14.*)

Under these loose and flexible phrases—of ‘publicly blaming authority’—of ‘throwing ridicule on the regulations of the state’—of ‘weakening power, or of exposing it to contempt,’—it is abundantly evident, that every species of criticism on public men and public measures may be punished; and all the security for good government, which depends on the controul of public censure, cut off as effectually as it might be in England, by a law which should inflict punishment, if such a thing could be supposed, for publishing an opinion, that ‘any high character, in a high situation, is unfit for his place,’ or for publishing any thing ‘by which the feelings of another might be hurt.’ Again,

‘Quiconque, par discours tenus publiquement, ou par des écrits, affichés ou distribués, imprimés ou non, ou par exposition, vente, débit, ou distribution de chansons, figures ou images, aura attaqué ou violé les principes de la sureté générale, de la paix publique ou de la morale universelle, ou aura provoqué au delit ou au crime, est coupable d’un delit.’ (*Ibid. art. 92.*)

Here, again, under the vague phrases—of ‘violating the principles of general security,’—or of ‘public peace,’—or of ‘universal

sal morality,'—a privilege is given to men in power to prosecute every writing which is disagreeable to them; and complete license is extended to the judge to give the colour of law to any decision by which men in power may be gratified; just as in England, the same privilege, and the same license, might be secured by a law, punishing any writing tending to 'disturb the public peace'—'contrary to good order'—or 'good morals'—or 'contrary to religion.'

Far, however, as this specimen of a penal code is from perfection—from that perfection which there is now light enough in Europe to bestow,—yet compare it with the old systems—compare it, for example, with the *Lois Penales* of old France, or of any other continental country, and its excellence can hardly receive praises too strong. The utility of the whole community, not that of any particular classes, is the object constantly held in view, and to a considerable, though still imperfect degree, attained. Imaginary crimes are excluded. Punishment is not awarded according to the dictates of caprice, or of a blind antipathy, or a sinister interest, but of reason; calculating, with more or less exactness, but still sincerely, the greatest possible prevention of evil.

The greatest advantage, however, of all, and an advantage which—had the execution been many times more imperfect than it is—would have been beyond all price, is—the possession of the penal laws in an express, and (till altered by legislative authority) an exclusive set of words. Uncertainty, obscurity, and the range of arbitrary power in the hands of the judge—arbitrary power, in its very worst shape—masked with the vizard of the law,—are thus narrowed, how vague soever the definitions, to a compass which is as nothing, when compared with the almost boundless dominion they usurp, while the law is unwritten, or common; while it is yet, as in the most barbarous states of society, fixed by no express form of words; and by consequence is, in many of the most important respects, whatever the judge chuses, by inference, from a vast and varying mass of decisions or cases, to say that former judges have made it.

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ART. VII. *The Remains of Hesiod the Ascraean, translated from the Greek into English Verse; with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes.* By Charles Abraham Elton. 1809.

THE reputation of Hesiod has in all ages rested more upon another's merit than his own. Like that steed of mortal birth, who was matched with coursers of divine pedigree in the chariot of Achilles—

Ὅς καὶ θνητὸς ἄν, ἐπὶ δ' ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισιν—

he has run his race to posterity in the best company. Homer and Hesiod have been familiarly named together for more than two thousand years as the twin parents of Grecian poetry. Yet this celebrity of his name has not altogether extended to his writings, which, in general, are not much noticed even by classical scholars.

The poems attributed to Hesiod are three: the Works and Days, the Theogony, and the Shield of Hercules. Of the poet himself scarcely any thing is known. When the Greeks, about the sixth century before our era, awaked to science and letters, they were attracted by the excellence of some of their traditionary poetry. What bore the name of Homer shone unrivalled: but, after Homer, they held in respect certain antient lays of a Boeotian, named Hesiod. But several ages of darkness had intervened; and as Greece had neither any history, nor even any public amusements so early as A. C. 600, there was nothing but the faint and vague light of tradition to direct their curiosity. How little this has availed to determine the character and age of Homer, is well known; and as much less solicitude was felt about Hesiod, it is natural that, with respect to him, at least equal ignorance should have prevailed. All that can be conjectured is from the evidence of his own writings. He lived, it seems, at Ascra near Helicon, which may perhaps have been the occasion of his devoting himself to serve the ladies of the manor. It may be inferred that his era was much later than that of the Trojan and Theban wars, since he ranks the heroes concerned in those exploits as a sort of demi-gods, who preceded the iron age of man's degeneracy. If, therefore, our common chronology can be trusted as to those obscure fragments of past times, we cannot place Hesiod earlier than 900 or 1000 years before Christ. On the other hand, there are in the whole poem of the Works and Days, obvious traces of an imperfect stage of society. The government of his country seems to have been a semi-patriarchal monarchy, in which the office of judge was the most prominent part of the kingly character. No allusion is found to any art, except those necessary to agriculture and clothing; while the moral precepts are partly uncouth and unintelligible superstitions, partly those simple rules of prudence and decency, which could hardly have been required beyond the infancy of civilized life. Compared with Homer, our Boeotian poet is indisputably more rude in these respects, as well as in his language and prosody: yet we cannot perhaps infer from hence his greater antiquity, since the same defects may have proceeded from the comparative barbarism of that part of Greece wherein he dwelt. Of the sea, though he gives some directions for ship-building, Hesiod professes himself ignorant: but we cannot doubt that Homer was acquainted with various regions, and master of whatever

whatever knowledge and politeness that age of the world afforded. This exceeding simplicity, indeed, is perhaps the chief recommendation of the Works and Days. It seems a relic of remote times and primitive manners, which strike us perhaps more in a philosophical view, thus nakedly displayed, than when shadowed out in the splendid fictions of the *Odyssey*.

As a poet, Hesiod is remarkably unequal. Nothing can be more stupid than his georgical precepts in the Works and Days, or his catalogue of divinities in the Theogony. Yet the Prosopopœia of Justice in the former, and the combat of Gods and Titans in the latter, rise to considerable sublimity. It must be confessed, that before the artifices of a poet's trade were discovered, the just dimensions of a plough, or even the fifty daughters of Nereus, were most impracticable themes. But his brother Boeotians took all in good part: bad verses, like black bread, will easily go down where the taste is unpalated by satiety of what is better; and indeed the early Greeks were so far from slighting Hesiod, that they coined a silly story of a poetical contest in which he carried the prize from Homer.

The present translator has had two predecessors in his task. Chapman, the first who made Homer English, produced a version also of the Works and Days. This, like his Homer, is executed with much fire, and strength of language; but is obscure and uncouth, and not always faithful to the sense. It is now an exceedingly scarce book. Some extracts are given in the Appendix to Mr Elton's translation. Another was made by Cooke about the middle of the last century. This is well known; and has been republished in Anderson's Collection of Poets. Cooke, however, was a hero of the Dunciad; and his translation of Hesiod will not remove him from 'that bad eminence.' Mr Elton pelts him unmercifully throughout his notes, and seems a little too solicitous to prove a superiority which no one is likely to question. It is a very poor triumph to excel a graduated *Dunce* like Cooke; and would not, we fear, of itself place the present translation on a respectable footing. It has, however, considerable intrinsic merit. What inducement a man of Mr Elton's apparent talents and power of verification can have had to so ungrateful a task, we do not divine; nor do we dare to flatter him with the hope, that Hesiod, who has long been neglected in Greek, will now become popular in English. But a few extracts, which we shall make, will evince, that Mr Elton is competent to more interesting works of translation.

No passage in the Theogony has been so justly celebrated as the battle of the Titans, in which it is not uninteresting to observe 'th' access of that celestial thief' Milton, who had obviously fill-



ed his imagination with it, before he wrote the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*.

‘ All on that day rous’d infinite the war,  
 Female and male ; the Titan deities,  
 The gods from Saturn sprung, and those whom Jove  
 From subterraneous gloom releas’d to light :  
 Terrible, strong, of force enormous ; burst  
 A hundred arms from all their shoulders huge :  
 From all their shoulders fifty heads upsprang  
 O’er limbs of sinewy mould. They then array’d  
 Against the Titans in fell combat stood,  
 And in their nervous grasps wielded aloft  
 Precipitous rocks. On th’ other side alert  
 The Titan phalanx clos’d : their hands of strength  
 Join’d prowess, and display’d the works of war.  
 Tremendous then th’ immeasurable sea  
 Roar’d ; earth resounded ; the wide heaven throughout  
 Groan’d shattering : from its base Olympus vast  
 Reel’d to the violence of gods : the shock  
 Of deep concussion rock’d the dark abyss  
 Remote of Tartarus : the shrilling din  
 Of hollow trappings, and strong battle strokes,  
 And measureless uproar of wild pursuit.  
 So they reciprocal their weapons hurl’d  
 Groan-scattering ; and the shout of either host  
 Burst in exhorting ardour to the stars  
 Of heaven ; with mighty war-cries either host  
 Encountering clos’d.

Nor longer then did Jove  
 Curb his full power ; but instant in his soul  
 There grew dilated strength, and it was fill’d  
 With his omnipotence. At once he loos’d  
 His whole of might, and put forth all the god.  
 The vaulted sky, the mount Olympian, flash’d  
 With his continual presence ; for he pass’d  
 Incessant forth, and scatter’d fires on fires.  
 Hurl’d from his hardy grasp the lightnings flew  
 Reiterated swift ; the whirling flash  
 Cast sacred splendour ; and the thunderbolt  
 Fell : roar’d around the nurture-yielding earth  
 In conflagration, far on every side.  
 Th’ immensity of forests crackling blaz’d :  
 Yea, the broad earth burn’d red, the streams that mix  
 With ocean, and the deserts of the sea  
 Round and around the Titan brood of earth,  
 Roll’d the hot vapour on its fiery surge ;  
 The liquid heat, air’s pure expanse divine

Suffus’d :

Suffus'd: the radiance keen of quivering flame  
 That shot from writhen lightnings, each dim orb,  
 Strong though they were, intolerable smote,  
 And scorch'd their blasted vision. Through the void  
 Of Erebus, the preternatural glare  
 Spread, mingling fire with darkness. But to see  
 With human eye, and hear with ear of man,  
 Had been, as if midway the spacious heaven,  
 Hurling with earth, shock'd—e'en as nether earth  
 Crash'd from the centre, and the wreck of heaven  
 • Fell rushing from high. So vast the din,  
 When, gods encountering gods, the clang of arms  
 Commingled, and the tumult roar'd from heavens' p. 111.

This is very splendid poetry, and rendered with extraordinary spirit. There are indeed, in this poem of Hesiod, several descriptions which deserve to be better known.

The fables of classical mythology lose great part of their impression upon our minds, from the long acquaintance which we have had with them, and their trivial or burlesque application. But those which are less familiar, as some in the Theogony, are full as wildly sublime as any of the Gothic romances which have lately become more popular. The images of Day and Night gliding alternately athwart the brazen portal of the wall that encircles the world, and of the murky prison in which the Titans were pent up by Jupiter, under the custody of strong-armed giants, are conceived with a vigorous fancy. Even Cerberus, of whom we are used to think as little worse than a vulgar mastiff, shows, in the following lines, a certain insidiousness of character, for which it is right to be prepared.

• A grisly dog,  
 Implacable, holds watch before the gates;  
 Of guile malicious. Them who enter there,  
 With tail and bended ears he fawning soothes:  
 But suffers not that they with backward step  
 Repass: whoe'er would issue from the gates  
 Of Pluto strong and stern Persiphone,  
 For ~~then~~, with marking eye, he lurks; on them  
 Springs from his couch, and pitiless devours.' p. 118.

The Works and Days have been translated by Mr Elton in rhymed verse. We do not think him altogether so successful in this poem as in the Theogony; but the incredible obstinacy of his text, may well be pleaded in excuse. What is dull, cannot be moulded into liveliness; what is absurd, cannot be clothed with meaning. In brief maxims of agriculture and domestic economy, we expect, indeed, a good deal of aridity; but the nonsense

of Hesiod is intolerable. The following is a just specimen of the poet of Ascrea in his worst moments.

' The twenty-ninth to broach the cask is best ;  
 The prudent secret is to few confest.  
 Then yoke thy steers ; thy mules in harness bind,  
 And coursers, hoof'd with fleetness of the wind.  
 Let the swift ship with numerous banks of oars  
 Be launch'd this day along the sandy shores.  
 Yet few this day entirely faithful deem ;  
 Draw on the fourth thy wine's well-flavour'd stream ;  
 Holy the fourteenth day beyond the rest ;  
 The twenty-fourth o'er all at morning best ;  
 Few know the secret truth : and worst the day  
 When great the fervour of the noon-tide ray.' p. 496.

Yet there are oases even in this poem, and frequent marks, that if Hesiod was prosaic, it was more from negligence than coldness of fancy. He even rises to philosophical observation, in his comparison of Emulation and Discord, the two Strifes, as he calls them, which are of sisterly birth, though the source of opposite effects upon mankind. But this poet, doomed to be unequal in reason as well as imagery, stoops from this flight to those senseless superstitions of which we have given an example. There are some excellent lines upon Winter ; which Addison, as Mr Elton observes, has unjustly ridiculed. We will not quote them in the present translation, because we think it rather wordy. The last couplet but one, of the following extract, is liable to the same objection : the rest, however, is, we think, very elegant.

' When the green artichoke ascending flow'rs ;  
 When in the sultry season's toilsome hours,  
 Perch'd on a branch beneath his veiling wings,  
 With shrill sweet note Cicade frequent sings ;  
 Then the plump goat a savoury food bestows,  
 The poignant wine in mellowest flavour flows ;  
 Wanton the blood then bounds in woman's veins,  
 But weak of man the heat-enfeebled reins ;  
 Full on his brain descends the solar flame ;  
 Unnerves the languid knees, and all the frame  
 Exhaustive dries away ;—O then be thine  
 The grotto's arching gloom, the Byblian wine.  
 Let kneaded milk-cakes, and the milk that flows  
 Defrauded from the kid, thy feast compose ;  
 Let heifers young their tender flesh afford,  
 Fed on the forest-browse, and killings crown the board.  
 With dainty food so saturate thy soul,  
 And drink the wine dark-mantling in the bowl :  
 While in the coolness of the shade reclin'd,  
 Thy face is turn'd to catch the breathing wind,

And feel the fresh'ning brook that sparkling glides  
With living waters and transparent tides.

To fill the goblet from the wave be thine

Three parts; the fourth may flow with brimming wine.' p.179.

There are a few instances of defective translation which have occurred to us in this poem. *Αἰδώς* *ἢ ἀγαθὴ* is improperly rendered Shame, p. 160; whereas it rather means, that diffidence and want of enterprize which unfits men from improving their fortune. In this sense it is opposed by Hesiod to *Θαῖρος*, an active and courageous spirit. The following lines are not intelligible.

'In every compact be a witness near,  
Though with thy brother, for it shall appear  
As done in mirth; mistrust alike we find  
And fond credulity destroy mankind.'

The original is sufficiently obscure; but it seems to convey an admonition, rather wary than generous, as is the custom of our Bæotian, not to suffer ourselves, in moments of good humour, to make a bargain even with our brother, unless in presence of a witness; and this sense is given by Cooke, whose translation of the passage is ridiculed by Mr Elton in a note.

*Καὶ ἴε κασιγνήτῳ γέλῳσας ἐπὶ μαρτυρῇ θίσθαι.*

Do not, by mirth betray'd, your brother trust;

Without a witness he may prove unjust.

COOKE.

'He who trusts a woman,' says the uncivil poet, 'trusts to thieves.' It is a strangely affected way of expressing this dry sentiment, which Mr Elton has taken, 'The thief is ambushed in her smile.'

There seems no reason to discredit the tradition of antiquity, that both these poems, the Theogony, and the Works and Days, proceeded from the same poet. They resemble each other in their inequalities of style, and in the cadence of their versification. Perhaps, too, we ought to believe, that such abuse of the fair sex as appears in each, and which is wholly unlike the courteous gallantry of Homer, could only proceed from one and the same ungracious pen. However, the introduction to the Theogony has been considered by many critics as a spurious addition, of an age much later than that of Hesiod; to which opinion we completely assent, not so much on account of its florid language, as a certain sweet and stately, but monotonous cadence, which characterizes almost all the later Greek poetry, and is easily distinguishable from that of Homer and Hesiod. But the third poem, attributed to the bard of Ascræ, entitled, 'The Shield of Hercules,' is of a very different character from either of the others. Its authenticity has been judiciously discussed by the present translator, whose objections are founded upon its little resemblance to the general manner of Hesiod, and the strong marks of being servilely

vilely imitated from the Shield of Achilles. If any one should surmise, that Homer may have been the plagiarist, it is sensibly replied by Mr Elton,

' Where two poems are found to bear so intimate a resemblance, as to preclude the belief of mere casual coincidence, the scale of originality must doubtless preponderate in favour of that which is the more simple in style and invention. Where a poem abounds with florid figures and irregular flights of imagination, it is inconceivable that a *copy* of that poem should exhibit a chaste simplicity of fancy; but it is highly natural, that an imitator should think to transcend his original by the aid of meretricious ornament; that he should mistake bombast for sublimity, and attempt to dazzle and astonish. Of this kind of elaborate refinement, a single instance will serve in illustration.

' Both poets encircle their buckler with the ocean. Robinson gives the preference to the author of the fragment; alleging, that his description is decorated with the utmost beauty of imagery, while that of Homer is not distinguished by any remarkable brilliancy, either of circumstance or diction. To the comparative simplicity of Homer I fully assent; and I consider it also as demonstrating the superiority of his judgment, and as thereby establishing, beyond dispute, the fact of his originality.' p. 24.

Yet he is inclined to consider the introductory passage, in celebration of Alcmena, and some other passages, as genuine fragments of Hesiodian poems, pieced together, as well as interpolated, by some later hand. Whatever may be the origin of the Shield of Hercules, it is, we think, a more pleasing poem than either of Hesiod's undisputed productions; and the translator has had to wrestle with comparatively few difficulties in giving it an English dress, of which its dilated and ornamental diction renders it easily susceptible. The following lines present a favourable specimen, both of the original and the version; they will recd to the poetical reader, several passages of Adam's vision in the 11th book of *Paradise Lost*, as well as in the prototype of both, the Shield of Achilles.

' But next arose

A well-tower'd city, by seven golden gates  
Enclos'd, that fitted to their lintels hung.  
There, men in dances and in festive joys  
Held revelry. Some on the smooth-wheel'd car  
A virgin bride conducted: then burst forth  
Aloud the marriage-song; and far and wide  
Long splendours flash'd from many a quivering torch  
Borne in the hands of slaves. Gay-blooming girls  
Preceded, and the dancers follow'd blithe:  
These, with shrill pipe indenting the soft lip,  
Breath'd melody, while broken echoes thrill'd

Around

Around them ; to the lyre with flying touch  
Those led the love-enkindling dance.

A group

Of youths was elsewhere imag'd, to the flute  
Disporting ; some in dances and in song,  
In laughter others. To the minstrel's flute  
So pass'd they on : and the whole city seem'd  
As fill'd with pomps, with dances, and with feasts.

Others again, without the city-walls,  
Vaulted on steeds, and madden'd for the goal.  
Others as husbandmen appear'd, and broke  
With coltter the rich glebe, and gather'd up  
Their tunics neatly girded.

Next arose

A field thick set with depth of corn ; where some  
With sickle reap'd the stalks, their spiry heads  
Bent, as with pods weigh'd down of swelling grain,  
The fruits of Ceres.

Others into hands

Gather'd, and threw upon the thrashing floor  
The sheaves.

And some again hard-by were seen

Holding the vine-sickle, who clusters cut  
From the ripe vines, which from the vintagers  
Others in pails receiv'd, or bore away  
In baskets thus up-pil'd the cluster'd grapes,  
Or black, or pearly white, cut from deep ranks  
Of spreading vines, whose tendrils curling twin'd  
In silver, heavy-foliag'd : near them rose  
The ranks of vines, by Vulcan's curious craft  
Figur'd in gold. The vines leaf-shaking curl'd .  
Round silver props. They therefore on their way  
Pass'd jocund, to one minstrel's flageolet,  
Burthen'd with grapes that blacken'd in the bin.  
Some also trod the wine-press, and some quaff'd  
The foaming must.

But in another part

Were men who wrestled, or in gymnastic fight  
Wielded the cæstus.

Elsewhere men of chase

Were taking the fleet hares ; two keen-tooth'd dogs  
Bounded beside ; these ardent in pursuit,  
Those with like ardour doubling on their flight.

Next them were knights, who painful effort made  
To win the prize of contest and hard toil.

High o'er the well-compacted chariots hung  
The charioteers ; the rapid horses loos'd

At their full stretch, and shook the floating reins.

H 3

Rebounding

Rebounding from the ground with many a shock  
 Flew clattering the firm cars, and creak'd aloud  
 The naves of the round wheels. They therefore toil'd  
 Endless; nor conquest yet at any time  
 Achiev'd they, but a doubtful strife maintain'd.  
 In the mid-course the prize, a tripod huge,  
 Was plac'd in open sight, insculpt of gold :—  
 These glorious works had Vulcan artful wrought.'

Upon the whole, we are disposed to give Mr Elton credit for considerable skill in versification. Indeed, though his translation is close, sometimes too close for perspicuity, it seems at least equal to the original. His blank verse, in which he excels more than in the couplet, is of a good structure, bearing a general, but not servile resemblance to Milton, with a little cast of some of Mr Southey's peculiarities of expression, and some of the daring expletives of Cowper.\* The notes appear to be chiefly compiled from the various editors of Hesiod; but some of the extracts from Bryant's Mythology might have been omitted without injury. If the conjectures of that scholar were as solid as they are ingenious, they are still but part of a great system of erudition, and seem misplaced by way of illustrating a single poet.

ART. VIII. *An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany.* By James Edward Smith, M. D. F. R. S., &c. &c., President of the Linnean Society. 8vo. pp. 557. Second Edition. Longman & Co. London, 1809.

It is not very long since we took occasion to lay before our readers \* an account of an elementary treatise on botany by Professor Willdenow, of Berlin. We are now to make them acquainted with a similar book, of home manufacture; and, as we sincerely think, of still higher pretensions. Its author is not merely the President of the Linnean Society, as announced in the title-page, but he is the possessor of the herbarium, library, and manuscripts of Linnæus himself. He is also the author of the *Flora Britannica*,—perhaps the most complete and correct catalogue and description ever published of the plants of any country. He is, besides, the author or editor of an elegant book on foreign plants, entitled *Exotic Botany*; and he has published the first part of a *Flora Græca*, from materials left by his lamented friend Dr Sibthorpe. It is evident, that the habits and experience which are necessarily implied in the composition of such works, must have given

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\* Vol. xi. p. 73, et seq.

given Dr Smith peculiar advantages for the task which he has now undertaken; and when it is considered that he has, for several years past, alternately filled the botanical chair at Liverpool, and at the Royal Institution, London, and must therefore have studied the best means of conveying popular information on the subject, it is impossible not to feel, that an elementary treatise, from his pen, if executed in a manner worthy of himself, must prove a very acceptable present to all lovers of the science; and that an elaborate apology for multiplying such books, was something more than unnecessary from such a quarter. The work, accordingly, we observe, has already reached a second edition, and appears to us to deserve a pretty full analysis.

The first chapter treats 'of the distinction between animals, vegetables and fossils, and of the vital principle essential to the two former.' The author opens this trite, but somewhat perilous subject, with remarking, that 'those who, with a philosophical eye, have contemplated the productions of nature, have all, by common consent, divided them into *three* great classes, called the Animal, the Vegetable, and the Mineral Kingdom; and that 'these terms are still in general use; and the most superficial observer must be struck with their propriety.' The old systematical writers, no doubt, employed this threefold division; but of late we have heard more of a *fourth* class, proposed, we believe, several years ago, by an acute and learned Professor in this University, to be called the Gaseous Kingdom; an addition which seems to be rendered indispensable by the wonderful progress of discovery in pneumatic chemistry. 'Superficial observers' we may possibly be accounted by Dr Smith; but we should like to know in which of his three great classes he would arrange these things called Hydrogen, Azote and Carbonic acid, about which he tells us so much in the course of his physiological chapters.

He appears to be duly aware of the wonderfully close analogy between the vegetable and animal creation; but, in stating the claims of the former, while he passes over in silence the Linnean dogma, '*Vegetabilia, corpora non sentientia*,' he avoids the opposite extreme of the author of the *Phytologia*, and contents himself with this modest query, 'May not the exercise of the *vital* functions of plants be attended with *some* degree of sensation, however low, and *some* consequent share of happiness?' We are so far from objecting to the moderate postulate that is here made in behalf of vegetables, that we would answer, with our ingenious countryman Smellie,—that '*life*, without *some* degree of sensation, is an incomprehensible idea.' The plants which exhibit the greatest sensibility to external impressions, are the *Mimosa sensitiva* and *pudica*, *Hedysarum gyrans*, *Oxalis sensitiva*, and *Smithia sensitiva*,



all of which have pinnated leaves. An impression made on one of the leaflets is communicated in succession to all of them; 'evidencing,' in Dr Smith's opinion, 'an exquisite irritability; for it is in vain to attempt any mechanical solution of the phenomenon.'

'The *Hedysarum gyrans* has a spontaneous motion in its leaves, independent of any external stimulus, even of light; and only requiring a very warm, still atmosphere, to be performed in perfection. Each leaf is ternate; and the small lateral leaflets are frequently moving up and down, either equally or by jerks, without any uniformity or cooperation among themselves. It is difficult to guess at the purpose which this singular action is designed to answer to the plant itself: its effect on a rational beholder cannot be indifferent.'

Like all his predecessors, Dr Smith finds it exceedingly difficult to lay down a satisfactory criterion between animal and vegetable life. He is extremely delighted, however, with a remark of M. Mirbel,\* which we shall lay before our readers, because the Doctor has declared that it exhibits a criterion to which he has in vain sought any exception. 'Plants alone,' says M. Mirbel, 'have a power of deriving nourishment, though not indeed exclusively, from *inorganic* matter—mere earths, salts or airs; substances certainly incapable of serving as food for any animals, the latter only feeding on what is or has been organized matter, either of a vegetable or animal nature: so that it should seem to be the office of vegetable life alone, to transform dead matter into organized living bodies.' We are not sure but the vulgar and well-known fact, of gold-fishes, leeches, and some other animals, continuing lively and vigorous for great lengths of time, when confined in jars filled with pure spring water, is sufficient to invalidate M. Mirbel's hypothesis; for these *animals* seem to possess the power of deriving nourishment from inorganic matter. But, supposing M. Mirbel perfectly accurate, we are certainly far from regarding this as a test of easy application. It is evidently assumed, that we are always able to distinguish between the pabulum arising from the decomposition of organic, and that arising from inorganic matter. But this will, in very many cases, be found no easy task; and, indeed, will generally be quite impracticable when the pabulum presents itself in the gaseous form; and the infusory animalcula (if they be admitted to rank as animals) can scarcely be supposed capable of receiving aliment in any other form. Further, if plants alone have the power of deriving nourishment from *inorganic* matter, 'mere earths, salts and airs,' it is rather puzzling that those *airs* and *salts* which have been considered as constituting the principal

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\* In his *Traité d'Anatomie et de Physiologie Végétales*.

cial food of plants, should in reality arise chiefly from the decomposition of *organic* matters. We doubt much whether M. Mirbel's conclusion, that it is the office of vegetable life exclusively to transform dead matter into organized, be more admissible: for we have always considered it as more than probable, that the numerous tribes of corals must derive the means of forming their stems and branches (which in the tropical seas are of great size, and, considering the minuteness of the polypi, of a magnitude almost incredible) entirely from the calcareous matter held in solution in the waters of the ocean; and we think no one will dispute, that the quantity of lime found dissolved in the sea, can proceed only from the constant abrasion and decomposition of the great chains of 'inorganic' calcareous rocks along which it incessantly washes in different quarters of the globe.

We did expect that the great proportional abundance of nitrogen or azote in animal substances, would be fixed on as one mean of distinction. Accordingly, we find that this fact, though not directly stated, is indirectly alluded to; and is in reality the test to which the practical naturalist is ultimately referred. 'The simple expedient of *burning*,' says Dr Smith, 'will decide the question. The smell of a burnt bone, coralline, or other animal substance, is so peculiar, that it can never be mistaken, nor does any known vegetable give out the same odour.' (p. 6.) This expedient of burning is, it must be confessed, a very compendious method of solving a difficult problem. In a scientific book, however, it might have been explained, that the 'peculiar' smell here alluded to, is principally that of ammonia or volatile alkali; and that this ammonia is suddenly generated by the azote (which, as already noticed, is abundant in all animal substances) being here presented to hydrogen in a nascent state. It is, however, to be remembered, that some vegetable products, such as the gluten of wheat, caoutchouc, and the juice of the papaw-tree, give out, in burning, nearly the same peculiar smell afforded by animal matter. 'Of all the products of the vegetable system,' says Mr Murray, \* 'the juice of the *Carica papaya* is the one which approaches most nearly to animal matter; and it might indeed be regarded as a variety of it, if its origin were not known. Exposed on burning fuel it diffuses a very fetid ammoniacal odour, as animal substances do.'

In the succeeding chapter, we have a 'definition of natural history, and particularly of botany,' and then some remarks on the 'general texture of plants.' Botany is divided into three branches: '1st, The physiology of plants, or a knowledge of the structure

structure and functions of their different parts: 2dly, The systematic arrangement and denomination of their several kinds: and, 3dly, Their economical and medical properties.' The tabular and cellular texture of vegetables is illustrated by a plate copied from Mirbel's Treatise already mentioned; the figures in which, we agree with the Doctor in 'regarding as incomparably more accurate than the microscopic delineations of Grew or Malpighi.

We now enter on a *general* view of the vegetable body, beginning at the external part, and proceeding inwards. Chapter third, therefore, treats 'of the cuticle or epidermis.' The term *cuticle*, the author seems to consider as having been borrowed by the anatomist from the botanist: we should rather suspect the plagiarism to lie the other way. But however this may be, the cuticle covers every part of the plant: it is nearly an incorruptible substance: it is probably destitute of the vital principle: it is porous in a greater or less degree in different plants: it is colourless: it is often clothed with a sort of wool or hair; and it guards the plant against the undue action of the atmosphere. The analogy between the animal and the vegetable cuticle is particularly insisted on. 'In the former, it varies in thickness from the exquisitely delicate film which covers the eye, to the hard skin of the hand or foot, or the far coarser covering of a tortoise or rhinoceros; in the latter, it is equally delicate on the parts of a flower, and scarcely less hard on the leaves of the pearly aloe, or coarse on the trunk of a plane-tree.' \*—'It forms in the vegetable, as well as the animal, a fine but essential barrier between life and destruction.'

Below the cuticle, we find 'the cellular integument,' the *tissu herbacé* of Mirbel, so named from its green colour. It is so far analogous to the *rete mucosum* of anatomists, that it is in general 'the seat of colour. But the analogy can be traced no farther; for, in the cellular integument, 'the principal changes operated upon the juices of plants by light and air, and the consequent elaboration of all their peculiar secretions, take place.' Though this organ is of such importance in the vegetable economy, little attention has been paid to it till of late. Indeed, we recollect to have been taught, that it was probably only of some use in maintaining the succulence of the parts within!—We now get on 'to the bark.' Along with M. Mirbel and many botanists, we have been accustomed to speak of the cuticle and the cellular integument as forming parts of the bark; and what Dr Smith here emphatically distinguishes

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\* By *Plane-tree*, in Scotland, it may be remarked, is invariably understood the *Acer pseudo-platanus*, Great Maple or Sycamore: the plane-tree here alluded to by Dr Smith, however, must be either the *Platanus occidentalis* or *orientalis*; probably the former.

distinguishes as '*the bark*,' we have been in the habit of denominating its cortical layers. We mention these things merely to avoid ambiguity: we make no doubt, that the epidermis and the cellular tissue are both distinct original parts, independent of the bark, and are therefore properly separated in treating of them. As examples of very thick and of thin barks, the well known roots, carrots and turnips, are specified. 'In some roots the bark, though only of annual duration, is very thick, as in the carrot, the red part of which is all *bark*. In the turnip it is much thinner, though equally distinct from the wood or body of the root.' We certainly make no objection to familiar illustrations; and should have thought the carrot a good example of a fusiform root, and the turnip of a tuberous one ending in a point. But we think it must sound rather paradoxical to a beginner, to hear of the *bark* of a carrot, and the *wood* of a turnip. The innermost layer of bark is the *liber*,—and here only do its vital operations go on: here, according to Dr Smith, are chiefly perfected the peculiar products of the plant, as gum, resin, tannin, cinchonin, and others. When mentioning the powers possessed by the bark, of renovating itself, and of closing up wounds made in it, Dr Smith takes occasion to pay a high compliment to the late Mr Forsyth of Kensington Gardens, whose experiments on decayed fruit-trees passed under his 'own actual observation,' and whose discoveries, we may add, were rewarded with abundant liberality by the British Parliament.

The next chapter treats 'of the wood.' We shall here only observe, in regard to the origin of wood, that Dr Smith totally rejects Linnæus's notion, that a new layer is secreted annually from the pith; and agrees with Du Hamel and the late Dr Hope, in considering it as a deposition from the liber. We shall add, in one short sentence, the detail of the experiment made by Dr Hope, both because we consider it as conclusive, and because we believe it will be new to many who, of late years, have studied botany in the gardens over which he presided. It was made on a branch of willow tree four years old.

'The bark was carefully cut through longitudinally on one side for the length of several inches; so that it might be slipped aside from the wood in the form of a hollow cylinder, the two ends being undisturbed. The edges of the bark were then united as carefully as possible, the wood covered from the air, and the whole bound up to secure it from external injury. After a few years, the branch was cut through transversely. The cylinder of bark was found lined with layers of new wood; whose number, added to those in the wood from which it had been stripped, made up the number of rings in the branch above and below the experiment.'

Chap. 7. is occupied with '*the medulla or pith*.' Linnæus ascribed the most important functions to this part, regarding it as the

the seat of life, and the source of vegetation. Du Hamel, on the contrary, considered it only as an unimportant cellular substance; and most botanists have not supposed it to be otherwise useful than in maintaining a proper degree of moisture in the plant. Dr Smith professes to hold a middle opinion between these extremes; but he evidently inclines to that of Linnæus, and speaks of it as 'a reservoir of vital energy.'

In chapter 8. we have an account of the 'sap-vessels, and course of the sap; with Mr Knight's theory of vegetation.' By 'Mr Knight's theory of vegetation,' is here to be understood only his doctrine concerning the circulation of the sap, and the vascular system of plants. The sap is evidently to be considered as the blood of the plant. But much difficulty has been found in ascertaining in what vessels it flows. Malpighi, Grew, and Duhamel, supposed that it was conveyed by the woody fibres; overlooking the insuperable objection that no perforations are discernible in them. Dr Darwin first suggested that the longitudinal tubes, which had hitherto been considered as air-vessels, might in reality be vegetable absorbents. In the trunk and larger branches of a tree, these tubes run along the alburnum, and thence are sometimes called *alburnous vessels*. Near the extremities or twigs, they are accompanied by a spiral coat or line, and range themselves round the centre or pith. They have likewise this structure and situation in herbaceous plants. Mr Knight has therefore termed them *central vessels*. Dr Smith gives the simple name of *sap-vessels* to both kinds.

Darwin demonstrated their use by experiment. He placed leafy twigs of the fig-tree in decoctions of madder and logwood; and on dissecting them a few hours afterwards, he found that the coloured liquid had ascended by the central vessels, and formed "circles of red dots around the pith. Mr Knight having employed a finer and more penetrating dye, (an infusion in water of the skins of a very black sort of grape), was able to trace it, in cuttings of apple-tree and horse-chestnut, into the leaf itself.

The fluids, therefore, destined to nourish a plant, being absorbed by the root, and having become sap, are carried up into the leaves by the alburnous and central vessels; a particular set of central vessels, appropriated to each leaf, branching off, a few inches below the leaf to which they belong, from the main channels that pass along the alburnum.

In the leaves, the sap is exposed to the action of the three powerful agents, light, air, and moisture, by which various changes are effected, or new secretions formed. These secretions not only endow the leaf itself with peculiar flavours and qualities, but are returned, as Mr Knight has shown, by another set of vessels, into the new layer of bark, which they enable in its turn to secrete matter for a new layer of alburnum the ensuing year.

We put the highest value on Mr Knight's account of the structure of vegetables; but we cannot join our author in praising him for 'the *perspicuous* mode in which he treats the subject throughout.' (p. 51.) On the contrary, we think there is sometimes a confusion in his statements, which would baffle almost any other reader than the President of the Linnean Society.

It may be proper here to add, that Mr Knight has more lately (Phil. Trans. 1808) published accounts of further experiments, in which the sap continued to flow, although the central vessels were cut across. He now concludes, therefore, that the sap rises through the cellular substance of the alburnum, being propelled by the alternate contractions and expansions of this spongy substance. Dr Smith takes no notice of this new doctrine—even in his second edition, although published in 1809.

Chap. 9. is of 'the sap, and of the insensible perspiration of plants.' Dr Smith accounts for the rapid flowing of the sap in spring, on the Brunonian principle of an accumulation of excitability, or irritability, during the cold of winter.

Chap. 10. treats of 'the secreted fluids of plants; of grafting; and of the heat of the vegetable body.' Here we are presented with an account of gum, resin, essential oil, and sugar; the bitter, the acid, and the alkaline secretion. Dr Smith, very candidly and properly, acknowledges his inability to tell *how* those very different substances are elaborated by plants. The late discoveries in galvanism, and especially the experiments of Mr Davy, render it not improbable that their production may depend on the action of different sorts of electricity.

In regard to the secretion of flinty earth, we are told that 'a substance is found in the hollow stem of the bamboo. (*Arundo bambos* of Linnæus) called *tabaxir* or *tabasheer*, which is supposed in the East Indies to be endowed with extraordinary virtues. Some of it sent to England underwent a chemical examination, and proved as nearly as possible pure flint.' It might have been added, however, that the French chemists, Fourcroy and Vauquelin, found, in their analysis of tabasheer, a considerable alloy of lime. 'How great is the contrast,' Dr Smith exclaims, 'between this production, if it be a secretion of the tender vegetable frame, and those exhalations which constitute the perfume of flowers! One is among the most permanent substances in nature, an ingredient in the primeval mountains of the globe; the other, the invisible, intangible breath of a moment!'

After a word or two on the *colours* of plants, and on the operations of *grafting* and *inoculating*, the Doctor then passes to the curious and but little understood subject of the production of heat by vegetables; and, in illustration of this, he gives an account of all that has yet been observed concerning the extraordinary evolution

tion of caloric from the opening sheath of the white-veined variety of the *Arum maculatum*. The fact was first noticed by Lamarck in his *Flore Française*, and was afterwards more particularly attended to by Sennebier of Geneva, who ascertained that the 'heat began when the sheath was about to open, and the cylindrical body within just peeping forth.' It continued for seven or eight hours, the greatest degree of heat being  $22^{\circ}$  of Reaumur ( $81^{\circ}$  Fahr.), the temperature of the air at that time being between  $14^{\circ}$  and  $15^{\circ}$  ( $65^{\circ}$  or  $66^{\circ}$  Fahr.) It may be proper to remark, that Sennebier himself does not admit that vegetables possess a power, *sui generis*, of generating caloric; but endeavours to account for the heat of the arum on chemical principles.

In chap. 11. the 'process of vegetation,' and 'the use of the cotyledons,' are described. The 'process of vegetation' is despatched in three short pages; and in regard to the use of the cotyledons, the opinion of Saussure is adopted, and a quotation to the same purpose is borrowed from the 4th volume of Dr Thomson's Chemistry.

At length, at the 12th chapter, we arrive at the beginning of the *particular* description of a complete plant, which, with the accompanying explanations, we think quite unexceptionable. We are first made acquainted with 'the root, and its different kinds.' The fibrous, the creeping, the spindle-shaped, the abrupt, the tuberous, the bulbous, and the jointed or granulated root, are severally described, and illustrated; not merely by very neat outlines or sketches at the end of the volume, but by references to one or more plates in popular botanical publications.

As an instance of *radix præmorsa*, or abrupt root, *Scabiosa succisa*, or Devil's bit Scabious, is mentioned; and old Gerarde is quoted. 'The great part of the root seemeth to be bitten away: old fantasticke charmers report, that the diuel did bite it for envie, because it is an herbe that hath so many good vertues, and is so beneficial to mankind.' And the Doctor facetiously adds, that 'the malice of the devil has unhappily been so successful, that no virtues can now be found in the remainder of the root or herb.' Under the division *Radix tuberosa*, or knotted root, we find some curious remarks on the Orchidæ, and particularly on the difficulty with which they are made to suffer transplanting. While the plant is flowering, the bulb (which is a true subterranean bud) for the next year is coming forward. If this be allowed to throw out radicles, the plant will not (according to our author) bear removing: but if the proper time be hit, and the whole be moved before the growth of the new bulb have commenced, success generally attends the operation. '*Satyrium albidum*,' we are told, p. 111, 'having many pairs of roots, the growth of some of which is always going on, has hitherto not been

been found to survive transplantation at all.' This is a mistake, though luckily not an important one. We have known different instances of transplanted specimens of *Satyrion albidum* surviving their removal, and coming into flower the next season. In one of these instances, the plants were brought from a very considerable distance, to the neighbourhood of Forfar, by Mr George Don, (a very skilful practical botanist of that town); and no particular attention was paid to the state of the bulbs at the time of removal, care only being taken to raise along with them a ball of earth, to pack them up so as to preserve this unbroken, and to commit them to the ground still included in a mass of their native soil. We may add, that *Satyrion albidum* may be seen in flower every summer at the Earl of Kinnoul's garden at Dupplin, and that these cultivated specimens are generally twice the size of native ones. It has also flowered for these last three or four years in the Edinburgh Botanic Garden, after having been transferred from its native *habitat* at a distance. It is, however, true, that this species is more liable to fail in a garden than *S. viride*, or even *S. repens*.

In the concluding observations on roots, we find a slight allusion to a fact, communicated to the author by the late Dr Walker of Edinburgh, concerning a tree growing on the ruinous wall of the monastery of New Abbey in Galloway. This sycagious plant, experiencing a deficiency of nourishment, stopped its growth upwards for some seasons, and sent down a number of strong fibres from the top of the wall, which was ten feet high, to the ground. When these new roots were fairly fixed in the earth, the tree once more increased upwards. This statement is now published, in Dr Walker's own words, in Lord Woodhouselee's Memoirs of Lord Kames; \* and we may take this opportunity to add, that although Dr Walker adduces this fact in proof of the *perceptivity* of plants, we are inclined to agree with Dr Smith in thinking, that there is no occasion to suppose that the tree had any information of the store of food at the bottom of the wall; but that it is more natural to conclude, that the 'vital powers of the tree not being adequate, from scanty nourishment, to the usual annual degree of increase in the branches, were accumulated in the root, which therefore was excited to an extraordinary exertion in its own natural direction downwards.' (p. 114.)

The next two chapters treat of 'the stems and stalks of plants,' and 'of their buds.' Dr Smith agrees with Mr Knight in considering the propagation of plants by budding, as merely a prolongation

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\* Appendix to Vol. II. p. 35. Dr Smith mentions the tree to be an ash: Dr Walker speaks of it as a sycamore, or *plane-tree* of Scotland.



longation or extension of the parent individual, and in thinking that these scions possess only a derivative or sympathetic existence. The loss of some of the best cyder apples in England is thus to be accounted for. Propagation by seeds is therefore the only true reproduction of plants. In the bud, the vital power is dormant, and its excitability is accumulated. Buds contain either leaves or flowers. 'Different causes, depending on the soil or situation, seem in one case to generate leaf-buds, in another flower-buds. Thus, the *Solandra grandiflora*, a Jamaica shrub, was for a number of years cultivated in the English stoves, and propagated extensively by cuttings, each plant growing many feet in length every season, from abundance of moisture and nourishment, without showing any signs of fructification. At length a pot of the *Solandra* was accidentally left without water in the dry stove at Kew; and in consequence of this unintentional neglect, the luxuriant growth of its branches was greatly checked, and a flower came forth at the extremity of each. By a similar mode of treatment, the same effect has since frequently been produced.' p. 141.

The next discussion is upon leaves, and their 'functions,' and is one of the most elaborate and most learned of the whole book. Leaves are stated, first, to be organs of insensible perspiration. Leaves are organs also of sensible perspiration, which is sometimes watery; sometimes saccharine, forming a sort of honey-dew; and in other instances, glutinous and resinous. Bonnet's remarks on the absorbing power of leaves are minutely detailed, from his *Recherches sur l'usage des Feuilles*.

The curious economy of different species of *Sarracenia*, and of the *Nepenthes distillatoria*, the hollow leaves of which always contain a quantity of water, is here noticed; and the author thinks he has discovered the purpose of nature in these contrivances. In the Botanic garden at Liverpool, a species of spheg or of ichneumon (the Doctor is not sure which) was observed dragging along large flies, and forcing them under the lid of the tubular leaves of the *Sarracenia aduncum*. The leaves of this species, he observes, are so constructed as nearly to exclude rain; and the liquid contained in them must therefore, he thinks, be secreted from the base of the leaf. All the leaves, on being examined, were found crammed with dead, or drowning flies. 'Probably,' it is added, 'the air evolved by these dead flies may be beneficial to vegetation; while the insect of prey' unquestionably stores them up for the food of itself or its progeny, probably depositing its eggs in their carcases.'—'Thus,' it is concluded, 'a double purpose is answered; nor is it the least curious circumstance of the whole, that an European insect should find out an American plant in a hot-house, in order to fulfil that purpose!' We should certainly join

join the President of the Linnean Society in expressing our admiration of this European insect's botanical intelligence, did we not conceive that he has in some measure deceived himself on the subject. If the liquid be a secretion from the base of the leaf, (a fact which, we think, might easily be ascertained in a hot-house, where water might be supplied to the root only), it is probable that this secretion may have some quality attractive to flies; and nothing is more likely than that they should perish in such a liquid, as it would probably possess some viscosity. As to the story of the sphex or ichneumon dragging along its captive flies, and making a dungeon of the hollow leaves, it rests upon the authority of 'one of the gardeners,' whose imagination may have greatly assisted his memory in picturing out the insect's operations. The economy of the *Nepenthes* is thus described.

'Each leaf of this plant terminates in a sort of close shut tube, like a tankard, holding an ounce or two of water, certainly secreted through the footstalk of the leaf, whose spiral-coated vessels are uncommonly large and numerous. The lid of this tube either opens spontaneously, or is easily lifted up by insects and small worms, who are supposed to resort to these leaves in search of a purer beverage than the surrounding swamps afford. Rumphius, who has described and figured the plant, says, "various little worms and insects crawl into the orifice, and die in the tube, except a certain small squilla or shrimp, with a protuberant back, sometimes met with, which lives there." I have no doubt (Dr Smith adds) that this shrimp feeds on the other insects and worms, and that the same purposes are answered in this instance as in the *Sarracenias*.'

We next find a general account of the effects of air and light upon vegetables. The observations of Grew, Malpighi, Hales, and Bonnet, are severally detailed. Dr Priestley was the first who observed that plants effected a change on common air: he found that they absorbed fixed air (carbonic acid gas), and gave out pure air (oxygen gas). Dr Smith informs us, that Dr Priestley found '*the conferva*' to be very powerful in this respect, — 'a minute, branching, cotton-like vegetable which grows in putrid water, and the production of which, in water become foul from long keeping on shipboard, he judged to operate principally in restoring that fluid to a state fit for use.' To talk thus loosely of '*the conferva*' might have been pardoned in Dr Priestley: but we had a right to expect a little more precision from Dr Smith, since there are many distinct species of *conferva*; and especially since the fact at any rate is, that what Dr Priestley first denominated *the conferva*, has, by some other philosophers, particularly Ingenhousz and Rumford, been considered as bundles of animalculæ. No notice is taken by Dr Smith of the possibility of the oxygen having been derived from the decomposition of the water by means of light. Neither is any notice taken of Count Rumford's experiments, by

which that philosopher has endeavoured (perhaps unsuccessfully) to show that various inanimate bodies, such as tufts of cotton or of down, give out oxygen on being immersed in water and exposed to the sun's rays.

Our author states (p. 212.), that it is now 'agreed, that, in the day-time, plants imbibe from the atmosphere carbonic acid gas; that they decompose it; absorb the carbon as matter of nourishment, and emit the oxygen.' And he adds, 'In the dark, plants give out carbon,' meaning carbonic acid, 'and absorb oxygen; but the proportion of the latter is small, compared to what they exhale by day, as must likewise be the proportion of carbon given out; else the quantity of the latter added to their substance would be but trifling.' The author, it may be observed in passing, seems here to overlook the portions of carbon which may be absorbed by plants from water and from the soil in which they grow.

Perhaps, at the time that Dr Smith wrote his book, the received opinions were nearly as he has stated; but, before the second edition was published, a considerable revolution had taken place, of which the author does not seem to have been aware. It certainly is not now 'agreed,' that plants imbibe carbonic acid in the 'day-time,' and exhale it in the 'dark.' The fact has been found to be, that they imbibe it as long as they are directly exposed to the sun's rays; and exhale it when placed in the shade, or during hazy weather, though it be still day-light. Mr Ellis, laying hold of this fact, and apparently taking the cloudy sky of this country as his standard, has argued,\* that as plants must generally consume oxygen and emit carbonic acid, the function which they thus usually perform ought to be considered as that on which their vegetation depends: and therefore he concludes, that the results of vegetable respiration are, upon the whole, the same with those of animal respiration; or that vegetables, as well as animals, consume oxygen and disengage carbonic acid.

The three following chapters treat, in detail, of the flowers, and the mode of flowering of plants; and appear to be clear and accurate. After an enumeration of the different kinds of corolla, some of its uses are mentioned. 'The beauties of the most sequestered wilderness,' it is observed, 'are not made in vain. They have myriads of admirers, attracted by their charms, and rewarded with their treasures, which very treasures would be as useless as the gold of a miser to the plant itself, were they not thus the means of bringing insects about it. The services rendered by such visitants will be understood, when we have described all the parts of a flower.' (p. 260.) It was not difficult

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to guess at these services : but after being thus particularly referred to the conclusion of the description of the parts of a flower, we were not a little amused to find them specified, a few pages further on in the same section, and before any other parts of a flower have been described.

' There can be *no doubt*,' (says the worthy Doctor, in a tone rather more dogmatical than usual), ' that the *sole* use of the honey with respect to the plant, is to tempt insects, who, in procuring it, fertilize the flower by disturbing the dust of the stamens, and even carry that substance from the barren to the fertile blossoms.'—' Besides the above purposes, I have always conceived the corolla to fulfil some important office to the essential parts of the flower, with respect to air, and especially light. It not *only* presents itself in a remarkable manner to the sun beams, frequently closing or drooping when they are withdrawn ; but it is so peculiarly distinguished by beauty or brilliancy of colour, that one cannot but think its functions somewhat different from those of the leaves, even with regard to light itself.' p. 260.

The Doctor has not ventured to communicate any hint of his views of the nature of the chemical offices thus supposed to be performed by the corolla ; nor does he acquaint us whether he is of opinion that plants actually absorb the matter of light, or that it only enables them to effect the decomposition of juices coming from the roots, and to convert them into peculiar products.

Next comes the semina. Here we are told, that ' a seed consists of several parts, some of which are *more essential* than others ;' and that the ' embryo is the *most essential* of all.' We need scarcely remark on this sort of phraseology ; but this ' most essential' embryo is the *corculum* of Linnæus, situated between the cotyledons or seed-lobes. We may here remark, that while Dr Smith gives us a distinct account of the germination of plants from the moment that the ripe seed is committed to the earth, or subjected to heat, air, and moisture, he gives us no view of the process by which the seed itself is formed and vivified, although this is one of the nicest inquiries in physiological botany. Some curious observations on the subject have lately been published in Nicholson's Journal;† but they cannot be entirely relied on. The observer employed a powerful solar microscope for opaque objects, ' with improvements.' What those improvements were, we are not told ; but, in general, solar microscopic observations can scarcely be too much distrusted ; the smallest variation in the quantity or intensity of light, or in position, altering the appearance of the object.

The contrivances of nature for the dispersion of seeds, calls forth strains of admiration.

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† For July, August, &c. 1809.

' Who has not listened, in a calm and sunny day, to the crackling of furze bushes, caused by the explosion of their little elastic pods; nor watched the down of innumerable seeds floating on the summer breeze, till they are overtaken by a shower, which, moistening their wings, stops their further flight, and, at the same time, accomplishes its final purpose, by immediately promoting the germination of each seed in the moist earth? How little are children aware, as they blow away the seeds of dandelion, or stick burs in sport on each other's clothes, that they are fulfilling one of the great ends of nature!' p. 303.

Chap. 20. contains an elaborate statement of the evidence for the sexes of plants; a doctrine which is now so firmly established, that a long essay on the subject might perhaps have been dispensed with in an elementary book. Had we no proof but what arises from the late successful attempts of Mr Knight to produce new sorts of fruits, by applying the farina of one plant to the flower of another, these would, of themselves, afford sufficient proof of a difference, or something extremely analogous to a difference of sex. In the close of this chapter are given several interesting and amusing notices concerning the habits of plants, particularly of some curious aquatics, such as *Nymphaea* and *Valisneria*.

' The *Nymphaea alba*, or white water-lily, is not uncommon in our lakes. It closes its flowers in the afternoon, and lays them down upon the surface of the water till morning, when it raises and expands them, often, in a bright day, to several inches above the water. But the most memorable of aquatic plants is the *Valisneria spiralis*, which grows at the bottoms of ditches in Italy. In this, the fertile flowers stand on long spiral stalks; and these, by uncoiling, elevate them to the surface of the water, where the calyx expands in the open air. In the mean while, plenty of barren flowers are produced on a distinct root, on short straight stalks, from which they rise like little separate white bubbles, suddenly expanding when they reach the surface, and floating about in such abundance as to cover it entirely. Thus their pollen is scattered over the stigmas of the first-mentioned blossoms, whose stalks soon afterwards resume their spiral figure, and the fruit comes to maturity at the bottom of the water.' p. 335.

Chap. 21. treats 'of the diseases of plants.' The author, very wisely in our opinion, does not follow some of his predecessors in laying down a tedious and formal vegetable nosology; but contents himself with describing merely some of the principal morbid affections of plants. The first disease he mentions is sphacelus, or gangrene. 'This,' we are told, 'is extremely frequent in the true nopal of Mexico (*Cactus coccinellifer*), beginning by a black spot, which spreads till the whole leaf or branch rots off, or the shrub dies.' We understood the nopal sent some years ago from Kew gardens to India, and now extensively cultivated

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at Madras as an antiscorbutic, \* to have been the same species of Cactus: but fortunately the Kew nopal is not found to be more subject to gangrene than any other succulent plant. The next malady is galls of various sorts; and then follow diseases of the skin, as honey-dews, leprosy, &c. The falling of the leaf in deciduous trees, the Doctor regards as a natural *sloughing*, or an effort of the plant to throw off the *diseased* parts, the branches and buds remaining healthy. This explanation he considers as 'simple and evident.' It certainly is so; but to us it appears, that while the cause of the disease in the leaves is left unexplained, the difficulty in accounting for the fall of the leaf has, at most, been only one degree removed.

Though Dr Smith admits that some species of animals may probably have been 'exterminated,' he does not think that any species of plant has been lost. The numerous vegetable impressions and casts, therefore, found in the quarries of this and other countries; and well known by the name of *petrifications*, must all have existing prototypes in the world at present, although very few of these indeed have been discovered. We may add, that we are confident that the prototypes of most of those found in the argillaceous schistus, limestone, and sandstone of the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, are not plants now indigenous to Britain, nor, it is believed, to Europe. Willdenow, and some other botanists, however, differ from our author, and are of opinion, that the originals of some species of fossil plants have been as completely lost as those of the unknown fossil animals.

The author then proceeds to 'the systematical arrangement of plants; natural and artificial methods; nomenclature,' &c. Here we have short accounts of the methods of Cæsalpinus, of Tournefort, and others, down to the time of Linnæus. He it was, who first drew a correct line of distinction between *natural* and *artificial* arrangements. It is owing chiefly to not having attended to this distinction, that several eminent writers have found fault with the Swedish naturalist. Mr Smellie not only laughs to scorn the notion of sexes in plants, but ridicules the whole *Systema* as a mere catalogue;

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\* A single plant of the nopal was at first transmitted to India by Sir Joseph Banks, with a view to the culture of the cochineal insect. This project failed; but Dr Anderson, physician-general at Madras, discovered that the plant was calculated to serve a much more important purpose, in preventing and curing scurvy. It acts by no specific virtue, but like any other fresh vegetable. It possesses, however, the very desirable property of keeping quite fresh during the longest cruises, if it be merely preserved from wet, and be hung up where there is a circulation of air. It is eaten either as a salad, or in soups. Most of his Majesty's ships on the India stations are now regularly supplied with it.

logue; and Lord Kames talks so lightly of this great work as to say, that he knows not for what purpose it may have been formed, unless to tell us in what part of Linnæus's writings an animal or a plant is to be found arranged! \* In the following passage, the utility of the Linnean method is, we think, very modestly but satisfactorily vindicated.

'Linnæus considered the natural affinities of plants as the most important and interesting branch of systematical botany: aware, however, that a *natural* classification was scarcely ever to be completely discovered, and that, if discovered, it would probably be too difficult for common use, he contrived an *artificial* system, by which plants might conveniently be arranged, like words in a dictionary, so as to be most readily found. If all the words of a language could be disposed according to their abstract derivations, or grammatical affinities, such a performance might be very instructive to a philosopher, but would prove of little service to a young scholar; nor has it ever been mentioned as any objection to the use of a dictionary, that words of very different meanings, if formed of nearly the same letters, often stood together. The Method of Linnæus, therefore, is just such a dictionary in botany, while the *Philosophia Botanica* is the grammar, and his other works contain the history, and even the poetry of the science.' (p. 358)

Generic characters are reckoned by Linnæus of three kinds, the *facitious*, the *essential*, and the *natural*, all of them founded on the fructification only.

'The first of these serves only to discriminate genera that happen to come together in the same artificial order or section: the second, to distinguish a particular genus, by one striking mark, from all of the same *natural* order, and consequently from all other plants; and the third comprehends every possible mark common to all the species of one genus.'—'Linnæus very much altered his notions of the *essential* character, after he had published his *Philosophia Botanica*. Instead of confining it to one mark or idea, he, in his *Systema Vegetabilium*, makes it comprehend all the distinctions requisite to discriminate each genus from every other in the system. This is the kind of generic character now universally adopted, and indeed the only one in common use.' (p. 365.)

How far the learned president is inclined to alter or improve upon the Linnean generic characters, may be gathered from a single passage, (p. 366) 'For my own part, I profess to retain, not only the *plan* but the *very words* of Linnæus, unless I find them erroneous, copying nothing without examination, but altering with a very sparing hand, and leaving much for future examination. I cannot blame my predecessors for implicitly copying the Linnean characters; nor should I have been the first among English writers to set a contrary example, had I not fortunately been furnished with

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\* Sketches of the History of Man. Intro.

with peculiar materials for the purpose.' We presume he here refers to the fact which we have already noticed, of his being in possession of the library, manuscripts and herbarium of Linnæus himself. The caution thus expressed we think extremely commendable: but we are not of opinion that the Doctor has acted uniformly on this scrupulous principle. We have not forgotten that, in his *Flora Britannica*, he broke through the Linnean boundaries, and adopted the Hedwigian genera of mosses; throwing down the gauntlet, as it were, in the very title-page of his book, 'Nullius additus jurare in verba magistri,'—a favourite motto of this author, but strangely omitted in the present work, to which, of all his other writings, it ought to have been the most apposite. The reason why this bold Horatian inscription has, on this occasion, been superseded by the canonical one, of 'Consider the lilies how they grow,' may perhaps be gathered from the extract just given.

On the subject of nomenclature, we meet with some curious traits of botanical zeal and jealousy. We are told, that 'in all ages it has been customary to dedicate certain plants to the honour of distinguished persons. Thus *Euphorbia* commemorates the physician of Juba, a Moorish prince; and *Gentiana* immortalizes a king of Illyria.' Now, we must confess that, in our opinion, neither has the Moorish prince's physician been thereby commemorated, nor the king of Illyria immortalized! We venture to say, that nine-tenths of botanists, who are daily conversant with euphorbias and gentianas, never thought nor heard about either of the 'distinguished persons' alluded to.

Dr Smith appears to have been in a sad puzzle how to Latinize the Old-English Long-Parliament name of Dr Goodenough (now Bishop of Carlisle). He at last, *euphonia gratia*, we presume, chose *Goodenia* for 'his much honoured and valued friend,' though it has, when too late, been suggested that *Goodenovia* might have been preferable! *Goodenia*, we fear, will not long preserve the botanical memory of the learned and excellent Bishop; nor do we see why it is too late to adopt the improvement of *Goodenovia*, suggested, we believe, by Professor Martyn of Cambridge, if this be thought more likely to answer the purpose. Indeed the change seems more necessary, now that there is likewise a *Goodia* genus in the catalogue. Of similar importance is the following morsel, and with as much propriety does it hold a place in an Introduction to Botany: 'My *Humica* has been called in France *Calomeria* after the present Emperor, by the help of a pun,\* though there has long been another genus *Bonaparteia*, which last

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\* We presume that the pun consists in translating the Latin words *bona pars* literally into Greek, καλὴν μέρος.



can possibly be admitted only in honour of the Empress, and not of her consort, who has no botanical pretensions! Our own beloved sovereign could derive no glory from the *Georgia* of Ehrhart; 'but the *Strelitzia* of Aiton stands on the sure basis of botanical knowledge and zeal.' The courtly flattery of the Doctor is here amusing; but we suspect that many will not relish the impartiality of his gallantry, but will, even in botanical matters, dislike to see our fair-famed Queen placed exactly on a par with Bonaparte's Josephine, especially since it is to be dreaded that any comparison, either as to 'botanical knowledge or zeal,' would not have a very desirable result.

Linnaeus, in his *Critica Botanica*, having drawn a fanciful analogy between the character of some botanists and the plants named after them, Dr Smith has pursued this 'ingenious idea,' and remarks, that '*Dicksonia*, a beautiful and curious fern, is well devoted to our great cryptogamist,' (Mr Dickson, seedsmen, Covent Garden); 'while,' it is added, with a vanity which we are very willing to pardon, '*Smithia sensitiva*, named by Mr Dryander in the Hortus Kewensis of our mutual friend Aiton, could, at that time, be merited only by an original treatise on the Irritability of Plants, to which the specific name happily alludes.' There is evidently something very particular in the way in which this last analogy is stated; and we believe we can explain the reason of this particularity. Though botany is in itself a pure and peaceable study, botanists, alas! are but men; and, as far as our observation reaches, very far from being 'inaccessible to envy, jealousy, or rivalry.' Mr Salisbury, author of the *Paradisus Londinensis*, has, it seems, fallen out with the President of the Linnean Society; and, by way of revenge, has denied that Mr Dryander projected the name *Smithia sensitiva*, and has alleged that he himself did so; and further, that Dr Smith is egregiously mistaken in thinking that the epithet *sensitiva* had any reference to his treatise on the irritability of plants, for that it was really meant to intimate that he was a man of a fretful temper! Dr Smith seems to relish this satirical humour very ill; and observes, very touchingly, that such sallies 'stain the purity of a lovely science;' and that 'it favours of malignity, to make the crown of a botanist a crown of thorns.' (p. 383.) After all this, we scarcely expected to be obliged to rebuke the worthy Doctor himself for a severity of this kind towards Petiver, the celebrated simplist of London, of whom, in illustrating the 4th order of the class Hexandria, he says, '*Petiveria alliacea* is a plant, the number of whose stamens is not very constant, and whose specific name is supposed to allude, not only to its garlic scent, but also to the caustic humour of the botanist whom it commemorates.'

The 23d chapter contains an 'explanation of the Linnean artificialia:

ficial system.' This explanation, though short, is very distinct. As might be expected, very few alterations or improvements are proposed by the Doctor. A slight restriction of Polygamia is the only emendation on the classes. Among the orders, he proposes several improvements on those of the class Polyandria; and in the difficult class Syngenesia, he gives satisfactory reasons for disliking Polygamia frustranea; and for altogether suppressing Monogamia, as had been proposed by Willdenow. In the class Cryptogamia, Dr Smith very properly acquiesces in the separation made by preceding botanists, of the Hepaticæ from the Algæ, with which they were conjoined by Linnæus. While he justly extols the Linnean system, the Doctor candidly admits, that, 'like all human inventions, it has its imperfections and difficulties.' These he correctly states to be, 'the differences which sometimes occur between the number of stamens, styles, &c. in different plants [species] of the same natural genus;' some species of *cerastium*, for example, having four, others five, though the greater part have ten, and the plant being accordingly arranged in the class Decandria.

In the 24th chapter, we find 'illustrations of the Linnean classes and orders.' This is just an amplification of the preceding chapter. The illustrations consist, in a great measure, in references to plates contained in the most popular and accessible botanical works; which happen very naturally to be those chiefly, in which the author himself has previously been engaged; *Exotic Botany*, *English Botany*, *Flora Græca*, and others. Dr Smith is clearly of opinion that the class Icolandria is 'immutably distinct in nature and character from Polyandria;' and 'nothing (he observes) can be more injudicious than to unite them, as some experienced authors have done.' He recommends, however, an union of the 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th orders of Polyandria, which he thinks serve only to keep natural genera asunder. He vindicates the Linnean class Gynandria, and disapproves of Thunberg's abolishing it. He is likewise inclined to support the classes Monoecia and Dioecia,—not being of opinion that their suppression would really tend to simplify the Linnean system. Even the class Polygamia he is willing to retain; but he argues very feebly and illogically indeed in its support. 'Two or three genera are entitled to a place in it; and we cannot tell but others may exist in the unexplored parts of the globe!' If, however, these three last-mentioned classes should hereafter be thrown into one, he proposes that the new class should be called '*Diclinia*, expressing the two distinct seats or stations of the organs of fructification.'

The last class, Cryptogamia, it is well known, has been greatly illustrated, and to a certain extent new-modelled, since the time of Linnæus; and we certainly expected, from the author of the *Flora Britannica*, a luminous statement of the discoveries and im-

provements

provements in this most difficult and interesting department of botany. We must say we have been disappointed. In fact, the account of the class Cryptogamia, is by far the most superficial and unsatisfactory part of the book. While more than twenty pages are occupied with disquisitions on vegetable irritability, and as many in dissertations on the naming of plants after distinguished botanists,—the investigations and discoveries of Hedwig in the order of Musci, are despatched in a couple of pages!

Under Algæ we confidently looked for a distinct statement of the *Methodus Lichenum* of Dr Acharius, whose writings ‘form a new era in cryptogamic botany;’ but we were mortified to find the amount of the information furnished to be, that the said Acharius ‘had divided lichens into genera, founded on the receptacles of the seeds alone.’ Three or four of the new terms invented by this author, are then briefly explained; and Dr Smith passes on to the submerged algæ! The account of these is, if possible, still more flimsy. We are told that they are named *Ulva*, *Conserva*, *Fucus*, &c. and that ‘some of them abound in fresh water; others in the sea; whence the latter are commonly denominated sea-weeds.’ This appears to us to be little more satisfactory than the explanation of Algæ to be found in Dr Johnson’s English Dictionary, ‘Herbs growing on the sea-shore;’ only Dr Smith gets them fairly into the water. We may here mention, that Mr Dawson Turner has announced, that when he shall have finished his *Historia Fucorum*, (a learned and elegant work now publishing, adorned with beautiful and correct figures, chiefly from the masterly pencil of W. J. Hooker Esq. of Norwich), he intends to propose a new arrangement and a subdivision of the genus *Fucus*. As to the fungi or mushrooms, Dr Smith’s information is almost as defective. ‘By some naturalists,’ we are told, in a loose and inaccurate way, ‘they have been thought of an animal nature, chiefly because of their fetid scent in decay.’ A slight notice of Persoon’s division of them into *Angiscarpi*, or those which bear seeds internally, and *Gymnocarpi*, or those which have them imbedded in an appropriate membrane, closes the account of fungi:—and the chapter on Cryptogamia,—a chapter as unlike what it ought to be, as it is unlike the rest of the volume.

Practical directions for forming a *hortus siccus* are given in conclusion. If plenty of paper be used, the plants, we are told, dry best without being shifted. Heaths and many other undershrubs, that throw off their leaves in the course of drying, by a continued effort of the living principle, may be prevented from doing so by immersion in boiling water, which destroys that principle. ‘Dried specimens are best preserved by being fastened with weak carpenter’s glue to paper, so that they may be turned  
over

over without damage. A half sheet of a convenient size should be allotted to each species; and all the species of a genus may be placed in one or more whole sheets. This is the plan of the Linnean herbarium.' Collections of dried plants are exposed to the depredations of insects, especially the little beetle called *ptinus* fur. Dr Smith has found 'a solution of corrosive sublimate in rectified spirits of wine, about two drachms to a pint, with a little camphor,' particularly efficacious as a preventive. The liquor is to be applied, with a hair pencil, to the plant when perfectly dried, and ready to be deposited in the herbarium. Lastly, the herbarium should be kept under lock and key. This concluding caveat is not indeed delivered, *totidem verbis*, by Dr Smith: we collect it from the sad experience of M. Cusson of Montpellier, who, we are told, 'bestowed more pains upon the Umbelliferae than any other botanist had ever done.' But his labours met with a most ungrateful check, in the unkindness, and still more mortifying stupidity of *his wife*, who, on his absence from home, destroyed his whole herbarium, scraping off the dried specimens, for the sake of the paper on which they were pasted! (p. 417.) We cannot figure any motive for thus publishing the domestic misfortune of this poor Frenchman, but to afford the practical inference which we have already derived from it,—unless perhaps a general hint be also intended as to the inexpediency of botanists being 'unequally yoked' to unbotanical helpmates.

The plates are among the best we have seen attached to any elementary book; and the explanations are distinct, and, as far as we have observed, accurate.

There is very properly subjoined, 1. An index of remarkable plants, or those of which any particular mention is made in the body of the work; and, 2. An index to the explanations of technical terms.—These, however, are both very short, and exclusively confined to the names of plants, or to technical terms. More than one half of the book, therefore, including the whole of the physiology, remains without any sort of index, which we regret the more, that the reader is not indulged even with a table of contents. We take notice of these little omissions the more pointedly, that they seem likely to become fashionable, and because the want of such aids is particularly felt in a book of consultation.

In the course of the ample analysis which we have given, we have interspersed nearly all the observations which appeared to us of any importance. Some omissions struck us in the course of perusal. For instance, we met with no proper account of the Natural Orders of plants; no mention of the improvements suggested by the late eminent *Ventenat*; nor so much as a distinct list of the orders proposed by *Jussieu*. This seems the more extraordinary,

traordinary, considering the very high and well-merited tribute of praise bestowed on the last named botanist. The *Genera Plantarum* arranged in Natural Orders, Dr Smith says he looks upon as the 'most learned botanical work that has appeared since the *Species Plantarum* of Linnæus, and the most useful to those who study the philosophy of botanical arrangement;' and his admiration leads him to add of Jussieu, what we have been accustomed to hear only of Sir Isaac Newton, that a person may 'learn more from his doubts and queries, than from the assertions of most other writers.' The want of a distinct account of Gærtner's curious and interesting treatise '*De Fructibus*,' is, we think, another defect. No account is given of what Linnæus termed the *vernation* of plants, that is, the different ways in which the rudiment of the leaf is folded up in the gem. A short abstract of Loesling's excellent essay on this subject in the *Arcanitates*, illustrated with a few figures, would have been acceptable to many botanical inquirers.

The author is perhaps to blame also for not having given his advice as to the manner or order in which the student should prosecute the study of botany, especially as the arrangement of his book affords little aid in this respect. We do not recollect that the Doctor has any where inculcated the necessity of carefully studying the generic characters, and comparing them in living plants. In an elementary book, however, the learner might have been warned, that his real progress in botany must depend on his knowledge of *genera*; and that without this, his acquaintance with *species*, however extensive, can never entitle him to rank higher than as a nomenclaturist. Such a lesson seems the more seasonable, that the multiplication of periodical botanical publications \* has made it not unusual to learn botany by the easy method of turning over the coloured plates of such productions.

We meet with a few instances of carelessness. How awkward does it seem to mention *wheat* as an instance of a *biennial* plant! (p. 103.) No doubt, the winter wheat (*Triticum hybernum*) is alluded to. But every farmer knows, that he may sow even this kind of wheat in spring, and reap it in the autumn of the same year, (a fact which seems to characterize it as an annual plant); though, by sowing in autumn, it may be made to show its blade during winter. It is rather remarkable, that the Doctor should also fall into an awkwardness about *barley*. The farinaceous matter of the cotyledons (he observes, p. 291.), acquires a sweet taste as germination commences, evincing that it has 'undergone the same chemical change as in *barley*.' Barley must here be understood

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\* English Botany; Botanical Magazine; Paradisus Londinensis; Botanist's Repository, are published monthly in London.

derstood as synonymous with *malt*. This farinaceous matter, we may further observe, is, by a strange confusion of terms, denominated an 'important *organ*' of plants, (p. 291.) 'Through a similar confusion, we are told that the cabbage tribe is considered as antiscorbutic, 'and supposed to be of an *alkalescent* nature.' (p. 437.)

We have been struck, too, with a few apparent contradictions. Thus, in one place, (p. 205.) the bad effects experienced from sitting under walnut-trees, are ascribed to the evolution of much carbonic acid gas; while, in another place, (p. 204.) we are told, these bad effects 'are probably to be attributed as much to *poisonous secretions* as to the air those trees evolve.' Inconsistencies of a minor sort here and there occur. The Latin terminations of some botanical terms are rigidly adhered to; while the Anglicised forms of others are adopted. Dr Smyth insists for *involucrum*, instead of *involucre*, proposed by Dr Martyn; while he yields to the Cambridge Professor in substituting the stiff English *anther*, in place of the elegant *anthera*, for which he had formerly stickled. He declares, too, that *Actinotus* is a name 'not tenable in botany, because it has long been preoccupied in mineralogy,' (p. 373.); yet he makes no objections to a botanical *Plumbago*. Among the barbarous and uncouth generic names introduced into botany, the *Ginkgo* of Linnæus is denounced as 'intolerable;' and the *Holmskioldia* of Willdenow, as 'unutterable;' yet he submits with complacency to *Krascheninikoffia*!

We do not much admire the general arrangement adopted by Dr Smith, although it may very possibly be 'original.' From the analysis already given, our readers must have remarked, that he mixes, throughout, the descriptive with the physiological and chemical parts of his subject. After the description of the external shape of different sorts of leaves, for instance, the student is instantly hurried into a profound disquisition on their functions; although it can very seldom happen, that while the young botanist is anxious to know whether a leaf be toothed or serrated, pinnated or doubly pinnate, he should at the same time be concerned to learn its chemical action on the atmosphere. The physiology might commodiously stand by itself; including under this head, the organs of plants, as far as their uses are concerned; their spontaneous motions; their food; their means of propagation; and the examination of their constituent parts. This seems the more necessary that, notwithstanding the brilliant discoveries in modern chemistry, and the successful researches of some recent physiologists, particularly Darwin and Knight, this branch of the science is but yet in its infancy. Dr Smith's account of it is, however, very respectable, both for its fulness and accuracy.

Upon

Upon the whole, this Introduction to Botany seems to have been a hurried and a careless production. To us it appears not unlikely, that, in composing it, the Doctor has occasionally taken large portions of the manuscript of his lectures at the Royal Institution, and, dividing them into chapters, sent them, without more ado, to the press, as constituent parts of his book. While, therefore, it may be found a very useful assistant, it is not certainly that masterly botanical grammar which might have been expected from so eminent an author; nor calculated to supersede the elementary treatises of Willdenow, Rose, Hull, and others.

One characteristic it certainly possesses in an eminent degree—*delicacy*. Those who are acquainted with the writings of Linnaeus, know well how much they abound with coarse expressions and indelicate allusions. These are most scrupulously avoided by Dr Smith; and, we think, without any material detriment to the perspicuity of his descriptions. Botany is daily becoming a more fashionable female study; and this is an elementary book which may be put with confidence into the hands of women, without any risk of wounding the most delicate mind. We are happy, for the sake of those fair students, to observe that Dr Smith promises a translation of his *Flora Britannica*; for this, we doubt not, will, when accomplished by Dr Smith himself, form the best popular herbal ever published. In the mean time, he very candidly recommends Dr Withering's Arrangement of British Plants; to which we would take the liberty to add Mr Galpine's Compend of British Botany (which is indeed nearly a translation of Dr Smith's *Compendium Florae Britannicae*), as a most useful and commodious pocket companion in botanical excursions.

ART. IX. *Memoires de Physique et Chimie, de la Société d'Arcueil*. Tom. I. 8vo. Paris, 1807.

THIS volume is the production of a little association, better calculated, we conceive, than the older establishments, for advancing the progress of physical science. The celebrated Berthollet, whose labours have so materially contributed to extend the practice and improve the theory of chemistry, anxious, amidst the possession of ease and competence, to promote, in his declining years, the objects of his earliest ambition, has gathered around him a few ingenious and active individuals, who assemble once a fortnight at his country residence near Paris, and spend the day in philosophical

cal occupations. From the name of that place, the society derives its appellation of *Arcueil*. Besides La Place, who appears rather as a patron and counsellor, the members consist of the younger Berthollet, Biot, Gay-Lussac, Humboldt, Thenard, Decandolle, and Collet-Descostils. At their meetings, the latest scientific journals are consulted, philosophical papers are read and discussed, and new experiments are proposed, repeated, or set on foot. The advantages of such a plan are most obvious. Mistakes may be detected, errors avoided, and important lights struck out by the collision of ideas. In the actual state of science, no experiments are truly valuable, but those which have been performed with the most scrupulous precision. The art of experimenting itself has now become so refined, and attended with such vast expense, as often to lie beyond the reach of individual exertion. We are, therefore, inclined to augur favourably of a society of this nature, which descends to guide and assist the details of inquiry. If our expectations have not been fully answered, we yet discern the germs of more important communications; and trust that similar associations, furnished with more ample means, will soon be formed at home.—We confine our selections to those papers which appear the most worthy of notice.

1. *Observations on the Intensity and Inclination of the Magnetic Force, made in France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany.*  
By Messieurs Humboldt and Gay-Lussac.

The laws of magnetic action were first discovered by our ingenious countryman Dr Gilbert of Colchester. That original philosopher, who, prior to the writings of Bacon, understood and successfully pursued the method of induction, reduced all the phenomena of magnetism to four general facts: 1. That, of two magnets, the similar poles repel and the dissimilar attract each other; 2. That these attractive and repulsive forces are increased by proximity; 3. That a magnet, by mere apposition, has a power of inducing magnetism on a piece of iron or steel, and which is more or less durable according to the hardness or softness of the material affected; and, 4. That the mass of the earth itself contains an immense magnet, possessing those distinctive properties. From such data, it was easy to explain the more obvious effects of magnetism. A magnet attracts a bit of iron, because the iron, for the time at least, becomes likewise a magnet, endued with polarity; and a magnetic bar, freely suspended, turns towards the north, from the influence of the internal magnet of our globe.

When Gilbert published his theory, the needle at London stood very nearly in the line of the meridian; but it was afterwards observed to deviate gradually to the west, with a declination that has, for  
about



about two centuries, been continually increasing. The rate of this digression, indeed, has of late years sensibly relaxed ; which affords a presumption, that, perhaps in the course of another century, the needle will have finished its period of aberration, and may return again by the same steps. The variation of the mariner's compass differs, however, in each particular place : sometimes it is stationary, but generally it is either advancing or retreating, and that with a progress unequal, and ever subject to change. Such a system of perpetual mutation is in the highest degree perplexing, and forms one of the greatest obstacles to the practice and improvement of navigation. But all this intricacy and seeming irregularity may result from the combination of a few very simple changes. What could, at first sight, appear more involved than the motions of the heavenly bodies ? And yet, when the separate elements are developed, how simple and harmonious the whole becomes ! There is the strongest reason, therefore, to conclude, that the complicated aberrations of the needle may proceed from certain regular changes in the position of the poles of the terrestrial magnet. The great *desideratum* is now to ascertain the nature of those changes. For that purpose, it is necessary to determine accurately, at distant points on the earth's surface, the *direction* and *intensity* of the magnetic action. Hitherto, the direction only has been observed, by help of the compass and dipping needle ; and even these observations, from the imperfection of the latter instrument, are in many cases doubtful or defective. To discover the relative intensities of magnetic action at different places, would lead more immediately to the solution of the problem.

In the mutual action of magnets, four separate forces are exerted. The nearer pole of the one attracts and repels the poles of the other ; while its farther pole, reversing the order, repels and attracts the same poles. These blended forces are capable of producing two distinct effects : 1. The one magnet may *turn* about a fixed axis, from the conjoined action of all the forces, and consequently with a power equal to their aggregate sum ; and 2. The one magnet may *tend* towards the other, with a power equal to that by which the difference of the attraction and repulsion of the nearer pole exceeds the difference of the opposite repulsion and attraction of the remoter pole. When the one magnet is very short in comparison with the other, its directive and attractive powers, being the sum and difference of nearly equal forces, will, therefore, become quite disproportioned. It is hence that a magnetic bar, floating on the surface of mercury, shows no tendency to advance towards the north, though it will yet turn vigorously in that direction. The directive energy of the needle thus furnishes the most correct measure of the

the power of the terrestrial magnet, or of the joint forces exerted by its opposite poles. But the traversing of the needle corresponds exactly with the oscillation of a pendulum, and consequently the actuating power is always expressed by the square of the number of vibrations which are performed in a given time. If these vibrations, however, take place in the horizontal and not the magnetic plane, it is evident that a part only of the original force comes into play, and that the result is diminished by this obliquity in the proportion of the cosine of the inclination of the needle.

Instructed by such views, Humboldt and Gay-Lussac proposed to explore the laws of terrestrial magnetism, during an excursion of nearly a twelvemonth, from the 15th of March 1805 to the 1st of May 1806, through a great part of the Continent. They were favoured by the minister of the marine with a dipping needle of Borda's construction, and which had been executed by Lenoir for the voyage of Entrecasteaux. To measure the vibrations, they had a magnetic bar suspended by a thread of raw silk, in a box with glass sides. These instruments would appear to have been susceptible of considerable delicacy. The traversing of the bar seemed not affected by any change of temperature, nor sensibly by the difference of elevation. It gave the same result at Milan, after an interval of six months; and the vibrations were as frequent on the summits of the Alps as in the plains of Italy. Sixty of these vibrations were performed at Berlin in the space of 316½ seconds, at Paris in 314, at Milan in 295½, at Rome in 281½, and at Naples in 279,—all measured by a chronometer of Berthoud. The corresponding inclinations of the dipping needle observed at those places, were 69° 53', 69° 12', 65° 40', 61° 57', and 61° 35'. These, with other intermediate observations, are registered in a table, which likewise exhibits the calculated results. If the action at the magnetic equator be denoted by 10000, the intensities in the direction of the dipping needle at Berlin, Paris, Milan, Rome, and Naples, or between the latitudes of 52° 31½' and 40° 50¼', will be represented by the successive numbers 13703, 13482, 13364, 12642, and 12745. But this computation is partly hypothetical, since it assumes the position of the magnetic equator, as deduced by M. Biot from the previous observations of L. Peyrouse and Humboldt in America. Without adopting, therefore, any premature conclusion, the horizontal action of magnetism at Berlin, Paris, Milan, Rome and Naples, will be in the proportion of 1, 1.016, 1.147, 1.261 and 1.287; and the entire direct action as 1, .9840, .9575, .9226, and .9300. It is hence evident, that in proceeding towards the south of Europe, the force of magnetism gradually diminishes. Naples would seem to form

the only exception; but this discrepancy was owing probably to local circumstances—to the attraction of the ferruginous lava and other volcanic productions of Mount Vesuvius.

These results perfectly agree with the previous theory. The diminution of force, occasioned by receding from the nearer pole of the terrestrial magnet, is greater than the corresponding augmentation derived from approaching to the farther pole. The preceding data, combined with the declinations of the needle, might suffice, through the known laws of magnetism, for determining the position of those poles; and if similar observations were repeated at distant periods, the nature and circulation of terrestrial magnetism would at last be ascertained.

To engage, however, with confidence in such an arduous investigation, would require nicer and more extensive observations. England may yet have the honour of completing the discovery. Suppose a delicate magnetic bar were substituted for the pendulum-spring, and thus made the prime-mover of a watch. The instrument being duly placed, its vibrations would evidently be maintained with regularity, for any length of time. Compared with a chronometer, at an interval perhaps of twenty-four hours, it would mark the number of vibrations, and therefore give the actuating power with the utmost precision. But it would also serve the purpose of a most correct dipping needle; for the vibrations in the horizontal and vertical planes will form two sides of a rectangle, of which the diagonal indicates the magnetic tendency.

The idea now suggested has been often proposed to a variety of ingenious persons, but never yet carried into execution. It is undoubtedly quite practicable, but would require some skill and perseverance to bring it to perfection. The trouble and expense attending the trials, with the prospect of only remote and contingent advantage, would discourage an individual from the attempt. It might especially claim the patronage of our Board of Longitude, if a projector could submit to the intrigue and solicitation required to move a body composed of such materials. Were this scheme once realized, we might expect to see, at no very distant period, the phenomena of magnetism reduced almost to the same degree of certainty as the motions of the planets.

## 2. *Memoir, on the nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder of fishes.* By M. Biôt.

It is well known that fishes are enabled to sink or rise in their native element by means of an air-bladder, which they can compress or suffer to distend at pleasure. The difficulty is to conceive how the air contained in that bag is procured. It must obviously,

obviously be derived from the liquid in which they swim; but whether it is extruded by mechanical action, or secreted by some process of the animal economy; naturalists have not yet decided. Air, in a certain proportion, is feebly combined, with all fresh water, from which it is easily expelled by the application of heat, the removal of atmospheric pressure, the gradual attack of congelation, or the addition of soluble matters. We might hence presume, that scarcely any portion of air is lodged in salt water. Though the fishes in rivers or lakes were to extract air by the action of their gills, the inhabitants of the ocean could not be supposed to obtain their supply through the same means. The best mode, however, of settling the question, is to discover the quality of the gas contained in the bladder, and to compare it with atmospheric air. This was the object proposed by M. Biot, whose active mind embraces every philosophical pursuit. His experiments were performed at intervals, on the shores of the savage isles of Yviza and Frömentera; while engaged in extending the measurement of the meridian by a chain of triangles, from Barcelona across the Mediterranean. And it is consoling to reflect, that the academician was allowed to carry forward his interesting operations unmolested, and even under the protection of the British government, during a war which has unfortunately been prosecuted with a rancour disgraceful to civilized nations.

M. Biot expressed the air-bladders, and examined the gas by means of Volta's eudiometer. The hydrogen employed was of the purest kind, and collected over boiled water. A measure of it being transferred to the graduated tube containing the peculiar gas, the mixture was inflamed by an electric spark, and the quantity of absorption noted. In this way, the proportion of oxygen was accurately ascertained. The gas from different fishes, however, appeared extremely various in its composition: it contained no hydrogen; and scarcely any carbonic acid; but, in some specimens, it consisted almost entirely of azote; and in others a small portion of azote was combined with nearly six-seventh parts of oxygen. A curious fact was detected in the course of these experiments; namely, that the fishes which reside in deep water hold a larger proportion of oxygen. The difference in this respect was so very striking, that even the sailors who assisted M. Biot in his operations, were ready to anticipate the degree of detonation produced by the electric spark, according to the depth at which the fishes had been caught. It would hence appear, that the agency of the air-bladder has only a limited range, and that the different inhabitants of the ocean affect particular depths. In fact, a fish which lives 80 fathoms under water, must sustain

a pressure of nearly 16 atmospheres; and if brought to the surface, its bag, swelling to sixteen times its usual bulk, would, therefore, protrude out of the mouth of the animal. This effect is familiar to those who frequent the banks of Newfoundland, where the cod is generally drawn up from a depth of 40 or 50 fathoms. If a fish happen to drop from the hook, it will float on the surface, distended, helpless, and quite unable to replunge into its native element.

We may now safely conclude that fishes, by some unknown process, decompose the water in which they swim, and that they discharge the hydrogen, and force the oxygen into their air-bladder. The azote with which this oxygen is mixed may proceed from putrid animal matters, which are the most abundant near the surface. But, what becomes of the hydrogen thus disengaged? May it not combine with the phosphorus supplied by the animal system, and become mixed with the waters of the ocean? And may not the luminous appearance, which in the dark attends the agitation of the sea, be occasioned by the spontaneous inflammation of this phosphorated hydrogen, as it is washed up to the surface? The supposition of an admixture of phosphorescent substances would certainly not account for that phenomenon, which takes place in the clearest water of the fathomless ocean. It is produced only by agitation; and, according to the frequency of the air bubbles that escape, the troubled surface sometimes sparkles like stars, and sometimes gleams like a sheet of lambent flame.

3. *First essay, to determine the variations of temperature which the gases experience in changing their density; with considerations on their capacity for caloric.* By M. Gay-Lussac.

The ingenious inquiries of Dalton and Gay-Lussac, respecting the nature and constitution of the gases, have led to conclusions of the simplest and most specious kind. It has thence been confidently inferred that, with the application of heat, all the gases expand exactly alike; and that, under all the varieties of density, they contain, in similar circumstances, the same absolute quantity of heat and of moisture; in short, that heat and moisture are passively diffused through their substance, and only supported by a certain mechanical suspension. But, the discrepancies being often smoothed by the aid of conjecture, those partial results were far too hastily erected into general principles; and the experiments themselves, conducted on a very limited and imperfect scale, entirely wanted the degree of accuracy which such delicate objects would demand. When a suitable opportunity occurs, we will not decline the discussion. In the mean time, it may

may suffice to observe, that the gaseous theory to which we allude is at variance with the laws of chemical attraction, established by M. Berthollet, and is utterly repugnant to the uniform analogy of nature. We discern around us no substance really inert; and a closer examination gradually discovers that extended energy which connects the whole system of things.

The inquiry now under review was chiefly occasioned by a passage in Professor Leslie's book on heat. The depth and originality of the author receive due praise: but while M. Gay-Lussac admired the beauty of the experiments recorded in that work, he was disposed, as might be expected, to question the validity of some of the conclusions. He therefore deemed it proper to appeal to fact. His researches, with this view, were instituted in the physical cabinet at Arcueil; and he was encouraged and directed to pursue them, by the earnest advice of Berthollet and La Place. Conscious, however, of the imperfection of the means employed, M. Gay-Lussac states the results of his experiments with becoming modesty and hesitation. To judge more fairly, however, we shall quote Mr Leslie's words: they form Note 20. of the '*Inquiry into the nature and propagation of heat.*'

'The capacity of the permanent gases is increased by rarefaction; and hence a corresponding portion of heat becomes again evolved, when they recover their former state. Having, therefore, fixed a delicate thermometer in the centre of a large receiver, extract most of the air, leaving perhaps only the tenth or hundredth part, and allow the apparatus to acquire exactly the temperature of the room; then suddenly admit the air into the partial void, and the heat now disengaged will proportionally raise the general temperature. Repeat the exhaustion; but after the necessary interval of time, open a communication with some other species of gas: the same quantity of heat will be liberated as before, but its effect may be different. If the gas be more absorbent of heat than an equal bulk of common air, it will experience less alteration of temperature. Hence their order of arrangement is ascertained; though to determine the true relation, would require some further research. The heat, thus suddenly let loose, is not all exerted upon the contained gas; the greater part of it is spent in warming the internal surface of the receiver. This expenditure, however, being obviously proportioned to the relative extent of surface, might be discovered by repeating the observation with another receiver of a similar form, but much smaller dimensions. Hence, by a simple computation, the capacity of the gas will be derived.'

'In the case of hydrogenous gas, no calculation was required;

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for,

a pressure of nearly 16 atmospheres; and if brought to the surface, its bag, swelling to sixteen times its usual bulk, would, therefore, protrude out of the mouth of the animal. This effect is familiar to those who frequent the banks of Newfoundland, where the cod is generally drawn up from a depth of 40 or 50 fathoms. If a fish happen to drop from the hook, it will float on the surface, distended, helpless, and quite unable to replunge into its native element.

We may now safely conclude that fishes, by some unknown process, decompose the water in which they swim, and that they discharge the hydrogen, and force the oxygen into their air-bladder. The azote with which this oxygen is mixed may proceed from putrid animal matters, which are the most abundant near the surface. But, what becomes of the hydrogen thus disengaged? May it not combine with the phosphorus supplied by the animal system, and become mixed with the waters of the ocean? And may not the luminous appearance, which in the dark attends the agitation of the sea, be occasioned by the spontaneous inflammation of this phosphorated hydrogen, as it is washed up to the surface? The supposition of an admixture of putrescent substances would certainly not account for that phenomenon, which takes place in the clearest water of the fathomless ocean. It is produced only by agitation; and, according to the frequency of the air bubbles that escape, the troubled surface sometimes sparkles like stars, and sometimes gleams like a sheet of lambent flame.

3. *First essay, to determine the variations of temperature which the gases experience in changing their density; with considerations on their capacity for caloric.* By M. Gay-Lussac.

The ingenious inquiries of Dalton and Gay-Lussac, respecting the nature and constitution of the gases, have led to conclusions of the simplest and most specious kind. It has thence been confidently inferred that, with the application of heat, all the gases expand exactly alike; and that, under all the varieties of density, they contain, in similar circumstances, the same absolute quantity of heat and of moisture; in short, that heat and moisture are passively diffused through their substance, and only supported by a certain mechanical suspension. But, the discrepancies being often smoothed by the aid of conjecture, those partial results were far too hastily erected into general principles; and the experiments themselves, conducted on a very limited and imperfect scale, entirely wanted the degree of accuracy which such delicate objects would demand. When a suitable opportunity occurs, we will not decline the discussion. In the mean time, it may

may suffice to observe, that the gaseous theory to which we allude is at variance with the laws of chemical attraction, established by M. Berthollet, and is utterly repugnant to the uniform analogy of nature. We discern around us no substance really inert; and a closer examination gradually discovers that extended energy which connects the whole system of things.

The inquiry now under review was chiefly occasioned by a passage in Professor Leslie's book on heat. The depth and originality of the author receive due praise: but while M. Gay-Lussac admired the beauty of the experiments recorded in that work, he was disposed, as might be expected, to question the validity of some of the conclusions. He therefore deemed it proper to appeal to fact. His researches, with this view, were instituted in the physical cabinet at Arcueil; and he was encouraged and directed to pursue them, by the earnest advice of Berthollet and La Place. Conscious, however, of the imperfection of the means employed, M. Gay-Lussac states the results of his experiments with becoming modesty and hesitation. To judge more fairly, however, we shall quote Mr Leslie's words; they form Note 20. of the *'Inquiry into the nature and propagation of heat.'*

'The capacity of the permanent gases is increased by rarefaction; and hence a corresponding portion of heat becomes again evolved, when they recover their former state. Having, therefore, fixed a delicate thermometer in the centre of a large receiver, extract most of the air, leaving perhaps only the tenth or hundredth part, and allow the apparatus to acquire exactly the temperature of the room; then suddenly admit the air into the partial void, and the heat now disengaged will proportionally raise the general temperature. Repeat the exhaustion; but after the necessary interval of time, open a communication with some other species of gas: the same quantity of heat will be liberated as before, but its effect may be different. If the gas be more absorbent of heat than an equal bulk of common air, it will experience less alteration of temperature. Hence their order of arrangement is ascertained; though to determine the true relation, would require some further research. The heat, thus suddenly let loose, is not all exerted upon the contained gas; the greater part of it is spent in warming the internal surface of the receiver. This expenditure, however, being obviously proportioned to the relative extent of surface, might be discovered by repeating the observation with another receiver of a similar form, but much smaller dimensions. Hence, by a simple computation, the capacity of the gas will be derived.'

'In the case of hydrogenous gas, no calculation was required;



for, on its admission, it suffered exactly the same change of temperature as atmospheric air. Hence, in the same space, they both contain equal measures of heat; which agrees very nearly with Dr Crawford's experiments.

M. Gay-Lussac adopted a more complex process, and employed for his purpose a sort of double transferrer. He selected two tubulated receivers, each containing 12 litres, or about 25 English pints. To the one neck he adapted a stop-cock, and in the other he fixed a spirit of wine thermometer, so wonderfully sensible, he pretends, as to mark the 100th part of a degree of the centigrade scale. The receivers being exhausted by the action of an air-pump, were filled with the particular gas, and, after standing twelve hours, were connected together through the medium of a leaden pipe. To avoid the effects of moisture, a small portion of the muriate of lime was previously introduced. The first receiver being filled with common air, and the second exhausted as much as possible, a communication was suddenly made; and in the space of about two minutes, the first thermometer rose .61 parts of a degree, and the second thermometer sunk .58 parts. The first receiver was now rarefied successively to one half and to one fourth, and the observation repeated: an increased temperature of .94 and .20 parts of a degree was indicated by the one thermometer, and a like diminution by the other. Hydrogen gas, was next employed. At the ordinary density, the heat produced was .92, and the cold .77: at half that density, the heat and cold were both only .54. With carbonic acid gas, the heat produced was .56, and the cold .50, at the ordinary density; and these opposite effects, in the case of gas of half the density, were .30 and .31. The first receiver being filled with oxygen gas, the effects were .58 and .56; and when rarefied one half, these quantities were reduced to .31 and .32.

Comparing the several results, M. Gay-Lussac ventures, but with considerable distrust, to draw the following conclusions.

1. When a void space becomes occupied by a gas, the heat evolved is not derived from the small residuum of air.

2. When a vacuum is made to communicate with the like space filled with a gas, the thermometric variations are equal in both.

3. In the same gas, these thermometric variations are proportional to the changes of density.

4. The variations of temperature are not the same for all the gases, but increase as the densities diminish.

5. The capacities of any gas for caloric, diminish under the same volume with its density.

And 6. That the capacities of the gases for caloric, under equal volumes, are somehow reciprocally as their specific densities.

These conclusions most cruelly disturb the harmony of the former

former gaseous theory, and may at least contribute to check the rash precipitancy of generalizing. But to ascertain to what confidence they are entitled, will still require some closer examination. The humble apparatus employed was on too small a scale, and by far too rudely constructed, for such delicate observations. The spirit of wine thermometer was particularly exceptionable; since, to exhibit such large degrees, the bulb must have been of enormous size, and consequently unfit altogether for catching the transient impressions. An instrument designed for discovery, is very different from one adapted for the purpose of exhibition. It is even admitted, that the thermometer did not mark the tenth part of the full effect. What is infinitely more perplexing, these indications, in the circumstances under which the experiments were performed, could not be proportional; for, rarefied gas being a slower conductor, would act with less energy on the bulb of the thermometer, and thus produce a smaller impression before the partial evolution of heat was dissipated on the surrounding matter. But we object decidedly to the plan of the apparatus, which was artificial, and unnecessarily complicated. In each experiment, opposite influences were blended together; and on forming the communication, the second receiver exhibited at the same instant a condensation and a rarefaction. It was hence impossible rightly to distinguish the separate effects. The small quantities obtained in the experiments with rarefied gases, were evidently fallacious; for the receivers containing less gaseous matter, a larger proportion of the heat, now disengaged, was consequently spent on their internal surfaces.

M. Gay-Lussac cannot agree with Mr Lealie, that the rise of temperature observed on admitting the external air into an exhausted receiver, is derived from the condensation of the small portion of air which had still remained; 'because,' says he, 'on introducing a minute portion of air into the imperfect vacuum, a quantity of caloric must be absorbed equal nearly to that which would be disengaged, if the receiver, exhausted to the same point, had been allowed to fill entirely; whereas the slightest admission of air is always accompanied with heat.' But it appears to us, that the original experiment was decisively conclusive. For, whence could the heat proceed? It was not introduced by the external air, since this underwent no change of condition; and, consequently, it must have been previously contained in the receiver. The objection here advanced is incorrectly stated. It proves only, that the quantity of heat absorbed in rarefying a portion of air, is exceeded by the quantity of heat evolved in condensing a rarer portion of the fluid to the same point; in other words, that the capacity of air increases in a higher ratio than its rarity, which is unquestionably the case. We can scarcely persuade ourselves, indeed, that a

philosopher so acute as M. La Place could have passively suffered such a manifest paralogism to escape.

It would be quite superfluous, therefore, to pursue any further our remarks on these experiments. They can afford no solid or satisfactory results. If, an experimentalist of such acknowledged skill and ability thus fail in his attempts, the public may learn to receive with caution, and even mistrust, those random observations which are so often obtruded, and so hastily wrought up into general principles. To notice loose facts, costs no great effort; but to draw out the more recondite properties of matter,—to determine quantities and assign proportions, requires the most delicate mode of procedure. It was by nice and unwearied research, lighted by the torch of Geometry, that astronomical science has been carried to such transcendent perfection. In the prosecution of the arduous undertaking which he has sketched out, we trust that M. Gay-Lussac will soon perceive the necessity of providing a more elaborate apparatus, capable of the simplest adaptations, and yet combined with the most delicate measures. We shall then return with pleasure, to follow the steps of his progress.

It evinces the activity of the Society of Arcueil, that the second volume of their Memoirs, and of this year's date, has already come into our hands. We hope to give some account of it in our next Number.

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ART. X. *Æschyli Tragediæ, ex Editione Thomæ Stantcii. Accedunt notæ VV. DD. quibus suas intertexuit Samuel Butler, A. M. Cantabrigiæ. Typis ac Sumptibus Academicis. Tom. I. 4to. Tom. I. & II. 8vo. 1809.*

NEARLY three hundred years have now elapsed since *Æschylus* first appeared from the press of the Aldi, under the care and superintendance of Asulanus, the defects of whose edition the labours of eight succeeding editors have but imperfectly supplied. A considerable proportion of those which still remain, we may hope, will yet be done away, by the united efforts of learned men; but there is now little chance that the world will ever know with certainty what the son of Euphorion wrote. The judgment which posterity has passed on the merit of his writings, seems to have been different from that of *Aristophanes*, if we may measure the estimation in which they held the three tragedians by the number of their works which they have preserved, and their comparative purity. *Euripides* is quoted page after page by the philosophers, sophists, and grammarians; the latter of whom have transmitted

to us nineteen of his plays in a tolerably intelligible form, while the verses of *Æschylus* are thinly scattered through their works, and seven only of his tragedies are extant, and in a deplorable corrupt state. Manuscripts, however, of this poet (at least of the three first plays, as they are usually arranged) are not scarce; but by far the greater part of them are wretched transcripts one of the other, made at a very recent period. Of fourteen MSS., of which we have seen the collations, five are of the 15th century, three of the 16th, one of the 17th, and two of the 14th century; three only being of considerable age. There is reason, however, to believe that some of the libraries on the Continent conceal manuscripts more valuable than any which have yet been collated by any editor; one in particular, of venerable antiquity, is preserved in the Medicean library at Florence; unless, as is most probable, it has been conveyed, with the other treasures of that city, to the vast museum of learning and the arts at Paris.

It must always be a subject of regret to us, that an opportunity of discovering and consulting these manuscripts was denied to a man so eminently qualified for the undertaking as the late lamented Professor Porson. In consequence of his refusal to undertake the republication of *Æschylus*, under the restrictions which the University of Cambridge thought proper to impose on the editor, the task, and an arduous one it was, was devolved upon Mr Butler.

We are at a loss to conceive the reasons which could have induced the Syndics of the Cambridge press to insist upon a *literal reprint* of the corrupt text of Stanley's edition, when so many unquestionable corrections had been made by later critics, and when they were themselves in possession of many subsidia of which no editor had hitherto availed himself.

Mr Butler has had access to the MS. notes of Scaliger, Casaubon, and Stanley; as well as to the collations of nine MSS., made partly by the late Dr Askew, and partly by some of his learned correspondents on the Continent. The curiosity of the literary world is now gratified by the appearance of the first volume of this long expected edition, containing the *Prometheus* and *Supplices*, reprinted from the text of Stanley, with the commentary and version of that learned editor, enriched and corrected by copious additions from the unpublished materials already alluded to.—To these are subjoined two commentaries, one critical, and the other illustrative; forming part of what is intended, as we suppose, to form a complete '*Corpus Æschyleum*,' comprehending the substance of all former commentaries, and of course including whatever is material in the notes of Robortellus, Muretus, Turnebus, Stephens, Garbitius, and later critics; together with some original remarks communicated to Mr  
Butler

Butler by the celebrated historian Müller, who, whatever may have been his merits in other respects, was certainly but little qualified to comment upon *Æschylus*. We speak this, however, with deference to Mr Butler, who, to use his own expression, 'adores from afar the footsteps of this great man.' The various lections are noted with great care, as well as the *obeli* of the latter Glasgow edition. We wish that Mr Butler had been contented with giving us this very useful synopsis of the different readings, with his own opinions and remarks, without subjoining the ponderous and often useless annotations which swell the volume to an alarming size. From the arrangement also of the divisions, the reader is continually obliged to refer to no less than six different parts of the volume. This is an inconvenience which is particularly experienced in using the editions of classical authors, published by the Society of Deuxponts.

Mr Butler professes to have collated four manuscripts not previously consulted; but we have good reason to believe, that the two '*Codices Cantabrigienfis*' were formerly in the possession of Dr Mead; and that a collation of them, made by Dr Askew in the year 1744, is noted in the copy of Stanley's *Æschylus* formerly in his possession, and now in the University library. It may probably be unnecessary to inform Mr Butler, that some of the conjectures of Casaubon, copied from a book in the National library at Paris, and noted in the margin of this Stanley, have since been published with remarks by Vauvilliers. We will now consider, as briefly as possible, the critical and philological parts of the volumes before us.

Mr Butler conjectures, that the three dramas on the subject of *Prometheus*, together with a fourth, perhaps the *Supplices*, formed a '*Tetralogia Promethea*.' We are rather inclined to believe the author of the argument to the *Perseæ*, who probably derived his information from the *Didascalie*, when he tells us, that *Æschylus* gained the prize in the Archonship of Menon by the following Tetralogy,—the *Perseæ*, *Phineus*, *Glaucus Potnieus*, *Prometheus*, *i. e.* the *Prometheus vincetus* or the *Prometheus solutus*; for the *Prometheus Ignifer* appears to have been a satyric drama, as was the *Glaucus Potnieus*.

Mr Butler has not remarked, that the true reading (as the late Professor judged) in the 2d verse, viz. *ἀσπερον*, is preserved by the Venetian scholiast II. z. 78. Eustath. p. 953. 42. Pflavorin. in v. *ἀσπερον*. It is singular that Villoison should have cited the passages from Eustathius and Phavorinus, ad *Apollonii Lex.* p. 10, without observing their reference to this verse. On the other hand, the common lection is exhibited by the scholiast, *Aristoph. Ran.* 826. *Synes. Enist.* p. 35, and, if we mistake not, by the author of

of a MS. Lexicon ap. Bibl. Coislin. p. 469. In v. 17. we believe that Porson read *ἰσχυρίζεσθαι*, which Helychius explains by *παράσπονδον*; now this is the word, which Lucian uses, in his paraphrase of this passage:—*ἰσχυρίζεσθαι* is a word, which, notwithstanding Schütz's assertion to the contrary, we believe nowhere exists. In v. 59. *πέρους* is undoubtedly the true reading, to prove which we could produce various satisfactory testimonies omitted in the notes under consideration. We agree with a learned critic, who, in his remarks on Porson's edition of the *Hecuba*, states the utility of noting in what parts of the antient authors any portions of the text in question are quoted: This certainly may be effected by great memory or great industry; but we do not wonder that Mr Butler should have been deficient in this respect, considering the numerous and more important labours which he has had to accomplish in the capacity of editor. In v. 172. Mr Butler prefers *μελιγλώσσος* to *μελιγλώσσης*, which is the reading of some MSS.; and with great reason; for the latter word is not Greek. In v. 182. we had formerly conjectured *διδί' αἴ*, but we believe that a celebrated scholar, who has restored to order the choric metres of *Æschylus*, reads *διδία δ*, which correction is confirmed by a remarkably similar passage in Sophocles, *Æd. Col. v. 1468*. Every one, who is at all conversant with the variations of manuscripts, knows how often the particles *δι* & *γάρ* are confounded. For instance, the Venetian scholiast on the *Iliad*, E 792, citing Sophocles, *Æd. Col. 954*, has *θυμῷ δι οὐδιν*. for *γάρ οὐδιν*. Two passages occur to us while writing, in one of which *δι* has usurped the place of *γάρ*; and, in the other, *γάρ* has unjustly expelled *δι*. The first is a fragment of *Æschylus* ap. Schol. Venet. II. I. 589. Speaking of the fate of *Actæon*, he says *κύνες δ' ἡμάθουν ὑπὲρ ἀδίσποτον*, where we should evidently read *κύνες γάρ ἡμάθουν*. As to the other passage, we will not speak so confidently. *Aristoph. Nub. 191*. *τί γάρ οἶδε δρῶσαι, οἱ σφόδρ' ἐγκυανόφρονες*, Brunck reads *τί δ' αἶ*—but the true reading is probably *τί δ' οἶδε*.

For *κατισχυανίσθαι*, v. 269, Porson preferred *κατισχυανίσθαι*, quasi *Ἀττικώτερον*; and suggests that these are of the same class of words as *ἐχθαίρω* and *ἐχθραίνω*, ad *Orest. 292*. This we doubt; and are inclined to think, that *ἰσχαίνω*, or rather *ἰσχεύω*, and *ἰσχυαίνω*, are distinct words, not only in form, but in meaning and etymological origin. The scholiast, by his gloss *δυσχεύειν*, seems to have read *κατισχυανίσθαι*. But *κατισχυανίσθαι*, which was a conjecture of Stanley's, and is supported by one manuscript of good note, unobserved by Mr Butler, is surely more in the style of *Æschylus*, and is besides confirmed by several similar passages.

It is not remarked, that the genuine reading in v. 329. is preserved by *Stobæus*, and the common edition in v. 350. by *Plutarch*.

In v. 354<sup>4</sup> the late Professor's certain correction was *δοῦροι, ὅστις ἀντίστην θεοῖς*, omitting *παῖσιν*, which is here a needless intruder, as are *παῖ* and its cases in many other passages: see Valckn. ad Phœniss. 509. For *παῖσιν* Mr Butler would substitute *μόνος*; to which we have no other objection, than that Typhon was not the only antagonist of the Gods. We do not agree with Brunck<sup>6</sup> in reading *γαμφιλήσι*, v. 511, nor in his general attachment to Ionic inflections, for the sake of an harmonious variety; as we are convinced that they have been for the most part introduced by the copyists, who were much more conversant in the dialect of Homer than in that of any other writer. Porson ad Med. 479. remarks the perpetual confusion which is found in these terminations, and prints sometimes the one form and sometimes the other. But, with all deference to the judgment of so profound a scholar, we think that consistency at least should be preserved in the same author. We are aware that, in this opinion, we have to dispute the authority of Valcknaer, who in Phœn. v. 62, defends *πρόπρην*—where, however, Porson reads *πρόπρην*—and in Hippol. v. 1432, prefers *ἀγκάλησι* to the reading of the Florentine Ed. & Cod. Paris. *ἀγκάλαισι*.—In Aristophanes Eq. 198, for *γαμφιλήσι* we might read *γαμφηλαῖσι* from Athen. xi. p. 460; but there is no occasion, since it occurs there in an oracular hexameter. In the Nubes, v. 272, *προχοαῖς ὑδάτων χερσὶν ἀγνέσθι πρόχουσιν*, 2 MSS. Reigii & the Codex Ravennas give *χερσὶν*—and so we believe it to be written in the manuscripts of Thomas Magister in v. 304. In the passage of the Hysipyle of Euripides, introduced in the Ranzæ 1211, Brunck reads *καθαπτὰς ὡς πυκῆσι*, but the Cod. Ravenn. has *πυκαῖσι*, and so it is cited by Macrobius, i. 18.—For *φαινομένην*. Eq. 1327, which Brunck has inserted on the authority of his MSS., the authority of the Codex Ravennas establishes *φαινόμεναισιν*—Æsch. Pers. 186, *ἀλλήλοισι*—*ἀλλήλοισι*, Vitcb. Robert.—*ἀλλήλοισιν* Ald., whence *ἀλλήλοισι* may easily be traced. As the instances where all the MSS. agree in the Ionic termination are few, when compared with those where a diversity of readings exists, the critic who will venture to correct them all, shall meet with our cordial support.

Mr Butler has not remarked, that in v. 437, Porson's correction, *προσελόμενοι*, is derived from a corrupt gloss of the author of the Etymologicum Magnum, who quotes a commentary on the Prometheus Vinculus; nor that in the passage of Philostratus, which he has cited at v. 450. Some MSS. have *προσηλα*, which Gruter and Saumaise prefer. Not but that *πρόσηλα* is the true reading there, as *πρόσηλα* is here; but where a reference is made in support of a disputed lection, the variations of the MSS. should be carefully noted: and it is somewhat curious, that in v. 73. of this play, from which Porson cites *ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ πρὸς*, in defence of

πατακτινῶ γι πρὸς. Phæn. 619, two MSS. and Robertellus have *σι πρὸς*, and two MSS. δὲ πρὸς. Nor is it noted, that Valcknaer, in Theoc. Adoniaz. p. 354, adopts the common reading, *αἰσχυρῶς*, in v. 451., for which much might be said; and the principal objection to it, viz. that the first syllable in *αἰσχυρῶς* is long, might with equal force be urged against *διατρεβη*, *παρὰφυχα*, and similar words. We are, however, inclined to think with D'Arnaud. ad Hesych. p. 6., (whose remark Schüz has pilfered) that *αἰσχυρῶς* is the genuine reading. The punctuation of vv. 461 et seqq., which is referred to Porson, should have been attributed to Tyrwhitt. Neither Schüz, nor Brunck, nor Mr Butler, remembered that the concluding verses of the fragment of Moschion, which they cite from Stobæus, at v. 467, are corrected by Daniel Heinsius \* in his *Crepundia Siliana*, p. 358.

In v. 480, Mr Butler judiciously adopts the reading of Robertellus, and three MSS. *πρὶν γ' ἐγώ*. Brunck, who had an extraordinary affection for the particle *ἀν*, would fain insert it here, which

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\* The mention of this great scholar, reminds us of a fragment of Alcæus, which a learned critic has arranged in the *Monthly Review*, Vol. xxv., under the head of Butler's Marcus Musurus. He probably did not recollect, that, long before Johnson or Bentley, the lines had been disposed in their proper order by Heinsius. *Crepund. Silian.* p. 440. "We will exhibit them as he has written them.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔσθ' ἐν κῆμα κυλινδεται,  
τὸ δ' ἐντὶν ἄρμεες δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον  
καὶ φρεσὶν σὺν μελαίνῃ.

χειμῶνι μοχρεῦντες μεγάλα, κακὰν  
πᾶρ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἰστοῦσαν ἔχει,  
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ἀδελον ἦδη,  
καὶ λακίδες μεγάλαι κατ' αὐτῶ.

Which he has thus closely translated.

Hinc fluctus alto volvitur impetu,  
Atque inde, dum nos puppe nigra  
Per medios properamus undas.

Versamur alti turbinibus freti,  
Mali sub ipso dum latet æquore  
Purs ima, nec velum supremis

Jam laceratim superest procellis.

For *κακὰν & ἀδελον*, Heracles Ponticus, Ed. Gale, has *καλὴν & ξυδελον*.—Valckn. ad Ammon. p. 114, for *καλὴν* reads *κοιλὴν* against the metre.—The Reviewer omits the *δ'* and reads *ἀρμεες ἀν*.—*ἀρμεες δ' ἂν τὸ μέσον* is cited by Apollonius Dyscolus. Reigii Excerpt. p. 428.—*ἀδελον* is the reading of H. Stephens & Baxter. ad Hor. Od. i. 14. 1. But *ξυδελον* is the Æolic form for *διαδελον*.



which constitutes a palpable solecism; and is an attempt as vain as that which he makes to change *ων* into *ων*, contrary to the authority of the best MSS. in Aristoph. Nub. 395. On v. 587, we differ from the learned editor, who prefers *ἄδην* to *ἄδην*. We side with Aristarchus, who wrote the latter in his two editions of Homer, while Nicias doubled the *δ*. It is not remarked that the Great Etymologist, p. 76, 48, attributes vv. 610, 611, 612, to Sophocles, and writes *ἔτι* for *ἔτι*. Mr Butler seldom notices the Attic form of *η* for *η* (which in fact is only the most ancient orthography, retained after the invention of the *Η*), as *ἡγεθυμῆ*, 631; and often quotes passages without making this correction. At v. 723, he writes thus, '137. Colb. 2. Ask. B. C. D. Cant. 2. Ar. Brunck. Schütz. Porson. ;' whereas, in fact, Porson has *ἔτι* as usual. He commends Pauw for his alteration of *φλογώπας* from *φλογωπάς*, because the latter would have its last syllable long. His praise is rightly bestowed; but his reason is unfortunate; inasmuch as the accusative feminine of the plural number from *φλογωπῆς*, is *φλογωπῶν*, and not *φλογωπάς*.

In v. 802, Mr Butler seems inclined to prefer *Ἀκραγγίς*, thelection exhibited by Aldus and one MS., to the common reading *ἀκραγίς*, on the authority of Hesychius, and the Etymol. M. We will, however, venture to pronounce, that there is no such word as *ἀκραγίς*, which certainly appears, *prima facie*, an anomalous compound, and is, we conceive, unsupported by any sufficient vouchers. Hesych. *Ἀκραγγίς* . *δυσχερῆς* . *σεληρόν* . *δ* . *ἐυχολόν* . *ἀσπίς*—which is evidently a confusion of distinct glosses; Edd. Ven. & Flor. *Ἀκραγίς*; Cyrilli Lex. MS. *Ἀκραγίς*; and in fact the second *γ* is an interpolation of Marcus Mæurus. The common reading of v. 677, *Ἄλγης ἄκην τι*, is defended by Mr Butler on geographical grounds; but we fear that the incorrectness of the construction is sufficient to condemn it. The scholiast antiq. evidently read *κρήνη*. For the sake of avoiding an anapaest in the fifth place, v. 681, the learned editor supposes an extraordinary syniresis of *το* into one syllable, making *αἰφιδιος* a trisyllable. This, however, we confidently state to be impossible, there being no analogy between this and the Latin *Arjete*, *Condidius*, *Nesidjenus*, *Flusjorum* and the like, which are enumerated by Bourley ad Horat. Serm. II. 8. 1., and after him by the Reviewer before mentioned. As a similar instance, is adduced *Αἰγυπτιογενής* from the Persæ. 35, where Brunck, as Schütz remarks, 'acutely observes, *αἰγυπτιογενής* is a word of five syllables, as in Euripides, Phæn. 684. *εὐχλίοις* is to be so pronounced that *λίοις* shall form a trochee.' This latter passage Mulgrave has corrected, by reading *εὐχλίοις*; and it is surprising that Brunck, Schütz and Mr Butler, with the reading of the Codex Mosquensis and Turnebus before their eyes, viz. *Αἰγυπτιογῆς*, as it is printed also by Porson, should have persisted in

in retaining a word, which, independently of its false metre, is an anomalous compound; for we do not find *Καδμογενής*, *Κυπριγενής*, *Σουσιγενής*, but *Καδμογενής*, *Κυπριγενής*, *Σουσιγενής*. The late Professor got over the difficulty, by transposing *αὐτὸν* and *αἰφνιδίως*. In v. 704, Brunck, after six MSS., reads *Σὺ τ' Ἰναχίῳ στίγμα*. Mr Butler prefers *Σὺ δ'*; but we are of opinion that Brunck is right; for by this alteration, we avoid a deviation from the idiom of the Tragedians, which requires *Ἰναχίῳ σπέρμα σὺ δέ*. Stephanus Byz. in v. *Ἰναχίᾳ*, has *οἱ τ' Ἰναχίῳ σπ.*; which is an evident corruption of *οὐ τ'.*

V. 769. has sadly perplexed the critics. We shall pass over their various conjectures; observing merely, that Mr Butler adopts the correction of Mr Tate, *περὶ λυθῶ γ' ἂν ἐκ δισμῶν ἔγῳ*, to which we have the same objection as to that of Brunck, viz. that the transposition of *ἔγῳ*, and the changing it into *ἔγῳ*, materially weakens its force. But, in our apprehension, the difficulty is to be surmounted by so certain and easy a correction, that we are surprised at its having hitherto eluded all the critics. Most of the MSS. and editions have *περὶ ἔγῳ ἂν ἐκ δισμῶν λυθῶ*. Aldus, however, and Robertellus exhibit *περὶ ἂν ἔγῳ ἰ δισμῶν λυθῶ*. One MS., the Medicean, gives *λυθῶς*; from which three variations, the genuine reading is easily framed,—*οὐ δῆτα, περὶ ἂν ἔγῳ ἂν ἐκ δισμῶν λυθῶς*. The corruption proceeded from the ignorance of the copyists, who were offended by the recurrence of the *ἂν*. This particle, however, is repeated in a similar manner, Eurip. Hecub. 736.; Med. 369.; Alcest. 73.; Helen. 299. as corrected by Porson; and ap. Stob. tit. xxi.; and, after an interval even less than the present, Aesch. Supp. 778. Soph. in Phædrâ ap. Stob. Floril. xliii. p. 163. Trachin. 755. as corrected in a MS. note by Porson—*φανέν τίς ἂν δυναιτ' ἂν ἀγνήτων ποιῶν*; which correction was rendered necessary by the double N. A similar remedy must be applied to a fragment of Sophocles ap. Plut. Sympos. Prob. 9. *ἅπαντα τὰ γῆνι τὸ πρῶτον ἦλθεν ἀπαξ*, which Valcknaer. Diatr. p. 222. corrects *ἅπαντα τὰ γῆνιητα πρῶτου ἦλδ' ἀπαξ*,—read *τὰ γῆνιητα*. That great scholar has erred in a similar manner, Diatr. p. 13, by reading *πρὸς ἀγνήτων* for *πρὸς τῶν ἀγνήτων* in a fragment of Euripides. In the verse before us, *λυθῶς* is edited by Porson, which introduces a fine apostrophe.

We are surprised, that, after the very probable correction of *γάπιδα* for *δάπιδα*, v. 828. suggested by Porson ad Orest. 324, Mr Butler should quote the common edition in a note on the Supplices, as authority for *δάπιδα*. We may remark, that the passage of Stephanus Byzantinus, adduced by the late Professor, furnishes us with a correction of the Venetian Scholia ad Il. Δ 4, where, for *κηπίδια* should be read *κηπίδια*. Hesych. *τάπεινα, ἀγροὶ καὶ οἰκῆαι*, read *ἀγροὶ οἰκῆαι*; which conjecture is, we think, sufficiently established.

lished by the passages of Stephanus and the scholiast just mentioned. The agreement of all the MSS. in *δαΐμον* is certainly a perplexing circumstance; but no doubt remains on our minds of the truth of the above correction; and we suspect that the copyists, who were much more versed in Homer than in the Æolic writers, introduced this word for *γαΐμον*, which did not happen to be of their acquaintance.

In v. 837. *χαμᾶς* passes unnoticed, though Porson and one MS. have *χαμᾶς*. We think that Hermann justly defends the common reading of v. 858.; but interprets it in a manner which the words, as they now stand, will not bear. The explanation given by Siebelis. *Distrib. ad Pers.* p. 118, which Mr Butler censures somewhat hastily, appears to us judicious and satisfactory. ‘*Sed illarum deus invidet corpora, i. e. non committet ut iis potiantur.*’ Heyne with Pauw reads *δαίμονας*; which is probable, but unsupported by MS. authority.

The correction of Schütz in v. 898, of *μέγα* for *γάμα* suggested by *μεγάλη* the reading of the Aldine edition, is happy, and meets with the approbation of Mr Butler. Our limits prevent us from noticing matters of less importance, which occur in the critical commentary. We will conclude our remarks on it with a list of those passages in the play which are not noticed by the learned editor as being quoted by the ancient authors. vv. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 44. 59. 60. 79. 105. 248. 250. 327. 329. 350. 355. 366. 378. 437. 457. 575. 592. 610. 611. 612. 667. 704. 730. 764. 823. 979.

We shall now offer a few remarks on the philosophical commentary. This opens with a long and curious note of Mr Butler’s friend Joannes Müller, written in most crude and inelegant Latin, which we are actually at a loss to construe, much more to comprehend. We wish that Mr Butler, if prevented by respect for his illustrious correspondent, from consigning these remarks to his *Adversaria*, or the flames, had thrown them together in the form of an excursus, which, in company with those of Christian Godfrey Schütz, would have formed a pretty appendix to the volume. We highly approve of this method, which has been pursued by commentators of the stamp of the late Mr Müller, as it leaves the reader more at liberty as to the perusal of their crude and uninteresting speculations.

What, for example, can be more absurd than to imagine, as Müller does, that in v. 21. *φυνὶ βροτῶν* means the Greek tongue, or that by *σφινὸς ἀνελκὴν ἡνέκεν* are intended ‘the miseries and unavoidable fates of men, by which we are retained from liberty and happiness?’ This spirit of allegorizing on the text of the ancient authors, always leads the possessor of it into preposterous conjectures and revolting absurdities, and is as much a waste of learning

learning when employed on the classics, as it is dangerous in the study of the Scriptures.

The philological notes of Mr Butler himself are generally learned and useful; we regret that they are not more thickly scattered through this tedious mass of commentary; since there are still many singularities of language and construction, which are passed over in silence. We could have wished, also, that those passages and phrases of Homer had been noted, which Æschylus has imitated or adopted: these are not a few, and are worthy of remark, as Æschylus is known to have been a warm admirer of the father of Grecian song, and to have termed his own compositions 'crumbs of the Homeric banquet.' We cannot refrain from transcribing, for the edification and amusement of our readers, a note of John Müller's on v. 186. '*Quanta his Jobus æquivoca dixit! Magnitudo duorum auctorum summe antiquitatis similitudinem habet; altior tamen AUSITIDENSIS; (i. e. the man of Uz.) Græcus ad humaniorem μυθολογίαν delabitur.*' This is more in the style (we do not mean as to the Latinity) of Justus Lipsius and Vincentius Obsopæus, than any thing we have read in the labours of modern commentators, except some of the lucubrations of Schütz.

On the word *αἰεταῖον*, v. 190, the reader should have been referred to the learned illustration of its primary and subsequent meanings given by Ruhnkens ad Timæum.

We are surprised at the implicit deference which Mr Butler pays to the authority of Hesychius, Suidas, and the author of the Etymologicon Magnum, whose lexicons are three of the most corrupt books extant in any language. Indeed, it requires considerable caution and discernment to use the works of the lexicographers and grammarians with advantage, and to distinguish their own glosses from the valuable extracts from the more ancient writers on language, with which they have enriched their treatises. And even these must be taken with some discrimination; for many of the specimens which remain, even of the most learned of them, are sad nonsense. We would recommend the young scholar, who takes in hand Hesychius or Suidas, after he has perused the preface of Pierson to Mæris, and Valcknaer's '*Schediasma de Epistolâ ad Eulogium,*' to read the words of Ruhnken, Ep. Crit. 1. p. 86, and some sensible observations of Verheyk, in his '*Excursus de dialectis Antoninianis.*'

A singular etymology is proposed for *ἥστις*, at v. 575. Mr Butler derives it from *ἤ* and *σάοις*—'errabunda.' To this we demur, first, because if it could be deduced from *ἤ* and *ἵστημι*, it would be *ἡστής* rather than *ἥστις*, and, in fact, three MSS. read *ἡστήσιν* for *ἡστίσιν* in v. 601, which, however, is too palpa-

ble a blunder of the copyist to delay us for a moment. Not that even *νοστής* would be Greek; for the only compound which analogy suggests is *νοστάτης*: secondly, because we conceive that it would be no difficult matter to prove, that the privative particle *ν* is a creature existing only in the imagination of the grammarians, like their favourite *λ* and *λα* *ἐκστατικά*. This has been already done in part by Ruhnken in his *Epistola Critica*. On *παράκλον*, v. 583, an apposite gloss is given from Suidas. We wish *παράκλον* had been traced to its original meaning, which is, 'to beat out of time,' or 'across time,' as musicians say, which is also the primary signification of *παρὰπαίω*, v. 1055; *παρὰ*, in such words as these, is expressed by our English preposition 'beside.' No notice is taken of the learned illustration and interpretation of v. 862. by Ruhnken, who renders *ἐν σφαγῇσι* 'in jugulo,' and supports his opinion by a variety of references; nor of Porson's remark on the Hecub. 1125, concerning the active usage of *πιστός* in v. 925.

We are somewhat surprised that Mr Butler should coincide with Mcrell in his strange version of v. 1000, *ὀχλῆϊς μάλιστα με κῆρ' ὅπως παρηγορεῖν*. 'Tu mihi, velut fluctus, molestus es, persuadendo,' in which they follow M. Apostolius. The usual and obvious mode of construing is confirmed to certainty by similar expressions in the *Andromache*, 538, and *Medea*, 28; see also *Samson Agonistes*, 960. Instead of the illustration of the phrase *πτηνὸς κύων*, v. 1021, which is adduced from BARTH. Adv. viii. 14, the words of Ruhnken, *Ep. Crit.* p. 93, might have been transcribed with greater advantage. Mr Butler is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of v. 936, *θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦν τ' αἰεῖ*, 'sc. unumquemque.' The exact meaning, however, is better given by our English phrase, 'the ruler for the time being.' This is precisely what Thucydides means, II. c. 11, *ἀπὸ θεραπείας τῶν αἰεὶ προστάτων*. The first volume contains also the fragments which are left us of the two lost dramas on the subject of Prometheus; but the length to which we have extended our remarks on the first play, compels us to reserve our observations on the remainder of the work, for a future Number.

On the whole, we are of opinion that Mr Butler has rendered a considerable service to the literary world. For the improvement of the edition, we would certainly have recommended omissions on a very large scale, and not a few additions. The task, however, which the learned editor had to perform, was difficult; and he has been in some measure cramped in the execution of it: and, though we certainly think that the information which is given does not correspond in point of utility with the bulk of the commentaries through which it is to be hunted out, yet

yet we are not disposed to deny that much has been done, because all has not been done which might. In the philological notes of Mr Butler is displayed an extensive acquaintance with the works of those commentators who wrote soon after the revival of Greek literature. We are, however, often inclined to wish that, instead of the prolix illustrations which are adduced from the *Adversaria & Variæ Lectiones* of that age, he had given us the more useful and concise information which is to be found in the critics of the Dutch school; for, though we entertain all imaginable respect for Turnebus, Muretus and Beroaldus, we think that, in the volumes before us, their lucubrations, as well as those of their unworthy imitator Schütz, fill up a space which would have been more advantageously occupied by the notes of Hemsterhuis, Valcknaer, Pierson, Koen and Ruhnken.

The copious enumeration of various lections, which is contained in the critical commentary, will be of great utility to future editors of *Æschylus*; but we cannot help observing, that, although we are now presented with a very useful mass of collectanea, the volumes before us can scarcely be termed part of a 'new edition' of *Æschylus*.

We will conclude our animadversions on the first volume with a sensible remark made by Schütz in the preface to his edition of this author, p. vii, who, it appears, afforded a singular instance of being convinced of a truth, and yet acting in direct opposition to it. *Γνώμην ἔχοντά μ' ἡ φύσις βιάζεται.*

'Tale editionum genus, utat plurima in iis bona insint, propagando inter eruditos homines Græcarum litterarum studio parum prodesse certè scio; meliusque, quamvis minus gloriose, de eo mereri arbitror, qui curent, ut correctæ, quæ merum textum auctiorum habeant, exemplaria, exiguo pretio venalia in manus studiosorum veniant.'

We should not omit to observe, that, for a knowledge of the corrections which we have stated as the late Professor Porson's, we are indebted to the kindness of a learned friend to whom they were originally communicated.

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ART. XI. *Parliamentary Logic: to which are subjoined Two Speeches, delivered in the House of Commons of Ireland, and other Pieces; by the Right Honorable William Gerard Hamilton. With an Appendix, containing Considerations on the Corn Laws, by Samuel Johnson, LL.D. Never before printed.* 8vo. pp. 253. London, 1808.

THIS is all that remains of the famous Single-Speech Hamilton; and, attractive as the name and the subject unquestionably are,

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are, it seems to have made but a feeble impression on the public. Yet there is no work which we should have thought more likely to make fortune in a country like this, than a short practical treatise on Parliamentary oratory, by a man who was long popularly supposed to have rivalled the eloquence of Chatham, and to have guided the pen of Junius. This little volume, however, we find, has been published for more than a year; and, without having *ever* been much talked of, seems pretty well advanced in its voyage to oblivion. We are sufficiently aware, that there is no appeal from a verdict of *ignoramus* by the grand jury of the public: nor are we very much disposed to call its justice in question in the present instance: but we do think the work exceedingly curious; and conceive that a short account of it may be interesting to many who might want virtue to go through with the original.

The first thing in the volume is a preface, containing some account of the author; which, though extremely characteristic, need not detain us long. Mr Hamilton, who was born in London of Scottish parentage, was diligently instructed in learning and loyalty at Oxford; and, about the age of twenty-one, appears to have indited various dull odes, which he forthwith *printed* in a handsome quarto pamphlet; but prudently abstained from publishing,—from that proud and anxious fear of committing himself, which appears to have dictated all the action and all the inaction of his succeeding life. From college he came into the Society of Lincoln Inn, where it is said that he studied law for some years with great assiduity; but could not bring himself to venture on the practice of the profession, till the death of his father left him at liberty to pursue a less laborious occupation. He came into Parliament in 1754; and, after sitting silent for something more than a year, at last delivered that *single speech*, upon which his reputation has exclusively rested down to the present day. The speech, which, we are told, was ‘set, and full of antitheses,’ was in favour of the ministry; and was \* speedily rewarded by a place at the Board of Trade, at which, and at the back of the Treasury Bench, the eloquent gentleman sate *silent* for five years more, when he was appointed secretary to Lord Halifax, on his nomination as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and took his departure for that country in 1761. Here he was under the necessity, on more than one occasion, of violating his prudential silence; but, that this might be accomplished with the least possible hazard, it appears, from the volume before us, that he

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\* He contributed *another* speech, it appears, before he got his reward; but as it was on the same subject with the first, and by no means so brilliant, it seems to have been generally forgotten.

he was in the habit of writing out his orations in a fair hand, in due time before the occasion of debate. Upon his return to England, he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland, which office he continued to hold till 1784; when, 'to accommodate the Government,' as his biographer informs us, he was so obliging as 'to resign it to Mr Foster, upon receiving an equivalent compensation,'—the nature or amount of which is not explained. From the period of his return from Ireland in 1762, down to his death in 1796, nothing more seems to be known of his history, than that he wrote, and copied fairly out, the treatise now before us; and that he had constantly a seat in Parliament, where he uniformly held his tongue, and voted (as we have always heard) with the party in power. In the year last mentioned he died, rich and unmarried.

There is a great deal of character, we think, in this brief and naked outline; nor shall we judge less correctly of the singular performance before us, if we carry to the perusal of it the impression of a man of second-rate talents and first-rate pretensions,—of that mixture of fastidiousness and feebleness,—of acuteness as to little things, and incapacity as to great,—of timidity and arrogance,—of coldness and restless ambition,—which has palmed so many false reputations on the world, and so often enabled cunning mediocrity to usurp the honours of genius.

The editor takes a great deal of pains to prove that Mr Hamilton was not Junius; and even seems to think, that he does great honour to his memory by wiping away that foul imputation. He would not have shown such ignorance of law, nor such *petty* knowledge of military matters; nor would he have used the barbarous term of collegian for a gownsman; nor spoken of the merit of Cromwell, or the accomplishments of Bradshaw,—as that celebrated writer has done. Moreover, the said editor has occasion to know, that Mr Hamilton once positively confessed to an intimate friend, 'that he could have written better papers than those of Junius;' and that, at another time, when a particular passage was imputed to him, he flew into a passion, and protested, 'that if he had written such a passage as that, he should have thought he had forfeited all pretensions to good taste or composition for ever.'

Those proofs, we will confess, do not, of themselves, appear to us perfectly conclusive; but, at the same time, we think that the editor has completely settled the question by this publication; and that no man, who reads it through, can fail to be satisfied that Mr Hamilton was not the author of those celebrated letters. The speeches in Parliament, which are now printed from his own manuscript, are of themselves, we think, perfectly decisive. They



have no resemblance whatever to the style of Junius, either in its beauties, or its defects. They are neat, correct, and formal compositions,—written in a very moderate, artificial, and somewhat feeble tone,—without vehemence or splendour—figure, point, or personality. The general character of the man, too, and the sort of taste and talent displayed in the work before us, 'appear to leave no room for doubt on the subject.

There is another point which the editor labours with equal zeal, though, in our opinion, with infinitely less success; and that is, the justification of the personal politics of the author,—of that cold-blooded indifference (to give it the mildest name) which prevented him from entering with zeal into the views of any party, and enabled him at all times to side with the most powerful, without exposing himself to the charge of any very gross inconsistency. This, we think, is a far more dangerous heresy than the mere idolatry of his abilities, and requires to be denounced with somewhat greater severity.

'He had no very strong attachment,' we are told, 'to any party whatsoever; and indeed considered politics as a *kind of game*, of which the stake or prize was the administration of the country. Hence he thought, that those who conceived that one party were possessed of greater abilities than their opponents, and were therefore fitter to fill the first offices in the State, might, with great propriety, adopt such measures (consistent with the constitution) as should tend to bring their friends into the administration of affairs, or to support them when invested with such power; *without weighing in golden scales the particular parliamentary questions which should be brought forward for this purpose*; looking, on such occasions, rather to the *object* of each motion, than to the question itself. And in support of these positions, which, however short they may be of theoretical perfection, do not perhaps very widely deviate from the actual state of things, he used to observe, that if any one would carefully examine all the questions which have been agitated in Parliament from the time of the Revolution, he would be surprised to find how few could be pointed out, in which an honest man might not conscientiously have voted on either side. However, by the force of rhetorical aggravation, and the fervour of the times, they may have been represented to be of such importance, that the very existence of the State depended on the result of the deliberation.'

Now, all this, we will confess, sounds very moderate and reasonable; and, if given merely as the creed of a retired philosopher, might admit of a tolerable defence: but, when avowed as the guiding principle of a man of talents, who sits and votes among the representatives of the people, we do not scruple to say, that it strikes us as coming too near to an avowal of systematic baseness and predetermined servility.

It is very true that many of the questions which are keenly debated in Parliament, are not, of themselves, of vital importance to the country or the constitution. They do not lead immediately to the subversion of the throne, or the destruction of the liberties of the people; but every constitutional question,—and every party question, in so far as the standing parties of court and country are concerned,—has this tendency more or less remotely, and ought to be so considered by all who are to assist in its decision. The carrying or the losing of every such question tends, undoubtedly, to confirm or to endanger some principle of the constitution, and to increase or diminish a power which must be considered as constantly working for its destruction. Until the constitution and the country are upon the very eve of destruction, it is upon such questions alone that the zeal of their defenders can be exerted; and it is only by bringing forth all their strength, and contending, and controuling each other on that debateable border, that the two parties, upon whose eternal conflict the balance of our government depends, can be maintained in safety and vigour. If they were not to contend upon these small questions, they would soon come to have one great battle for their existence; and the issue of that could not be long doubtful, if the champions of one had uniformly yielded in every preparatory contest.

The immediate objects of war are for the most part as insignificant, if they be considered in themselves, as the immediate objects of parliamentary contention; and a philosopher may be permitted to think, that it is of no great consequence, whether this border fortress, or that distant island, belong to one or the other of the contending parties. A statesman, however, cannot be permitted to think so; because he knows that a nation which gives up its border forts and its islands to unjust aggression, will soon have to contend about its metropolis;—and least of all can it be permitted to the soldier to whom the defence of the fortress has been entrusted, to act upon such an opinion. Now, the members of the legislature are the soldiers of the constitution. They are engaged in a true and never-ending warfare; and are equally to be considered as traitors and deserters, when they betray the trust that has been reposed in them, or decline the contest to which they are defied.

Such, we think, is the fair result of the first article of the political creed imputed to the author before us,—that it is foolish to attach one's self to a party, and that it is no matter how most debated questions are carried. From this, however, there is a corollary to be deduced, which appears to us to be pregnant with consequences still more alarming. If a man has no attachment to any party, or the principles of any party,—then there can

be no objection to his changing his party as often as may suit his personal convenience; and if it be really, a matter of indifference how any disputed point be carried, it must be absurd to suppose that he should not always lend his aid to carry it in the way most likely to be of advantage to himself. Accordingly, we are told that Mr Hamilton was of opinion, that there were 'very few questions on which a man might not vote *conscientiously* on *either* side;' and that, when any object was to be gained, it was not necessary 'to weigh in golden scales' the intrinsic merits of the controversy. It is impossible not to see, that a legislator, with such a creed and such a conscience, must always be at the command of the party which is actually in possession of patronage and power; and that those mild and philosophical maxims which might suit the meditations of a recluse, can never be acted upon by an attending member of the British House of Commons, without producing all the effects of the basest venality. Mr Hamilton, accordingly, sat, and voted on the side of the Treasury for the better part of forty years; and contrived to exert a considerable influence with no fewer than *twelve* successive Lords-Lieutenant of Ireland.—But it is time now to introduce the reader to his publication.

For our own part, we confess we have always been of opinion, that there was no such thing as *an art* of reasoning or of speaking; and that it would be nearly as absurd to think of teaching a man to see or to breathe, as to imagine that he can learn any thing from an instructor in the equally natural functions of speech and understanding. At all events, the only instruction from which any improvement can be expected, must be that which consists mainly in exercise and exertion. When we would teach a youth to box or to dance, we set him a-dancing or boxing; nor did it ever occur, we believe, to the most fantastical professors of those sciences, to begin their instructions by a long account of the anatomy of the legs and arms; and to insist upon their pupils learning the names and the movements of all the nerves and muscles, by the combination of which it might be demonstrated that all graceful and powerful motion must be produced. Yet this is nearly the whole that is done by teachers of rhetoric and logic. They present you merely with a dry anatomy of intellectual boxing and dancing; and pretend to have taught the arts of reasoning and elocution, when they have merely pointed out laboriously all the steps which are taken unconsciously by those who excel in those accomplishments,—in which no one ever can excel, who does not take them unconsciously. When a logician gives names to the faculties of the mind, and classifies the methods of investigation, and enumerates the various orders of syllogisms and para-

logisms,

logisms, does he add more to your skill in reasoning, than the grammarian who takes account of the diphthongs, and reckons up the forms of the plural and of the past participle in your native tongue, does to your knowledge and command of the language? And when a master in rhetoric analyzes an oration into its several parts, or counts up the tropes and figures which it is natural to use in anger, in grief, or in derision, does he give more practical instruction than if he had told you, that articulation depended on the teeth, the tongue, and the lips; or that sorrow showed itself in tears, and rage in distortions? The *information* contained in such works, in short, must, if it be true, be self-evident and known to every one; and, at the same time, never can be present to the mind of him who acts most successfully on the faith of it. The *precepts* are nearly of the same value. What should we think of an instructor, who should gravely direct us to be beautiful and witty when we made love, and strong and valiant when we went to battle? Yet young men are set to con over such profound maxims as to endeavour to gain the favour of your audience, and to make your opponent hateful or ridiculous. Nay, Mr Hamilton condescends to provide parliamentary orators with such advices as the following—‘Let your state of facts be simple and elegant, and your reasoning strong and forcible.’ It would have been more compendious, and quite as rational, to have said, ‘Be sure upon all occasions to say the very best things in the very best manner.’

The truth is, that orators make discoursters upon oratory, and are never made by them. There is an instinct of good sense which leads all that are capable of reaching it, to the true course of argument, much more certainly than precept; nor did we ever happen to know a young man of good understanding, who was acquainted with the subject in dispute, and had had but a moderate share of practice in public speaking, who was at all at a loss either to refute the sophistry of his antagonist, or to put his own argument in the most favourable light, without any aid from the maxims of a technical rhetoric.

But though these observations are directly applicable to a great part of the treatise before us, it would be unfair not to add, that it contains a good number of practical maxims and acute remarks, of which it might sometimes be of importance for a debater to be reminded; but the utter want of arrangement or method of any sort, and the copious intermixture of paltry truisms and frivolous refinements, are such, we fear, as entirely to prevent its utility. If the substance of the work had been found in the form of mere notes and hints for debating, carelessly scattered among the papers of a deceased legislator, they would certainly have given

given us a very favourable opinion of his acuteness ; but when we find that the treatise which contains them, disorderly and shamefully immethodical as it is, was fairly written out and shown as a complete work to Dr Johnson, many years ago, we will confess that we are more strongly impressed with the feebleness which was incapable of digesting its materials, than with the industry which must have been employed in collecting them. Not only all sorts of precepts as to the management of the audience—the preparation of the subject—the choice of style, and the manner of delivery, are jumbled together in the same page,—but no attempt is even made to separate or distinguish the directions for getting at the truth, from the recipes for disguising or concealing it. Throughout the whole work, indeed, it does not seem to have once occurred to the author, that it could ever be the object of debate, or at least of parliamentary debate, to promote the cause of justice or truth ; all that he professes to teach is, how to get the better of an antagonist ; and judging, wisely, that they who are in the right stand little in need of his instructions, nine-tenths of them are professedly devised for the assistance of those who know they are in the wrong. We have nowhere seen a more barefaced manual of sophistry ; and should think its tendency pernicious, if we had any idea that it could at all affect the practice of its readers.

Another singular defect in the arrangement of the work, is the confounding of the precepts or directions for debate, with the actual enumeration of various general topics or subjects of discussion. Thus we have remarks upon the origin and defects of law interspersed, without any warning, with instructions for the use of ridicule ; and statements of the relative strength of Great Britain and Austria, mixed in with hints for retorting personalities. Such, in short, is the confused and miscellaneous appearance of the work, that if we were to hazard a conjecture as to the manner of its composition, we should imagine, that the author, in the course of his long attendance in Parliament, had been in the habit of noting down the observations that occurred to him upon the management of every important debate ; and stating, shortly, the general grounds of argument that were employed or omitted, and the arts or devices which were or might have been resorted to ; and that he afterwards extracted from this journal, such observations as seemed capable of the most extensive application ; and, without any attempt to arrange or reduce them to principle, baptized the collection by the name of *Parliamentary Logic*. It seems impossible to account for the utter disregard of every thing like method, upon any other hypothesis ; and if there be any foundation for the conjecture, it must add, we should think,

think, to the interest of the work,—since it must thus be considered as the result of a long and vigilant observation of the oratorical practice of such men as Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt, and their opponents.

In addition to the other causes of repulsion to which we have alluded, the style of the work, we ought to observe, is extremely affected and peculiar. Sometimes the author mimics the pregnant brevity of Bacon,—but without his force or felicity. At other times, he emulates the obscurity and harsh technical brevity of Aristotle,—but without his science or accuracy. On one occasion, he affects to give general and sweeping maxims : at another, he enters into the most minute details and suggestions. Now and then he is cunning and sagacious ; and very frequently quite frivolous or stupid. The reader may begin with a specimen of the Aristotelian profundity. This is the formidable outset of the work.

‘ Distinction, amplification, reflection, as a *nexus*.

‘ What you know, what you do not ; what said, what silent ; what clear, what doubtful, what contradictory.

‘ A manifestation of a thing, or a compound of it, not absolutely the thing itself.’

In the same taste are the following pithy apophthegms.

‘ Some argument, some ridicule, some eloquence.

‘ Periphrasis first ; and then sententious, to bind it up at the end.

‘ INTERPRETATIO LEGUM ;—Historica, Etymologica, Analogica, Practica.

‘ To provide against ambiguities of speech, inquire of majority, minority, priority, posteriority, identity, diversity, possibility, act, totality, parts, existence, privation, &c.

‘ Preface,—Conclusion,—Digression,—Transition,—Excusation.

‘ There are seven adjuncts, popularly called circumstances : QUI, QUID, UBI, QUIBUS, AUXILIIS, CUR, QUOMODO, QUANDO.

‘ Origin,—certainty,—and extent, of our knowledge.—Distinguish each ; so, the grounds of belief, opinion, and assent.

‘ Perceive, compare, conclude.’

At last he ends us fairly in the ten predicaments,—and sets down this as a cardinal point in parliamentary logic.

‘ Ten predicaments :—substantia, qualitas, quantitas, relatio, actio, passio, quando, ubi, situs, habitus.’

Of the emulations of Bacon, the reader may take the following examples.

‘ Invention is employed in finding out a thought : fancy in moulding, and varying it ; elocution in clothing it.

‘ Distinction makes things clear, and division perplexed.

‘ Hearers are rendered attentive by great things, by proper things, by wonderful, and by pleasant things.’

These

These are rather favourable specimens ; but he is not always so fortunate. The following are puerile .

‘ Plurals impart magnificence, singulars strength, to a discourse. But the change from one to the other is pathetick.

‘ Periphrasis sweetens a discourse carried on in propriety of language.

‘ The senator determines about things to come, the judge on things past ; but a complete argument should have a part on things past, and a part on things to come.’

Of the more acute and profound remarks which occur in this volume, the following are among the most remarkable.

‘ Men are often right, in denying something ; but wrong in concluding that what they say, therefore, follows from it.

‘ State what you censure by the soft name of those who would apologize for it.

‘ Find a middle term for what a thing is called by those who are for and those who are against it.

‘ In putting a question to your adversary, let it be the last thing you say.

‘ It seldom happens that the real reasons for proposing a thing are the avowed reasons : the distinguishing these, makes a fine and brilliant fund of argument.

‘ When it is pretended that a thing is proposed upon a particular motive, endeavour to point out the manner in which people would proceed, if that had really been the motive.

‘ It seldom happens but that some one person in a debate asserts something so extravagant, that it is ridiculous and untenable. You may easily manage, to treat this as the argument of all who have spoken.

‘ Come as immediately as you can to the substance of the question : avoid in general all introduction or preface, and never make a lawyer-like division of your speech into several heads. Nothing disgusts a popular assembly more than being apprised of your intention to speak long.

‘ *REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM* is the best style of argument for a popular assembly. Consider, therefore, not only the mere weakness of your adversary's argument, but the absurdities of which it is necessarily productive.

‘ Either overrate and aggravate what is asserted against you, and then you will be able to show that it is not true ; or underate it, and then admit it in a degree, and with an apology.

‘ When any thing too strong to be stated plainly, is stated hypothetically, put it as it is meant to be understood ; and show how unfair it is to insinuate what could not be with safety asserted.

‘ Upon every argument, consider the misrepresentation which your opponents will probably make of it.

‘ If your cause is too bad, call in aid the party : if the party is bad, call in aid the cause : if neither is good, wound the opponent.

‘ Admit,

‘ Admit, if you can with safety, what your opponent says, and show it proves nothing. Men are more careful that what they say shall be just, than that it shall be conclusive to the point : the first is mere good sense, the second is something more ; it is just reasoning.’

Some of the maxims, though not destitute of ingenuity, seem to point merely at tricks and paltry stratagems, below the concern of a man of superior abilities. For example, the following—

‘ Preconsider what you mean should be the finest part of your speech, and in speaking connect it with what has incidentally fallen in debate ; and, when you come to that premeditated and finest part, hesitate and appear to boggle ;—catch at some expression that shall fall short of your idea, and then seem at last to hit upon the true thing. This has always an extraordinary effect, and gives the air of extempore genius to what you say.’

The next is absolutely unfair, as it is directed against allies and associates.

‘ Things of the most weight are often so ill put, and stated in such a very slovenly manner, that they have no force. When you observe this, you make them your own, by putting them again pointedly, and so as to have an effect.’

‘ Watch your opportunity, and speak after a person whose speaking has been tiresome.’

This other is perhaps within the laws of fair hostility.

‘ State (with the air of a candid admission), as the strongest part of the argument against you, what you are sure you can answer.’

The following positions might certainly have stood in any treatise whatsoever, as well as in one on parliamentary logic.

‘ Laws cannot regulate morality as they do strict right, and particular justice.’

‘ In a single instance, you may separate motive from deed ; not so in settled habits, and repeated instances.’

‘ Perfection of law consists in its being so framed, that it may govern accidents, not lye at the mercy of them.’

‘ Extent of territory is no proof of power ; if it was, Great Britain would be contemptible ; for Germany, Russia, Sweden, Poland, France, Spain, Turkey, Denmark, Italy, are larger,—not so, perhaps, if you include the countries Great Britain commands.’

‘ Every obligation ceases when it becomes impossible.’

What we have now extracted, however, appears to us to be the best part of the work : but the reader must have a taste of the common-places and truisms that are so liberally mixed up with these oracular sentences. We should like to know what description of senators Mr Hamilton conceived likely to profit by the following suggestions.



‘ RULES.—Attend to evidence; preserve a constant attention; avoid precipitation and passion.

‘ To avoid mistakes, consult more senses than one.

‘ Distinguish between what is clear, and what is fancied.

‘ Consider the person speaking, the temper of him, and of the hearers to whom the speech is addressed; and the circumstances of time and place, &c.

‘ Consider, first, the true distinction and line of argument. Distinguish between what is positive and what is only deducible; and an inducement from a rule that ought to be decisive. When things are supposed, examine the grounds of supposition.

‘ General speeches are to be understood with limitations.

‘ Every error has its opposite truth; people find fault, supposing a thing to be what it never was intended to be.

‘ First excogitate matter, then words; and examine the weight of each, and be better at the end than in the beginning, and in the beginning than in the middle. Express fully, but not profusely; and yet there are places in which we should let out all our sail, and others in which we should contract, and take it in. Observe round and clean composition of sentence; sweet falling of the clause; varying an illustration by figures; weight of matter; worth of subject; soundness of argument; life of invention; depth of judgment.

‘ Before you enter on the main subject, endeavour to gain the affection of your hearers; then state the argument:—support it, and confute what has been advanced against it.

‘ Let your state of facts be elegant and simple, and your reasoning upon them be strong and forcible.

‘ In stating, be neat and perspicuous; in argument, pointed and forcible; in reflections, just and elegant; in eloquence, vehement and pathetic.’

These extracts, we conceive, will give our readers a pretty correct idea of the style and execution of this performance; and, while they obtain for the author the credit of being a fine and diligent observer of the excellences and defects of other men, will probably leave upon their minds the impression of his own unsuitableness for great or serviceable exertion. It is chiefly curious as a picture of the author's character and genius. Even in reading it over, we feel it to be nearly useless as a series of practical instructions; and should probably find it still more so, if we should attempt to reduce it to practice.

The other contents of the volume may be despatched in a single sentence. The speeches we have characterised already: but there is a message from Lord Halifax to the Irish House of Commons, which we think expressed with great happiness and dignity; and, if really written by Mr Hamilton, very far superior to any of his other compositions. The odes are utterly abominable.

The

The little Essay on the Corn Laws, by Dr Johnson, which is thrust in at the end of the volume, for no other reason than that the copy of it was found among Mr Hamilton's papers, is in the very best style of that great master of reason. It was written so early as 1766; and, at a period when subjects of this kind were but imperfectly understood even by those who had devoted themselves to their study, it is truly admirable to see with what vigorous alacrity his powerful mind could apply itself to an investigation so foreign from his habitual occupations. We do not know that a more sound and enlightened argument, in favour of the bounty on exportation, could be collected from all that has been since published on the subject; and convinced, as we ourselves are, of the radical insufficiency of that argument, it is impossible not to be delighted with the clearness and force of the statement. There are few of his smaller productions that show the great range of Johnson's capacity in a more striking light than this short essay; which, we trust, will soon be transferred to some more secure and conspicuous station, than the end of this perishable volume.

ART. XII. *Asiatic Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. Vol. IX.*

THE publications of this Society augment in value and in interest. The last volume of which we treated, contained a great variety of papers replete with curious and instructive discussion; the one now before us is still richer in interest and novelty. Considering, indeed, the vast range of *terra incognita*, which the plan of this Society includes within its limits, it may seem strange that its attention should have been so exclusively engrossed, by the study of Hindu antiquities. Persons, indifferent to antiquarian researches, may doubtless object to this preference. It may be said, that in a country of which the actual condition is so imperfectly known, investigation should first be directed to the existing state of society, which admits of being accurately ascertained, and may lead to practical conclusions highly beneficial to the community, before we attempt to explore the obscure paths of remote antiquity, by the feeble lights afforded by a few mutilated or suspicious documents. The Indian nations, it may be contended, have no claim to any extraordinary attention, either from the philosopher or the historian. Their boasted civilization has rather been asserted than proved: neither  
their

their literature nor their arts indicate any considerable progress in the pursuits which refine and adorn mankind ; and some of their customs betray a ferocity scarcely to be found amongst the most savage nations. But even admitting that it would be desirable to trace the remote revolutions which this people have undergone, the little probability of attaining any deductions which may be relied on with confidence, ought to induce us to relinquish so hopeless a task. The Purānas appear to be extravagant romances, which, however amusing as poetical compositions, can furnish no addition to authentic history, whatever portion of it they may be supposed incidentally to contain. When we find gods and heroes mingling in doubtful fight ; events natural and supernatural succeeding each other indifferently ; a fact probably historical followed by another evidently allegorical,—the only rational conclusion is to consider the whole of these poems as works of imagination, and to appreciate their merits by the rules applicable to similar compositions amongst other nations. But if such be the judgment we must pass on the Purānas, the Hindu compositions of a later date are not better entitled to attention, unless with respect to poetical excellence : and it probably may be affirmed, that the Hindus cannot produce a single historical composition ; whilst the Mahometans of the same country have amply and even ably illustrated all the events subsequent to their entrance into Hindustan. To these, therefore, such as may be disposed to investigate the history of the East should consequently confine themselves : the materials are ample and authentic ; the occurrences more recent, and therefore more interesting ; and the subject so far from being exhausted, that such parts of it as have hitherto been treated of in European languages, are rather calculated to excite than gratify the curiosity of the public.

On the other hand, it may be contended with much plausibility, and we think with justice, that an indiscriminate accumulation of facts is no object with the philosopher, and only a subordinate one with the historian ; that in proportion to the peculiarity and reputed antiquity of the religious and civil institutions subsisting amongst any people, it is natural to feel curiosity as to their origin ; that the minute peculiarities which discriminate the nations of Europe, scarcely produce any sensible modification of character, or exhibit to our observation any beings whose manner of acting and thinking is materially different from our own. In order accurately to appreciate the efficacy of religious dogmata, and of civil institutions, in modifying the character of a people or of individuals, our observation should be particularly directed to those nations who differ most widely from ourselves in those particulars. Such comparisons are not less delightful than instructive ; and to this

this source we may trace much of the amusement and much of the knowledge we derive from a perusal of the compositions of classic antiquity. From the same cause, the manners of savage tribes have attracted and deserved the attention of philosophers; but these are in general extremely uniform, and little modified by any other circumstances than the greater or less facility of acquiring food. It is not amidst a people in such a stage of society, that the influence of moral impressions can be accurately ascertained. A nation must have advanced some steps in civilization; must have cultivated the arts, and been tinged with science, before it is susceptible of that indelible stamp which defies the efforts of time. If, therefore, the peculiarities of the Hindu institutions, opinions and manners, deservedly render them the object of philosophic research, the gradations by which such a state of society was attained must be highly interesting, and can only be discovered through the medium of such literary monuments as are still extant among them.

But the interest resulting from these circumstances is prodigiously augmented by other considerations. The Egyptians and Indians are considered by the writers of antiquity as nations renowned for wisdom; some of their philosophers are reported to have travelled into both countries for the acquisition of knowledge; and whether their travels really extended to India or not, the general belief of the fact furnishes a proof of the high estimation in which those countries were held by their contemporaries. The dogma of the metempsychosis was said to be introduced into Greece and Italy from India, by Pythagoras; and this doctrine certainly prevails there at this day. This dogma was not confined to the followers of Pythagoras, but pervaded the popular superstitions of most of the nations of antiquity. If we proceed from the dogmata to the fables which constitute the mythology of these people, we shall discover their prototypes or their copies more or less modified, in the Puranas, and find them actually constituting the popular faith of all the Indian nations. Should it therefore be granted, that Hindu mythology were unworthy of attention on its own account, it is nevertheless unquestionable, that no study can tend so much to elucidate the popular opinions and customs of the antient Greeks, Romans, Egyptians and Babylonians. We must, therefore, either confess the futility of all researches into antiquity, or admit the importance of the studies calculated to furnish such information. We willingly concede the superior utility of investigations which have the present condition of a country for their object: such inquiries are frequent in India, and conducted by gentlemen, whose official situations supply them with competent means. The results, indeed, are not uniformly communi-

ated to the public, but deposited (as they ought to be) in the archives of the East India Company, for the information of those into whose hands the government of that country is entrusted. Without attempting to detract from the value of researches which have the Mohamedan population or governments of India for their object, we are certainly inclined, therefore, to approve of the preference which the members of this Society have given to the elucidation of Hindu history, antiquities and customs. A comprehensive, though certainly not a complete outline, of the former, has already been given in the valuable productions of Dow and Scott. The latter are recommended by novelty; by the interest excited by their peculiarities; and by the recollection that, in elucidating Indian history and fable, those of the nations of antient Europe, as well as of the modern inhabitants of every country eastward of the Indus, are equally explained and illustrated.

No. 1. *An Account of Experiments made in the Mysor Country in the Year 1804, to investigate the Effects of Terrestrial Refraction.* By Lieutenant John Warren, of his Majesty's 83d Regiment of Foot.

Whilst employed in measuring a line near Bangalor to serve as a base of verification to the trigonometrical operations then carried on, the attention of Lieutenant Warren was attracted to the phenomena of terrestrial refraction, which did not appear to him to correspond with the changes either of heat or density of the atmosphere, as assumed by theory. The result of the experiments he undertook on this subject, establish, in his opinion, the invariable coincidence of the increase of refraction with that of moisture; and that, in tropical climates at least, the refractive power of the air is not materially affected by its density.

No. 2: & 9. *Description of a very sensible Hygrometer, and of an improved Hygrometer.* By Lieutenant Kater.

In a country where no European hygrometer could be procured, the necessity of ascertaining the quantity of moisture contained in the air, which so materially augmented its refractive power, induced Lieutenant Warren to avail himself of an observation of Lieutenant Kater on the bearded grass of the *Andropogon Contortum*. These papers describe the manner in which Lieutenant Kater has adapted this substance to hygroscopic purposes, for which he thinks it decidedly superior to any hitherto discovered.

No. 3. *An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West, with other Essays connected with that Work.* By Captain Wilford.

Essay 2. *Angangam; or the Gangetic Provinces, and more particularly of Magadha.*

Our readers will recollect, that the hypothesis which this ingenious writer has undertaken to establish is, that the Hindu religion had its origin in the British isles, which constitute, in his opinion, the Swēta dwīpa, or white island, of the Indian mythologists. We adverted, at some length, in our 23d Number, to the first of the series of essays, which are to comprise the proofs of so extraordinary a proposition. We omitted, however, to state some observations of our author, which we now suspect are intended to serve as the basis for a very extensive superstructure. They will, consequently, demand a fair exposition, and candid consideration. We believe the following passages may suffice for our present purpose.

‘ It will appear, in the course of this work, that the language of the followers of Brahmā, their geographical knowledge, their history and mythology, have extended through a range or belt about forty degrees broad, across the old continent, in a south-east and north-west direction from the eastern shores of the Malāya peninsula to the western extremity of the British isles. The first and most ancient division of the old continent, according to the Purānas, is into seven dwīpas. These dwīpas or countries give their names to so many respective zones round Meru, which is the name the Paurānicas give also to the poles. If we disregard entirely the diagrams or fanciful schemes of the astronomers, and adhere to the text of the Purānas, we shall immediately perceive, that these seven zones are really our seven climates: for Jambu or India is the first, and Pus̄cara is declared to be at the furthest extremities of the west, and in the same climate with the northern Cūru; which last is expressly said to be the country lying south of the northern ocean. Pus̄cara is the Thule of Ptolemy; and the modern Iceland, under the Arctic circle, at least the sensible one. The seven zones of the Hindus correspond with the following countries: Jambu is India; Cusa answers to the countries between the Persian gulph, the Caspian sea, and the western boundary of India. Placsha includes the lesser Asia, Armenia, &c.; Sālmā is bounded to the west by the Cronian seas, that is to say, the Adriatic and Bāltic seas. Crauncha includes Germany; Sācam the British isles; and Pus̄cara, Iceland.’

The proofs of these positions will doubtless appear in a subsequent essay; and till then we shall withhold our observations. If the sketch of Jambudwīpa be correct, which we submitted to our readers in a preceding essay, it is impossible to consider that appellation as denoting India, or the land of Bhārata, which forms but a very inconsiderable part of it. The limits of Jambu, as specified in all the Purānas which we have had an opportunity of consulting, appear to us manifestly to comprehend all the countries situated between the Southern and Northern oceans, the sea of China and the Caspian. But this circumstance by no

means militates against the remaining part of Captain Wilford's plan; it in fact adds some weight to it. For, since Jambu includes all the countries east of the Caspian, in whatever latitude they may be placed, the other dwipa must of course be sought for in the countries situated to the west of that sea, if they exist any where but in the imagination of the Hindus.

The essay before us contains many interesting particulars of the countries situated on the Ganges, before the invasion of India by the Moslems, and several ingenious illustrations of the routes specified by antient writers. We believe Captain Wilford is the first writer who has corrected the prevalent error respecting the position of the antient capital of India, the magnificent Hastināpur. That error, we imagine, to be due to Abulfazil, who places it in the neighbourhood of Thanesar (west of the Jumna), whilst every Sanscrit scholar knew it must have been situated on the Ganges. It appears to have fallen into decay before the expedition of Alexander; but in the Peutingerian tables, the name of Bacinora marks a town, on a route frequented by commerce, and the site of Hastināpur. 'It is about twenty miles south-west of Darinagar, on a branch of the Ganges, formerly the bed of that river. There remains only a small place of worship; and the extensive site of that antient city is entirely covered with large ant hills: which have induced the inhabitants of the adjacent country to suppose that it had been overturned or destroyed by the Termites.'

In times of remote antiquity, Magadha was the most powerful of the states situated on the Ganges. Its limits may probably have been coextensive with those of South Bahar: but its sovereigns asserted a supremacy over all those whose dominions extended south or east, in the vicinity of that river. The petty principalities into which India was then divided, do not then appear to have exceeded the limits of some modern zemindaries. Jarāsandha, one of its monarchs, disputed the supremacy of the house of Pāndū, and the divine honour rendered to Crisna. The speeches attributed to that prince, and to the king of Chedi in the Mahābharat, evidently demonstrate that this was the epoch of some important changes and innovations in the antient religion of the country to which these sovereigns fell victims. It was also the era of a political revolution, which placed a younger branch of the royal house on the throne of Hastināpur. These innovations were successful: the supremacy of India descended, through a long line of princes of the race of Pāndū; and Crisna has been ever since worshipped as an incarnation of the divinity. Succeeding writers, as usual on such occasions, have blackened the characters, and probably misrepresented the actions of their antagonists.

Captain

Captain Wilford informs us, 'that the kingdom of Magadha in Anugangam is acknowledged to be thus called from the Magas, who came from the dwipa of Sacā, and settled in that country, which was called before Kicatā.' Again: 'The country of Magadha was thus called, from the numerous families descended from the sage Maga.' We have already been told, that the dwipa of Saca includes the British isles; so that some conjecture may now be formed of the manner in which the learned writer means to establish his hypothesis. He will, doubtless, think it necessary to establish these facts by quotations, at some future period; for the phrase, 'it is acknowledged,' too forcibly reminds us of the French 'l'on sait,'—which generally serves to introduce the most questionable part of an argument.

### Essay 3. *Of the Kings of Magadha, their Chronology.*

For the purpose of elucidating the difficulties of Indian chronology, the empire of Magadha is the best that could be selected; because, it continued an independent state, after the throne of Hastinapur had long been overthrown. The sovereigns of ancient India pretended to derive their descent from the sun and moon; and all the reigning families were in fact descended from two royal stems, distinguished by those appellations. All the Purāna are supposed to have been recited soon after the war of the Mahabharat; and the iron age, or Kaliyuga, to have commenced at that period. Those poems, consequently, only relate to events supposed to have happened in the former or third age, excepting in the chapters delivered as prophetic, in which the history of the dynasties which followed, are brought down to different periods in different purāna. The names of the princes in each dynasty, their number, and the length of time during which the dynasty subsisted, are usually recorded; but, from the inaccuracy of transcribers in all probability, these data can rarely be forced into coincidence. The reign of Chandragupta (Sandrocotus) king of Magadha, and contemporary of Alexander of Macedon, is the only era that can be fixed from foreign authorities, and perfectly corresponds with the testimony of native writers. The interval which elapsed from the war of the Mahabharat, down to that period, has been variously stated. To us it appears, that it is the prevalent opinion of Hindu writers, that, from the sovereign who reigned in Magadha (son of Jarāsandha, whom we have already mentioned); when Parixit king of Hastinapur was born, to the extinction of the solar race in Magadha, a period elapsed of nearly 1000 years. We own, we feel ourselves disposed to place greater reliance on this tradition, as an approximation to the truth, than on the lists of the monarchs, his descendants.



ascendants. Because a collation of these lists discovers that names are frequently omitted. After the extinction of the lunar race on the throne of Magadha, two dynasties, one of five and another of ten princes, are then supposed to have reigned during 498 years, until the accession of Mahanandi, whose posterity, about 100 years later, were dethroned, in the revolution which terminated in the elevation of Chandragupta, or Sandrocottus, about 315 years before Christ. Such, it appears to us, is the view which the best informed Hindus have of their own chronology. The corrections suggested by Captain Wilford are doubtless entitled to consideration; but as there is little room to hope that any precision can be obtained in the date of events so remote, we shall forbear specifying them. The posterity of Sandrocottus only filled the throne about 100 years; his descendant Vrihadraṭha was dethroned by the commander of his forces, whose posterity reigned above a century. It must then have been in the century preceding the Christian era, that the last of that race was dethroned by his minister Vasudeva, who transmitted the crown to his descendants. The Andhrajātiya is the last dynasty recorded; and our author has collected some interesting particulars concerning this race of princes. On the death of Puliman, which, as fixed by the historians of China, happened A. D. 648, the kings of Gaur reduced the sovereigns of Magadha to their original limits: the kingdom, however, continued some time longer independent; and the seat of government was probably Tatalipura, or the city of Patna.

Essay 4. *Vicramaditya and Salivāhana, their respective Eras; with an Account of the Balarajas, or Balhar Emperors.*

The two eras in actual use amongst the Hindus for the date of civil transactions, are that of Vicramaditya, 56 years before Christ, and of Salivahana, 78 years after that epoch. Whether they commence with the first or last years of the reign of these princes is uncertain; but the interval of 134 years is too great to admit a possibility of their having lived contemporaneously. The Purānas reflect no light on the history of this period. The name of Vicramaditya was borne by several princes of different ages and families; and the Hindu romancers have blended the adventures of several, and ascribed them all to the one from whom the era dates. Captain Wilford conjectures, that these 'heterogeneous legends are taken from the apocryphal gospel of the infancy of Christ, the tales of the rabbis and talmudists concerning Solomon, with some particulars about Mohammed; and the whole is jumbled together with some of the principal features of the history of the Persian kings of the Sassanian dynasty.' Not having perused any of the romances which relate the adventures of Vicramaditya,

ditya, we can form no conjecture as to their source. We know, however, of no reason to discredit the account given by Abulfazil of the king of Ujjaini of that name, who founded the era. The tradition of his having been put to death by Salivāhana, appears to us an allegorical fable, founded on the latter having substituted his own era for that of Vicramaditya, whose memory he thereby extinguished. It is in the pretended history of Salivāhana that the apocryphal gospels have apparently been incorporated. He is said 'to have been born of a virgin, the daughter of a potmaker, begat by the king of snakes called Taxaca, or the carpenter.' If we have correctly seized the idea of Captain Wilford, he considers Salivāhana as an imaginary personage, his adventures as originating in incorrect accounts of the miraculous birth and the history of our Saviour, and his being the destroyer of Vicramaditya to mean only, that his era supplanted the one introduced by that monarch. In this case, it remains to explain why the era of Salivāhana did not commence at the same period with our own, but 78 years later. We do not at present possess any documents that enable us to elucidate the interesting subject of discussion here proposed by Captain Wilford; but we are not without hopes of having our attention speedily recalled to it.

In this essay, we find a variety of particulars concerning the sovereigns of Guzerat, so famous in Persian story, under the appellation of the Balhar Rajahs, of whom the first was entitled Debselim. Whatever we may think of many of the hypotheses, in which Captain Wilford too freely indulges, few will peruse his pages without a material addition to their stock of information. A more lucid arrangement, and more frequent citation of authorities, are required, to give the productions of this writer their full value.

#### No. 4. *An Account of the Jains.*

The Jains are a sect of Hindus who agree in many of their tenets with the Bauddhas, or followers of Buddha, with whom they were long confounded. If the same spirit of research, which at present animates the members of the Asiatic Society shall continue, and be prosecuted with as successful diligence, few subjects connected with Indian history will elude their sagacity, or escape their penetration. Major Mackenzie and Dr Buchanan have here furnished a copious exposition of the manners and customs prevalent among the scanty remains of this sect, whose doctrines, if we may credit their priests, were once widely extended over Hindustan, and had even prevailed in Arabia, till banished by a cruel persecution. Mr Colebrooke has illustrated their tenets and their mythology by materials extracted from the compositions of Jain

writers. Their chief place of worship is at Beligola near Seringapatnam, where a gigantic statue of Gomatiswar attracts periodically the Jain families dispersed over the peninsula.

‘The essential character of the Hindu institutions,’ says Mr Colebrooke, ‘is the distribution of the people into four great tribes.’ This characteristic is common to them with the Jainas, but rejected by the Bauddhas. The divinities of the Hindus are recognized by the Jainas; but the worship of the latter is exclusively confined to certain deified saints, each of whom is called a Jina. We have already had occasion to remark, that the Bauddhas had bestowed the epithet of Buddha, a philosopher, on many of the most conspicuous personages of their mythology; and that the individual whom they now denote by that appellation is Gautama, the last who appeared. The Bauddhas differ from the Jainas principally in rejecting the institution of casts; for in most of their dogmata they agree. They both agree in rejecting the authority of the Veda, and in the worship of deified saints; but although the prohibition of injury to all sentient creatures is a maxim common to all the Hindu religions, it is less scrupulously observed by the Bauddhas than by the Hindus and Jainas. The latter are distinguished from the rest by their admission of no opinions which are not founded on perception, or on proof drawn from that, or from testimony. All three sects agree in their belief of transmigration: that of the eternity of matter and perpetuity of the world is common to the Jainas and Bauddhas.

Mr Colebrooke remarks, that ‘if it be admitted, that the Bauddhas are originally a sect of Hindus, it may be next questioned, whether that, or any of the religious systems now established, be the most antient. I have, on a former occasion (says he), indicated the notions which I entertain on this point. According to the hypothesis which I then hinted, the earliest Indian sect, of which we have any present distinct knowledge, is that of the followers of the practical Vedas, who worshipped the sun, fire, and the elements; and who believed the efficacy of sacrifices, for the accomplishment of present and of future purposes. It may be presumed, that the refined doctrine of the Vedantis, of followers of the theological and argumentative part of the Vedas, is of later date; and it does not seem improbable, that the sects of Jina and of Buddha are still more modern. But I apprehend, that the Vaishnavas, meaning particularly the worshippers of Rama and of Krishna, may be subsequent to those sects, and that the Saivas also are of more recent date.’

To us it appears manifest, that the religion of Buddha is of later origin than that of the followers of the Vedas; because this seems universally admitted by the Bauddhas themselves, and because their traditions

traditions are entirely engrafted on the Hindu mythology. The history of Cashmir, presented to the Emperor Acber, states the early establishment of the Hindu religion in that country, the subsequent introduction of the Bauddha faith, and the conversion of several of the monarchs of that country to the new doctrines; and finally its expulsion, and the restoration of the ancient religion. Mr Colebrooke proves, from Arrian and Strabo, that the Hindus were divided into casts, and consequently were not Bauddhas at the time of Alexander's expedition. A period so modern, however, throws no light on the comparative antiquity of their origin.

We think there is a passage in Arrian which throws great light on all the subjects to which Mr Colebrooke has alluded; and if he had adverted to it, we imagine it would have led him to a different conclusion from that which he has embraced. Arrian, on the authority of Megasthenes, states, that India was conquered by Bacchus 6042 years before the reign of Sandrocottus, contemporary with Alexander of Macedon. We have already shown, that Baghis or Siva was the same divinity with the Bacchus of European mythology, and with the Osiris of Egypt. The phallic rites, the bull sacred to him, every attribute in common, excludes all doubt of the fact. But Bacchus and Osiris, we are assured by the ancients, signified the sun; and Baghis must consequently have had the same allegorical meaning. When Bacchus left India, he placed Spartembras on the throne, one of his friends versed in the Bacchic rites. He of course represents Menu. He was succeeded by Budya in the dominion of India, and his posterity continued to be monarchs through a long succession of reigns, of which 153 intervened between Bacchus and Sandrocottus. According to the Hindu traditions, Menu was descended from the sun, and succeeded on the throne by the posterity of Budha, or the planet Mercury (the Budya of Megasthenes) who continued to reign till within a few centuries of Sandrocottus. Arrian proceeds to relate, that Hercules was fifteen centuries later than Bacchus. We have already seen that Bacchus was Siva; and Megasthenes distinctly points out what Indian divinity is meant by Hercules. 'He was chiefly adored,' says Arrian, 'by the Saraseni, who possess two large cities, Methora and Clisibora. The Jobares, a navigable river, flows through their territories.' Now, Hericrisna, the chief of the Surasena, was born in the metropolis of their country, Mathura; and the river Jamuna flows through the territory of the Surasena, Mathura being situated on its banks, and called, by Ptolemy, Matura Deorum; which can only be accounted for by its being the birth place of Crisna. Siva or Baghis is therefore the Bacchus of the Greeks, and Hericrisna their Hercules; and the worship of the former preceded the appearance of the latter.

ter fifteen centuries, in the opinion of the Hindus, with whom Megasthenes had conversed; and this general fact only is deserving of attention; for the number of years and reigns mentioned by Arrian is manifestly exaggerated.

Many of the Grecian heroes were sons of the divinities of Grecian mythology. The Hindus have not adopted this idea, but consider theirs as incarnations. With the Greeks, Hercules was son of Jupiter; with the Hindus, Hericrisna was an incarnation of Vishnu, the Indian Jupiter, and born of mortal parents. We have already ventured to state our conviction, that the epoch of the close of the third age, marked by the celebrated war of the Mahabharat, was the era of a great revolution in religion as well as in government. We think it consisted in the introduction of the worship of Vishnu, and of his representative Crisna. The priest Vyasa, who compiled and probably composed the Vedas, was of the party of the innovators; the house of Pandu protected and espoused their cause and doctrines; whilst their uncle, who filled the throne, or at least his posterity and allies, fell in the cause of their ancient rites, and in resisting the introduction of new gods. Sisupala, king of Chedi, is introduced, in the Mahabharat, reproaching Hericrisna with imposture in pretending to be an incarnation of the divinity, and asserting his determination to adhere to the faith of his ancestors. These are only a few of the circumstances which induce us to imagine, that the worship of Siva, Bacchus, or Osiris, prevailed in Hindustan before that of Vishnu or Jupiter. According to Strabo, Megasthenes mentions two sects of philosophers as subsisting in India, the Brachmanes, and the Germanas; ‘sed præcipue Brachmanes probari quod cum Græcis in opinionibus concordant.’ Of these Brachmanes, he informs us, that those who inhabited the mountains adored Bacchus, whilst the inhabitants of the plains offered their vows to Hercules. We believe that this fact is true at this day; and that the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of India still continue the ancient worship of Siva, whilst those of the plains have more generally adopted the rites of Vishnu. The intercourse of strangers, the effects of conquest and of commerce, more readily operate on the inhabitants of plains continually exposed to their operation: whilst the mountaineer, protected by his fastness and his poverty, preserves the language and the religion of his ancestors. Clemens Alexandrinus is, we believe, the first of the ancients who mentions Buddha: his history having no analogy with that of any of the Grecian divinities, he is consequently spoken of under that appellation. ‘Sunt autem ex Indis qui Butæ præceptis parent: quem propter insignem virtutem ut deum honorarunt.’

To conclude, we think it probable that the worship of Baghes, Iiwara

Isvara or Siva, (the Bacchus and Osiris of the western world), was the first which prevailed in India; then the worship of Vishnu or Jupiter, in his supposed incarnation Hivricrisna, (or Hercules), was introduced when Vyasa compiled or composed the Vedas; and that the doctrines of Buddha were not promulgated till a considerable time subsequent to the latter period. Our limits will not admit of assigning more of the reasons which influence our judgment.

6. *On the Indian and Arabian Division of the Zodiac.* By H. T. Colebrooke Esq.

The present inquiry was instituted with a view, not only of ascertaining correctly the particular stars which give names to the Indian divisions of the zodiac, but as tending to determine another question, whether the Indian and Arabian divisions of the zodiac had a common origin. Mr Colebrooke was led to imagine, that Sir William Jones's conjectures on this subject, founded on a consideration of the figure of the constellation, and the number of its stars, compared with those actually situated near that division of the ecliptic, might in some instances be erroneous; Sir William not being apprised that the Hindus themselves place some of these constellations far out of the limits of the zodiac.

The result of the comparison shows, that the Indian asterisms, which mark the divisions of the ecliptic, generally consist of nearly the same stars which constitute the lunar mansions of the Arabians; but, in a few instances, they essentially differ. We agree with Mr Colebrooke in thinking the coincidence, however, too great to be the effect of chance; and if either have borrowed from the other, that it must have been the Arabs who adopted, with slight variations, a division of the zodiac familiar to the Hindus.

The Hindus have likewise adopted the division of the ecliptic and zodiac into twelve signs or constellations, agreeing, in figure and designation, with those of the Greeks, and differing merely in the place of the constellations, which are carried, on the Indian sphere, a few degrees further west than on the Grecian. That the Hindus took the hint of this mode of dividing the ecliptic from the Greeks, is not perhaps altogether improbable: but, if such be the origin of it, they have not implicitly received the arrangement suggested to them, but have reconciled and adapted it to their own ancient distribution of the ecliptic into twenty-seven parts.

7. *On Olibanum, or Frankincense.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.

It is generally supposed, that the gum resin called Olibanum, is the frankincense used by the ancients in their religious ceremonies; but naturalists are by no means agreed on the plant which produces it. The gum of a tree, called Salai by the natives of India,

India, has been sent to England for sale at different times; first, without assigning the name of Olibanum, and, more lately, under that designation. It was in England recognized for olibanum, though offered for sale as a different gum; and annual consignments of it have been since regularly sold at the East India Company's sales.

8. *Remarks on the Species of Pepper which are found in Prince of Wales's Island.* By William Hunter, Esq. M. D.

In supplying Persia, Arabia and Europe, with pepper, India has also furnished them with its name; which, in all those languages, is manifestly derived from Pippali, the Sanscrit appellation for long pepper only. Black pepper is the principal article of produce in Prince of Wales's Island: it is more esteemed than that which is imported from the Malay continent, or Sumatra, and, in 1802, must have produced the sum of 216,000 dollars. The Piper Beetle, or Beetle Leaf, is also cultivated there. Dr Hunter agrees with Saumaïse in thinking, that the antient Greek writers meant this leaf by Malabathrum, rather than the leaves of Laurus Cassia, or Tez Pat. We think the obvious etymology of the word Malabathrum, adds some weight to this conjecture, since it is obviously Malaya Pattra, or the Malayan Leaf; whether it was brought from Malaya, in the peninsula of India, or from the coast of Malacca.

10. *On Antient Monuments, containing Sanscrit Inscriptions.* By H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.

The importance of collecting inscriptions, and every document which may tend to elucidate the history of India, is justly appreciated by this celebrated Orientalist, who has published several in the Memoir now before us, accompanied by translations.

1st, Inscription on a plate of copper, found in the district of Tripura.

It is a record of a grant of land bestowed by Ranabanca Malla, on the commander of his cavalry. It is dated in the year 1141 of the era of Salivāhana, corresponding with A. D. 1219. It is interesting, by showing that this district, though bordering on the Burman territories, constituted at that time a part of Bengal; and that the Hindu religion, and Bengal character, prevailed there at that period.

No. 2. Inscription on a plate of copper found in the district of Gorakhpur.

This is a grant of land by Jayāditya, king of Vijayapur, for the service of the goddess Durga. The date is wanting. The king appears to have been a Bauddha; but, from the object of the grant,

it may be conjectured his subjects were of the Hindu religion. The character differs extremely from Divanāgarī, generally used.

No. 3. Inscription on three plates of brass found at Chitradurg.

A grant of land by Harihara, king of Vidyanagar (Bijanagar), in Carnataca. It is dated in 1317, corresponding with A. D. 1325. From it we learn the real name of this celebrated city; and that it was founded by Bucca Raya, father of the prince who made this grant.

No. 4. Another grant by the same king, and dated four years before the last mentioned.

No. 5. Inscription on a stone found at Curugodé, in the district of Adoni.

A grant of lands for the service of the god Siva, by Raxamalla, king of Cuntaladesa, whose capital was Curugodé. It is dated in the year of Salivāhana 1095, corresponding with A. D. 1173. The inscription is in the Halla, or antient Canara character; and some of the verses are in Sanscrit, others in Canarese.

No. 6. Inscription on a stone found at Currah.

A fragment of an edict by the king Yafah Pāla; dated in Sambat 1093, or A. D. 1037.

*On the Grāmas, or Musical Scale of the Hindus.* By J. D. Paterson, Esquire.

The antient Hindus confined their music to 36 melodies, which they represented to their imagination by 6 Rāgas, and 30 Rāgīries, or attendant nymphs. Each of these was fixed, respectively to particular seasons and times of the day or night. The Moslems of India have adopted the same idea; and a performer, who should sing a rāga out of its appropriate season, or an hour sooner or later than the time appointed, would be considered as an ignorant pretender to the character of a musician. The Rāga mālā, or necklace of music, contains a highly poetical description of the Rāgas and their attendant nymphs, with the attributes suggested by the nature of the melody.

It would not be easy to recapitulate all the subjects on which the interesting disquisitions, of which we are about to take leave, present new and curious information. The volume does infinite credit to the erudition and talents of the contributors; and we perceive, with much satisfaction, that, from the classical orthography universally adopted, the papers have undergone critical inspection, by a Sanscrit scholar, previously to publication. We understand a tenth volume has reached England; and hope to be enabled to submit some account of its contents to our readers, in the next Number.



ART. XIII. *Histoire des deux derniers Rois de la Maison de Stuart.* Par Ch. J. Fox. Suivie de Pièces originales et Justificatives; Ouvrage traduit de l'Anglais; auquel on a joint une Notice sur la Vie de l'Auteur. 2 Tomes. Paris 1809.

Our readers will be disposed to think it hardly necessary that we should call their attention to an anonymous translation into French, of a work so recently published in our own language. Nor did we form any such intention, when we first received these volumes. But, upon opening them, we were struck with some changes of the original text, which were evidently not accidental, but designed; and as we were induced, by this circumstance, to look more narrowly, the result of our search has been so remarkable, that we cannot forbear exposing what we have thus detected. It is our duty to lay open, to the animadversion of the public, and particularly of all men of letters, so great a breach of literary honesty as that which is committed by a translator who undertakes to put his own countrymen in possession of a foreign work, and who suppresses or disguises the most important parts of the original composition. And the present instance calls the more especially for such notice, because it raises considerations of much more importance and extent, than the mere conviction of this translator, whoever he may be, of having violated the fidelity which he owed to his author.

The first thing which caught our attention was, that in Mr Fox's letter to Mr Laing, which is published by Lord Holland in his preface, the translator has omitted the paragraph, by which most readers probably recollect that letter,—where Hume is censured for his intolerable and ridiculous partiality to kings and princes; which is represented by Mr Fox as 'more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher.' The whole of this is left out of the letter; without any reason being assigned for such an omission, or any notice of it given to the French reader. We can guess but one individual in the French empire, whose feelings have been consulted in striking out the uncourtly reflection; and if the mutilations of Mr Fox's composition had gone no further, it would have been amusing to find, that this sort of delicacy towards that person is so very early supposed to be acceptable, or at least discreet. The new family, it seems, feel already that they belong to the old order, and are as jealous of hereditary blood and rank, as if they were some generations removed from the crimes against the liberties of France, to which they owe their elevation. We can discover a more immediate convenience and propriety in some other omissions which the translator has made,

or has been directed to make. Mr Fox, speaking of the leaders of the Long Parliament, states, that 'they then proceeded to establish *that fundamental principle of all free government, the preserving of the purse to the people and their representatives.*' p. 10. \* The translator has prevented a dangerous application of this at home, by striking out as much as points out a test of free government, and giving only the fact. 'Ils vinrent enfin à établir le principe qui met les tributs des sujets sous la garde du peuple et de ses représentans.' p. 70. Again, our historian, describing the English ministers who conducted the war of the Succession, speaks of those energies, which no state that is not in some degree *republican*, can supply.' p. 94. The translator might well think *republican* a word of fear; and the more unpleasant, because it cost a longer time to suppress the term, than the thing itself which went by that name; he has shown considerable address in lowering this sentiment, so as to leave it quite harmless: 'Cette énergie qu'on ne peut rencontrer que dans une constitution *qui respecte la liberté.*' p. 156. There are yet surviving in France some of those patriot enthusiasts, who once believed their country to be capable of liberty. How mortified must be their sensations, to witness the establishment of a despotism, which will not suffer the principles of freedom to be stated even in the abstract, nor its very name to be expressed!

As soon as we perceived such alterations of the text, and the obvious motive to which they are to be ascribed, we concluded for certain what would be the fate of those passages, among the most valuable of the work, in which the turn of the reflections leads to a contrast or parallel in the events and characters of our own time, or in which the author himself has suggested allusions of that nature. Such, besides others, are the eulogium of Washington; the passage upon the despondency of the friends of liberty in England, after Charles the Second had established his despotic sway; and that in which the early occupations of Lord Churchill are so finely contrasted with the triumphs of the Duke of Marlborough.

The whole page concerning Washington, and 'his most glorious of all parts,' is struck out. The comparison which would have been drawn from it in France, is more, it seems, than could have been endured: yet it is but some few years since all Frenchmen seemed to claim it as a portion of their national glory, that they had contributed to the success of Washington, whose name, now, they dare not venture to repeat. Mr Fox introduces the name of that illustrious man, by remarking, that, 'from the execution

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\* These references are to the large paper edition.

execution of the King, to the death of Cromwell, the government was, with some variation of forms, in substance monarchical and absolute; as a government established by a military force will almost invariably be, especially when the exertions of such a force are continued for any length of time.' p. 18. And he then proceeds to mention the splendid, and perhaps the solitary exception to this general rule, which our own age has afforded. 'The translator passes on at once to the character of Cromwell; 'Depuis l'exécution du roi jusqu'à la mort de Cromwell, le gouvernement avec quelques variations dans les formes, fut essentiellement monarchique et absolu: il finit avec le protecteur. Cet homme extraordinaire devoit à ses rares talens d'avoir maintenu,' &c. p. 79.

Among the reflections which Mr Fox has made, upon the gloom and despair which the despotism of Charles the Second must have spread over those whose minds had been thoroughly imbued with the love of the good old cause, the translator found these sentences of too strong a cast to appear. 'The hatred of tyranny must, in such persons, have been exasperated by the experience of its effects, and their attachment to liberty proportionally confirmed. To them the state of their country must have been intolerable.' p. 63. Is this a picture of a state of mind, to which any likeness perhaps lies hid in France? That is far beyond our hope: and yet it suggests the question, that it should thus have been deemed safer to withhold such a description. Besides that omission, the translator has altered the same passage, by substituting, for the meaning of the author, quite a different train of ideas; and the nature of this alteration is remarkable. Mr Fox says of the same class of persons, that 'such men will not easily relinquish their principles; nor was the manner in which absolute power was exercised such as to reconcile to it, in practice, those who had always been averse to it in speculation: 'which is thus corrupted, 'ils ne pouvoient pas aisément abandonner leurs principes, ni voir sans une profonde douleur que ceux sur lesquels se fondeoit la restauration sapoient les bases fondamentales de la liberté.' The drift of this interpolated meaning is made more plain, by referring to a preceding part of the work, in which some sentiments, of which the tendency no doubt alarmed and perplexed the translator, are nevertheless retained, for the sake of an observation, which could not be preserved without the rest, that 'a restoration is usually the most dangerous and worst of all revolutions.' p. 8.

Nobody, who has read the history, can have forgotten that passage, in which Mr Fox compares the situation of Churchill and Godolphin, when they were the tools of James the Second in his base money-transactions with the court of France, with that

that in which they stood, as minister and general, of another reign, conducting the alliances against Lewis, and triumphantly prosecuting the deliverance of Europe. In our account of the work, we extracted the passage at full length. \* 'The instance we have already mentioned, in which the epithet 'republican' evaporated in 'qui respecte la liberté,' is taken from this part of the translation. Then the reflection which immediately follows in the close, and which, for its elevation of sentiment, as well as justness, is so worthy of Mr Fox's mind, is altogether struck out—'How forcibly must the contemplation of these men, in such opposite situations, teach persons engaged in political life, that a free and popular government is desirable, not only for the public good, but for their own greatness and consideration—for every object of generous ambition!' (p. 94.)—though the omission of this makes the passage, as it stands in the French edition, not only imperfect, but unintelligible; because the 'useful lesson' to be derived from the consideration in question is left as announced, but not produced.

There is still another omission in this place, which is more indeed than we expected, because it seems to manifest an actual or suspected sensibility upon a topic, on which we should not have supposed there was any compunction. Mr Fox's elaborate period, describing the progress and success of the Duke of Marlborough, in restoring independence to the Continent, is cut short of its most essential member; all these expressions, 'to humble his pride, and to shake to the foundation that fabric of power which it had been the business of a long life to raise at the expense of every sentiment of tenderness to his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations!' (p. 94.)—being made to shrink into this lame and evasive conclusion, 'pour humilier son orgueil, et pour faire trembler sa couronne sur sa tête.' (p. 155.) Under the present circumstances of Europe, it is in some sort consolatory, that the slaves of France may not be trusted with such a description, lest they should make an application of it; and that the manner in which it is applied by the very act of blotting it out, betrays something like a sense of shame, or something like a dread of reverses.

We feel a degree of satisfaction of the same kind, in the next instance we have to mention, which is the omission of greatest length that we detected. The translator has left out the whole of the censure which Mr Fox passes upon Hume, for the manner in which he has palliated the conduct of Charles the Second in the murder of Algernon Sidney; three entire pages in quarto being thus cut out of the work, from the words 'con-

demned to die,' (p. 52.) to the paragraph which begins ' Thus fell Russel, ' &c. (p. 55.) Every body remembers Hume's apology for Charles, as well as the indignation which it has drawn from Mr Fox, and which he has pointed into so important a precept to all historians. It is for this stinging moral, that the whole passage has been sacrificed. ' A spirit of adulation towards deceased princes, though in a good measure free from the imputation of interested meanness, which is justly attached to flattery, when applied to living monarchs; yet, as it is less intelligible with respect to its motives than the other, so is it in its consequences still more pernicious to the general interests of mankind: Fear of censure from contemporaries will seldom have much effect upon men in situations of unlimited authority: they will too often flatter themselves, that the same power which enables them to commit the crime, will secure them from reproach. 'The dread of posthumous infamy, therefore, being the only restraint, their consciences excepted, upon the passions of such persons; it is lamentable that this last defence (feeble enough at best) should in any degree be impaired; and impaired it must be, if not totally destroyed, when tyrants can hope to find in a man like Hume, no less eminent for the integrity and benevolence of his heart, than for the depth and soundness of his understanding, an apologist for even their foulest murders.' (p. 54.) It would be gratifying to have it proved, that Bonaparte had expunged with his own hand this seeming prediction of what awaits him; and that amid the complacent retrospect of all his triumphs over the liberties and prosperity of mankind, he may sometimes be disquieted by the anticipation of that *posthumous infamy*, from which even the memory of his fortune in war will not rescue his name. In the prophetic ear of conscience, he may hear already the doom of posterity, and even the future curses of inconstant France. He must know too well, for his pride and for his ease, the character of the people whom he has reduced to slavery. He has seen how quickly they can pass from adulation to fierce hatred. And he cannot conceal from himself, that Frenchmen, addicted as they are to military above all other glory, but national beyond all other people, will never forget that he was born a foreigner; and, when the temporary motives for worshipping him have no longer an object, will probably deny him the fame which will be regarded as due to his genius and conduct, even in the countries which he had disturbed or laid waste.

Without pretending to enumerate all the instances, in which Mr Fox's text has been corrupted, we shall set down a few more of those sentences which are altogether omitted, and evidently for

for the same reasons by which the editor of the translation must have been influenced in those already noticed.

The following part of a sentence concludes the reflections of our historian, upon the instructive lessons which Englishmen are taught, by an attentive consideration of the reign of James the Second.—‘and still more particularly, that it is in vain to think of making a compromise with power; and, by yielding to it in other points, preserving some favourite object, such, for instance, as the church, in James’s case, from its grasp.’ (p. 110.) The translator stops at the word ‘object.’

The following observation is omitted, in the account of the Letters of Lawburrows, which, in the same despotic reign, and by a new solecism in government, were executed by the crown against the whole body of the subjects in one district of Scotland: ‘Such are the sophistries which tyrants deem satisfactory. Thus are they willing even to descend from their loftiness, into the situation of subjects or private men, when it is for the purpose of acquiring additional powers of persecution; and thus truly formidable and terrific are they, when they pretend alarm and fear.’ (p. 119.)

Mr Fox has stated, with much philosophical precision, the foundation and limits of the right of resistance. It was not to be expected, that the translator should suffer that passage to remain. The small portion of it which he ventured to leave in its place, he has completely misunderstood. Mr Fox says, ‘there is no point in human concerns, wherein the dictates of virtue and worldly prudence are so identified, as in this great question of resistance, by force, to established government,’ (p. 184.); which the translator, wholly mistaking the thought, renders thus—‘dans cette question plus que dans toute autre, il est facile de confondre les considérations purement humaines avec les nobles inspirations de la vertu.’ (p. 252.) He has not only missed Mr Fox’s meaning, but has understood him as intimating just the reverse of what he has actually expressed. The remainder of this most valuable passage is struck out; the translator passing at once from ‘les nobles inspirations de la vertu’ to the mention of Ludlow. The doctrine, indeed, is too strong and too plain to be published in France at the present day. We have a great satisfaction in repeating it. ‘Success, it has been invidiously remarked, constitutes, in most instances, the sole difference between the traitor and the deliverer of his country. A rational probability of success, it may be truly said, distinguishes the well-considered enterprise of the patriot from the rash schemes of the disturber of the public peace. To command success, is not in the power of man; but to deserve success, by choosing a proper time, as well as a proper object,—by

the prudence of his means, no less than by the purity of his views,—by a cause not only intrinsically just, but likely to ensure general support,—is the indispensable duty of him who engages in an insurrection against an existing government.' (p. 185.) It is possible that thoughts and considerations of this cast may not be absent from the minds of all men in France. So much evidence of caution lest such a string might be touched, would lead us to suspect that possibility. And, to borrow the language used by Milton upon a like occasion, we might almost take it as a pledge of future liberty to France, 'that her ruler is so persuaded of his danger; and may perhaps cherish the shadow of a hope, that worthies are now breathing in her air, who will be her leaders to deliverance.'

We have not stooped to consider, whether it be more probable that the mode, in which this translation has been thus executed, has proceeded from the personal prudence of the anonymous translator, or may be ascribed to the authoritative interference of that branch of the imperial police which is charged with the care of the press. Nor is it very material to inquire. It seems more likely that there may have been a direct interposition in this instance, on account of the interest with which the appearance of the history was expected at Paris,—and indeed the unquestionable danger that might result from allowing so much bold truth too free a dissemination among the imperial subjects. We are only surprised, that a translation of the book has been suffered to be sold at all: for, stripped and defaced as it is of the general dissertations, in which Mr Fox has stamped the sanction of his immortal name upon the most important truths and precepts for guiding the conduct of public men in periods of arbitrary administration or popular delusion, yet, in the progress of the more narrative, the author's feelings for liberty and for justice are so wrought into the body of the composition, that the impression of them could not be erased without obliterating the very form and likeness of the work. After all the expurgations which it has suffered, it will not be read in France without effect; and may itself contribute to bring about a time, when it may be studied entire, and when the readers shall be rendered capable of appreciating its merits. In the author's own country, we are of opinion, that those merits will always be rated more or less highly, in proportion as the sentiments of liberty, equality, justice and benevolence, predominate over other principles in the character of individuals or in the spirit of the age.

In general, the translation itself is executed with considerable elegance and spirit; and though there are a good many mistakes, they are not more than may be pardoned to the writer's imperfect knowledge of English usages and technical terms. Some, indeed, would

would not come under the benefit of this amnesty; but we have not time to particularize them. The notice of Mr Fox's life prefixed is disclaimed expressly, and indeed in a very marked manner, by the translator himself; and is a wretched farrago of all the stories that could be scraped together from the inaccurate, ignorant, and false accounts that appeared in the newspapers and in pamphlets after Mr Fox's death, under the pretence of satisfying the public curiosity. We need give but a single specimen of this notice, which asserts, that Mr Fox always corrected the reports of his speeches for the Morning Post.

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ART. XIV. *A Narrative of the Campaign of the British Army in Spain, commanded by his Excellency Lieutenant General Sir John Moore, K. B. &c. &c. &c. Authenticated by Official Papers and Original Letters.* By James Moore esq. 4to. pp. 336. Johnson. London, 1809.

*A few Remarks explanatory of the Motives which guided the Operations of the British Army during the late short Campaign in Spain.* By Brigadier-General Henry Clinton, Adjutant-General to the Army under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K. B. 8vo. pp. 30. Egerton. London, 1809.

*Observations on the Movements of the British Army in Spain, in Reply to the Statement lately published by Brigadier General Henry Clinton.* By a British Officer. 8vo. pp. 41. Murray. London, 1809.

*Letters from Portugal and Spain, comprising an Account of the Operations of the Armies under their Excellencies Sir Arthur Wellesley and Sir John Moore, from the landing of the Troops in Mondego Bay to the Battle at Corunna. Illustrated with Engravings by Heath, Pitter, Warren, &c. from Drawings made on the Spot.* By Adam Neale, M. D. F. L. S. Member of the Royal College of Physicians, and Physician to his Majesty's Forces. 1to. pp. 480. Phillips. London, 1809.

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*An Account of the Operations of the British Army, and of the State and Sentiments of the People of Portugal and Spain, during the Campaigns of the Years 1808 & 1809; in a Series of Letters.* By the Rev. James Wilmot Ormsby, A. M. Chaplain to the Staff, &c. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 526. Carpenter. London, 1809.

THE great importance of the subject handled in these works, both to the interests and the honour of this country, would have been a sufficient motive for bestowing upon it a greater share



of attention than recent portions of history usually claim from a literary Journal. But the questions involved in this discussion are of a very general and permanent nature, and are still more powerfully recommended to our attention by their intimate connexion with the most momentous considerations that can occupy the minds of men in the present unparalleled crisis. The whole vices of our policy towards foreign states, have been fatally exemplified in the management of the Spanish alliance; and the worst corruptions in the practice of our constitution have been displayed, with most pernicious effect, in the progress of this melancholy story. The excellence of our national character never, at any former period, shone more conspicuously; and the faults which obscure it were never more eminently hurtful. The resources of the empire were strained, during this period, to a pitch scarcely conceivable by the most sanguine calculator; and the failure of every effort surpassed the apprehensions of the most desponding. So vast a scene of great incongruities,—such a strange series of things the most opposite, yet arising out of each other;—power and submission—strength and discomfiture;—matchless valour crowned with success, producing only calamity and disgrace;—flight become the constant result of victory, and all the resources of courage and skill exhausted to secure the escape of the conquerors!—Such a discordant assemblage of events was never before crowded into one age, as fills up the year which elapsed between the battles of Vimeira and the retreat from Talavera. Add to this, that almost every public man of any note,—all the persons upon whose talents, in every department, the safety of the empire must depend in that single combat which now awaits it,—have been tried by the transactions relative to Spain; and we shall be prepared to admit the unprecedented interest of this subject at the present moment, whether as a matter of curious speculation, or a source of practical improvement.

We stated, on a former occasion, our opinion, that the gravest concerns of this country must continue to be neglected; its whole resources—its wealth, its blood, its valour—to be squandered in the purchase of defeat and disgrace; its choicest blessings, whether of solid comfort or of pride and honour, wasted, only to bring its very existence into jeopardy, until the people shall be roused from the apathy in which they have been sunk—not without the help of their rulers—and shall become accustomed to watch constantly and jealously over the conduct of their most important affairs, whether in the hands of war ministers and foreign secretaries at home, or of ambassadors and commanders abroad. It appears to us, that we cannot contribute our aid towards introducing this salutary habit, more effectually

fectually at the present moment, than by examining the conduct of the Spanish campaign, and by explaining the more general conclusions to which a review of it naturally leads. The government at home, and the officers entrusted with the execution of their plans, are at issue upon this subject, as indeed always happens when affairs are in the hands of dishonest and incapable rulers. But we freely confess, that, however important it may be to determine such a point, and to examine how far the memory of a great and most lamented soldier has been undeservedly blackened, we should scarcely have entered so fully into the inquiry, had we not felt it to be most intimately connected with the future safety of the country. The personal friends of the disputants, with the help of the parties in Parliament, might, for us, have settled these matters among themselves; but the plain truth is, that we have some hopes of living thirty or forty years longer in the world, and, if possible, in Europe. We have no sort of wish, highly as we value the friendship and custom of the Americans, to be forced into a near enjoyment of their society, after being first taxed by English rulers, and then pillaged by French ones. We cannot, therefore, afford to let the follies and intrigues of a few courtiers pave the way to the individual misery of every thinking man in the country; and we are compelled to vote for such a change of system, as shall preserve the only spot now left in the world where the blessings of civilized society can still be enjoyed.

From the large mass of matter through which we have been obliged to wade, in order to sift the question now under review, we have selected the publications mentioned in the title, as a fit groundwork for the present article. They are, indeed, representatives of all the opinions that have hitherto been delivered upon the subject of the late campaign. The work of Mr Moore contains a statement of the General's case, from his official and private correspondence, and from the journal which he kept of his proceedings. His friend and coadjutor, General Clinton, furnishes material evidence and explanations in support of the same statement; but with some concessions, admitted, we are disposed to think, through inadvertency, which transfer, from the British envoy, a considerable share of the responsibility under which he lies for the event of the campaign. The person calling himself a British Officer, attacks, somewhat intemperately, the candid and distinct narrative of General Clinton; and with a preposterous assurance, of which there is perhaps no example in the history of controversy, challenges our assent to statements of *fact*, upon his bare assertion, unauthenticated by the disclosure of his name and situation, and in direct contradiction to the testimony

of known and ostensible witnesses. Nay, this writer even claims the privilege of setting up his own *opinion*, and appealing to it as an authority, in opposition to the decisions of the responsible and respected leaders of the expedition, and the officers in whose judgment they reposed unlimited confidence, from long experience of their talents. The works of Dr Neale and Mr Ormsby contain a faithful transcript of the murmurs of the retreating army, and the discontents propagated at home by the insidious detractors of General Moore. We respect these gentlemen for at least giving their names and stations to the world. Had they ushered in their opinions and narratives of a complicated series of military operations, as the statements of '*British Officers*,' (which they were perhaps entitled to do without any breach of truth), the public might have been biassed by something like military authority, while, in fact, they were only perusing collections of vague rumours and crude remarks by a Doctor and a Chaplain. These authors have acted more fairly: they have enabled us to appreciate their claims to credit; and although, to be sure, it required no great share of boldness to come forward as the avowed critics of their commanding officer after his death, and affix their names to statements which chime in with all the attacks of the existing ministry upon his memory, we nevertheless are willing to allow them whatever praise this kind of frankness deserves. Besides the works which we have now enumerated, we have perused several others on the different views of the subject; but we are unwilling to encumber our pages with any further notice of them. For the case of Mr Frere, we have waited anxiously, and in vain.—Attacked, as he has been, first in Parliament, where his political auxiliaries and personal friends all abandoned him, and, next, by the publication of Mr Moore, to which an answer has been attempted in a periodical publication, only to the extent of loading the General with fresh obloquy, we are at a loss to fancy that any reason, excepting the want of a defence, can have prevented Mr Frere from stepping forward in his own vindication. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that no officer has been found willing to espouse the side of the question adverse to Sir John Moore; although both the medical gentleman and the reverend one above alluded to, freely quote the '*general conversation of the army*,' '*the opinion of many officers*,' and '*the judgment of most men of military talents*,' in support of their allegations. We cannot help viewing it as a testimony equally honourable to the British army, and to him who was its brightest ornament, that all the influence of the Treasury, and all the patronage of the War-office, have been unable to obtain, from a single one of General Moore's companions in arms, a word disrespectful to his memory, published with the sanction of a name.

Of the literary merits of the works now before us, we purpose to say but little. Although we may probably take another opportunity of making our readers acquainted with the Letters of Drs Neale and Ormsby as books of Travels, we at present only view them as connected with the military questions arising out of the campaign. They are hastily and superficially compiled, especially those of Dr Neale, which are, moreover, accompanied by some of the worst poetry, and the very worst drawings, we ever yet saw published. But even with this haste we should have had no quarrel, if it only affected style and arrangement. It has, unfortunately for the authors, given rise to mistakes, which a little further attention must have corrected. We say, unfortunately for the authors: They alone can feel hurt (as we are persuaded they do now feel) at seeing their rash statements made the foundation of sarcasms against their late gallant commander, by those who dare not openly arraign his conduct, and are yet unwilling to forfeit some paltry object of a party, by leaving his memory sacred.

The publication of Mr Moore is peculiarly interesting, from the important original documents which it contains. To the graces of style, or, indeed, to the critical excellences of historical composition in general, it lays no claim; but it challenges our respect, from the undoubted authenticity of its materials, and from the feelings which gave rise to its compilation. We lament that Mr Moore did not enter into more detail as to some of the facts relating to the campaign; and particularly, that he did not give his brother's journal entire. There are some parts of his private correspondence, which we should also have wished to see more fully given; and although we can readily excuse the partiality which is so natural to his situation, we regret that he should have condescended to insert the anecdote of Buonapartè having said, '*Moore is the only General now fit to contend with me*,' (p. 166.); because it is at best equivocal, and, if taken in the most complimentary sense, liable to great suspicion as to its authenticity. Perhaps, too, our author would have better consulted the dignity of his subject, had he left to his reader (as he safely might have done) the inferences from his statements unfavourable to Mr Frere, instead of stooping to treat the conduct of that gentleman with considerable acrimony. We, moreover, object to the care with which his remarks are always pointed away from the British government. Though by no means unsparing of censure, either upon Mr Frere, the Spaniards, or the British troops, he never hazards an observation unfavourable to the chief authors of the calamities which he is recounting. Not that he suppresses those proofs which point out clearly where the blame lies; but, considering that Mr Frere has been himself, in a great measure, given up by his employers,

players, and that they were in office when Mr Moore wrote,—actively occupied, too, though covertly, in shifting the blame from themselves upon his brother's shoulders, we confess we could have excused some diversion, towards the cabinet, of the constant attack upon the envoy. This volume is inscribed, in an address of great feeling and propriety, to the venerable matron who, having given the hero of Corunna to the world, now only lingers in it to assuage her affliction for his loss, by the tender remembrance of his virtues. \*

We have entered so fully, upon former occasions, into the merits of the expedition to Portugal, that we do not think it necessary to repeat any part of this discussion at present. We believe, the opinion of the world is now pretty unanimous upon that subject; and that few men can be found to maintain, that, in the outset of her operations, England chose the best means to assist her Spanish allies. It is the conviction of many persons, whose judgment commands peculiar respect, and the more so because later events appear to support it, that there was at no time any reasonable chance of driving the French out of the Peninsula; and that, consequently, no British army should ever have been sent there at all. Some, on the other hand, agreeing with the popular opinion, that our assistance was likely to secure that desirable object, affirm, that it ought to have been afforded in the southern extremity of Spain; a position which, we confess, has always struck us as untenable; while the persuasion expressed in this Journal seems now the most prevalent, that our troops, if sent at all, should have landed as near as possible to the Ebro, on the north, and been aided by a force from Sicily in the bay of Rosas. But the plan which was selected, of landing in Portugal, seems, by all descriptions of reasoners, to be entirely given up. For an ample exposition of this subject, we refer to the statements contained in our Twenty-fifth Number; supported by reference to the official documents, in a subsequent article, No. XXVII. Neither is it our intention, at present, to discuss the merits of the short and most unsatisfactory campaign to which the Portuguese expedition gave rise. Upon this subject, also, the public mind seems at last to be completely made up; and, whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the judgment and the disinterestedness which prescribed the commencement of operations before the arrival of Generals Burrard and Moore; the precise extent of the victory

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\* Several tracts have been published by the friends and admirers of General Moore, beside that of his brother. See *Cursory Remarks on the late Administration*, which contains several very acute and important observations on the military movements in Spain; *Letters from Spain and Portugal, by a British Officer*; and Mr Milburne's *Narrative of the Retreat*.

victory at Vimeira; and the practicability of pursuing that success—points on which we certainly have our opinion; all men are now agreed, that the result of the campaign not only frustrated whatever object its projectors might have proposed to themselves, but brought discredit upon the British arms. Nor is the conviction less universal, that this signal failure was an inevitable consequence of the arrangements (shall we call them?) which our government had made with respect to the command of the expedition. Leaving, therefore, these points, most of which may be considered as now settled, and the remainder as of subordinate importance, we shall begin at the commencement of the second effort which England made for the Spanish cause—the expedition under Sir John Moore; and in pursuing this inquiry, we shall be guided entirely by the official documents laid before Parliament, the authentic letters and other papers published in Mr Moore's collection, and the testimonies of such witnesses as are the least liable to suspicion of partiality. This is the only use we purpose to make of Mr Moore's work, or of the other tracts published upon the subject.

It was a necessary consequence of the operations in Portugal, that a considerable time elapsed, after the retreat of the French behind the Ebro, before any measures for attacking them could be even thought of in this country. In fact, it was known in London, on the 8th of August, that Dupont had surrendered on the 21st of July, and that Joseph Buonapartè had left Madrid on the 29th; and a few days afterwards it was ascertained, that the French forces were concentrating themselves in Navarre and Catalonia. At this time, however, the campaign in Portugal had commenced; and it was only closed on the 30th of August, by the memorable convention of Cintra. On the 4th of September, that event was officially known in London; and on the 26th, orders were despatched to Lisbon for the preparation of a detachment which might enter Spain, under Sir John Moore, and there be joined by another force from this country. These orders were received on the 6th of October; and Sir David Baird sailed for Corunna on the 9th. The British government, therefore, was aware, that before a single British soldier could set his foot on Spanish ground, the French army must have remained *above ten weeks* behind the Ebro, quietly waiting for reinforcements.

Sir David Baird arrived at Corunna on the 13th of October; but, in consequence of some unaccountable blunders on the part of the government, or its agents, \* he was not allowed to land until the

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\* We have heard it asserted, that the notice of Sir David Baird's actual arrival, and the notice that he was to sail thither, reached our envoy.

the 22d; and his army was not on shore before the 4th of November. On the 8th, he was joined by Lord Paget's division of the horse artillery; and the whole force had not landed before the 13th. Sir David himself did not reach Astorga till the 22d. In the mean time, Sir John Moore was indefatigably employed in accelerating the departure of the main body of his army from Lisbon. No imputation of dilatoriness has, indeed, ever been cast upon this part of his conduct; yet the last corps could not leave Lisbon before the 29th of October; nor had the whole of the infantry reached Salamanca on the 24th of November, although the march was most successfully performed. Astorga is 100 English miles from Toro; and Salamanca is above 150 from Burgos. It was impossible, therefore, for the two armies to effect a junction at all before the first week in December; or to effect a junction at the point which was most desirable, before the middle of that month. The British government, then, was aware, that before the army could possibly be assembled in any part of Spain, the enemy must have had *four months* to reinforce his army; that a fortnight more must have elapsed, before the British forces could be united in the enemy's neighbourhood, even supposing no opposition whatever should be offered to them until they were ready to meet it.

Between the day on which the Cintra Convention was known in London, and that on which orders were sent to march the army into Spain, viz. on the 16th of September, a copy of Buonaparté's message to the Senate was received in this country. It appeared from thence, that, on the 8th, he had proclaimed his intimate alliance with Russia; his confidence that, for some time at least, he had nothing to apprehend from Austria; and his determination immediately to march an immense army into Spain. In a few days afterwards, it was known that troops had begun to move towards Bayonne. Lord W. Bentinck informed Sir J. Moore, on the 8th of October, that a letter had been intercepted from the Governor of Bayonne to Marshal Jourdan, in which it was stated, that, between the 6th of October and the 16th of November, one army, of 72 or 73,000 men would enter Spain; and that this intelligence was believed both by himself and the Supreme Junta. \*

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envoy at the same time. We can scarcely credit this. But the fact is certain, that no permission to land was ever asked of the Spanish government, until Sir David Baird's arrival in Corunna was made known at Madrid. Lord William Bentinck, it may be remarked, received the first notice of Corunna being the point of destination on the 14th of October. House of Commons Papers, p. 114.

\* House of Com. papers, p. 153.

The same statement must therefore have been received by the British Government within a week after Sir D. Baird's army sailed. It is now known, that French troops began to enter Spain about the 1st of October; that, in five weeks from thence, above 57,000 had arrived; and that, in the beginning of November, Buonapartè himself was at their head. † It would be in the highest degree disrespectful to the British Government, to suppose it possible that all this should happen without their knowing any thing of the matter. But if, after reading Buonapartè's message to his Senate, and reflecting for one moment on the recent checks he had met with in Spain—the quiet state of affairs in Germany—the resources of his empire, and the character of the man—they could harbour a thought that his threats were empty words, or that his movements were as tardy as their own, we must at least allow that they were utterly incapable of contending with him, even if every advantage had been in their favour. It is not, however, very material to fix the government with the knowledge of these reinforcements. They knew, at least, that the French army behind the Ebro, never was reduced below 60,000; ‡ that the communications with France were entirely open; and that the time which must necessarily elapse before Sir J. Moore's army could reach the confines of Navarre, was sufficient to allow of more troops being sent for after the commencement of his march should be known at the French head quarters. And surely there was *one* reinforcement hastening at that moment to the enemy, of which the planners of the Portuguese campaign could not be ignorant. They could not so soon have forgotten the fruits of their victories. They must have been aware, that, in consequence of having repeatedly defeated the enemy, and by collecting, after those victories, a force greatly superior to his, we had been enabled—to convey his troops to the point where he chiefly wanted them. They must have been aware, that, at the moment they were ordering Sir J. Moore's army to advance towards Navarre by land, they were themselves sending in British ships a well appointed French army, *of the same force*, to a port of France, from whence they were sure to reach Navarre in time to meet our gallant troops.

The whole troops destined to act under Sir John Moore amounted, in fact, to no more than 28,000 men; § between 11 or 12,000 having been left most unaccountably to garrison Portugal; in other words, to support the feeble and unpopular government of that country against its own subjects. || The plan, therefore, was,

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† House of Com. papers, p. 178.

‡ Ib. p. 113.

§ Adjutant-General's returns, Moore's Appendix.

|| Cintra Papers, p. 232.



was, to send our army through Spain to dislodge from strong positions, and from at least two complete fortresses, a French force, consisting of above double their numbers, to the certain knowledge of our government at the time the plan was conceived ; a force which, our government must have known, was daily receiving large additions, and would be above four times more numerous than ours, before we could pass the Spanish frontier ; a force which, it was perfectly manifest, would cross the Ebro and begin active operations against our allies as soon as we could begin the assembling of our different detachments ; a force which, thus augmented, and having thus the start of us, must necessarily be enabled, after beating our ally's corps in detail, to meet our little army in whatever part of the north might be most disadvantageous for us ; and which, if by some miracle it were defeated, could always retreat upon its resources, and be indefinitely recruited.

Such was **THE PLAN** of the expedition ; and to encounter such odds was Sir J. Moore sent from Lisbon. It is therefore perfectly manifest, that no man in his senses could have entertained the idea of this project leading to any thing but ruin and disgrace, unless he was under the influence of very sanguine expectations of assistance from the Spaniards themselves. The only conceivable justification of the plan must consist in a belief having been entertained, that the Spaniards were able to keep the French in check until an army arrived to turn the scale against them. Let us now see what grounds there were for such an expectation.

That a very general spirit of resistance to France, arising from a strong national antipathy, much more than from any liking for their own government, prevailed at one time among the Spaniards, we have always been the first to maintain. Of this favourable disposition there was sufficient proof at an early period to justify this country in resolving to assist it. But, previous to taking any active steps for this purpose, more intimate information was essentially necessary ; and the chief points to be ascertained evidently were, whether the enthusiasm extended to the upper and middle classes of the people ; whether it was likely to last or pass away, like other popular feelings ; whether it was leading to such definite measures, such actual exertions of military strength, as alone could warrant a belief of its ultimate success. A great number of agents, both civil and military, were sent into different parts of Spain for the purpose of making these inquiries, and of aiding the popular ferment. In the papers laid before Parliament, *not one line is given from any of their reports ;* although their appointment, and the queries addressed to them, are elaborately detailed. A despatch of Mr Frere has indeed been

been made public; and the opinions of Generals Moore and Baird appear in the course of their military correspondence; but the envoy, while he distinctly admits that there is no enthusiasm in Leon and the Castilles \* (with the exception of La Mancha and Madrid), ascribes this disposition to the southern provinces, merely from report and speculative reasonings; and the generals flatly and uniformly deny the existence of it in those provinces which they traversed, and in those of which they had received any authentic accounts. † The testimonies of Dr Neale and Mr Ormsby are clear and explicit upon this point; and it is one to which they may speak.

It is quite impossible to conceive any reason but one for our government having suppressed the reports of their various agents, viz. that they were unfavourable to the Spaniards; that those persons had found the popular spirit upon the decline; and the Juntas taking no steps to revive it. But if that spirit had been ever so strong, there was another question to be answered before the British Government could be justified in sending an army of 30,000 men into Spain, where a French army of 120,000 was already prepared to meet it. Between such an enemy and our men, it was necessary that some other shield should be interposed than the mere good will—the favourable dispositions of an ally—or even his hatred of the French, and his popular commotions against their usurpation—or even risings of armed peasantry in different parts of his territory. The question was, what force could he speedily bring into the field;—and, not only that, but what measures had been adopted to call it out;—nay, how many serviceable men had he actually embodied at the moment when instructions were sent to Sir J. Moore? This was the question: for, at that moment, the enemy's reinforcements were beginning to pour in. No attempt was making to disturb him: and, before those instructions could be obeyed, he must be in a condition to take the field and overwhelm the British army as soon as it appeared, unless opposed by a large and soldier-like army of Spaniards. Let us next see, then, how this question was examined by the planners of the expedition.

We are firmly persuaded that *it was not examined at all.* We see no other way of accounting for the utter want of conformity between the statements given to Sir John Moore, and the facts as he found them, and as all the other British agents found them.

Lord

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\* Letter to Sir J. Moore, November 30. In the Parliamentary papers, this document was most shamefully mutilated, so as to pervert the sense completely. It is given at length in Mr Moore's work, p. 80.

† House of Com. papers, p. 146, 155, 158, 164.

Lord Castlereagh, in his despatch of September 30th to Lord William Bentinck, \* communicated on the same day to Sir J. Moore, † states, that the assembling of our army in the north of Spain will be covered by a Spanish force of 'between 60 and 70,000 men, exclusive of the armies operating towards the front and left of the enemy's line;' that is to say, exclusive of the armies of Castanos and Palafox. The amount of those armies is not even guessed at in any part of Sir J. Moore's instructions; but Mr Moore asserts that they were conceived to be the most numerous of any; ‡ and he is to a certain degree borne out by the statement of Lord Castlereagh, in his despatch to Lord W. Bentinck, of October 1st, that the armies of Castanos and Romana contain the greatest proportion of regulars; and that the former has more cavalry than any other. § The despatches of Lord W. Bentinck, || of October 2d, transmitted both to London and Lisbon, contain an enumeration of the Spanish forces in the north, founded apparently on the statements of the Supreme Junta; a most suspicious authority upon which to build plans of a campaign. In this document, the army of Castanos is stated to be 65,000; that of Palafox 16,000; the army of Catalonia 20,000; and 20,000 more are said to be on their march. ¶

We may judge of the pains bestowed on the examination of these estimates by the fact, only credible because we have it under Lord Castlereagh's own hand, that it was not till the 27th of October that instructions were sent from London to Lord W. Bentinck at Madrid, to send an officer from *Corunna into Catalonia*, for the purpose of examining the state of that province and its armies. ¶ It is the same unquestionable authority alone that could make us suppose, that, on the 25th of September, Romana's army was estimated at 30,000, and on the 30th of the same month at 20,000 men. \*\* But, in whatever manner these numbers were obtained, the planners of the expedition instructed Sir John Moore to expect that his junction with Sir D. Baird would be covered by an army of 60,000 or 70,000 men, under Romana and Blake; and that about double the number were ready to act on the centre and left of the enemy, under Castanos and Palafox. Nay, so little apprehension was entertained of the Spanish armies being weak or unserviceable, and such were the frantic hopes of the British cabinet, that, in the month of September, the Spaniards alone were expected to drive the French across the Pyrenees; and, at the end of that month, or the beginning of October, Lord W. Bentinck was directed to concert measures with the

\* House of Com. Papers, p. 60.

† Ib. p. 54.

‡ Ib. p. 11.

§ Ib. p. 62.

|| Ib. p. 113.

¶ Ib. p. 66.

\*\* Ib. p. 48. 60.

the Junta for an invasion of the south of France, to be performed by the combined armies of England and Spain! \*

Now, let us see how the fact stood, and how nearly these fancies were found to approach the real truth. Sir J. Moore says, that Blake *never* had more than 37,000 men with him; and that, excepting Romana's corps, these were for the most part mere peasantry. † At the battle of Sorbusa, however, he could only bring 17,000 men against the enemy, *including* Romana's corps; and at Valmaseda he was compelled to retreat, after gaining some advantage, although his whole force was opposed to only 7000 or 8000 of the enemy. These are the statements of General Brodrick and Captain Carrol. ‡ In a week from this day the *covering* army of the North was completely routed and dispersed; and Sir D. Baird, far from having his junction with Sir J. Moore protected by it, was prevailed upon to halt for a short time, in order to assist Romana in collecting a few of its scattered remains. § The army of Estremadura, 18,000 in number, was routed near Burgos, about the same time. The armies of the centre and left, according to Sir J. Moore's information, did not exceed 40,000 men; || and General Graham, who was with Castanos at that time, reported the combined forces of that General and Palafox at only 30,000. \*\* Nor was the quality of the Spanish armies at all calculated to make up for their deficiency in numbers. General Brodrick, speaking of Blake's army, says, 'he has more faith in the good will than in the manœuvres even of the troops of the

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\* Moore, p. 12. It is to be regretted that the particulars of these portentous instructions have not been given by Mr Moore from his brother's papers. They would have gone far to open the eyes of the country to the nature of the men whom they have entrusted with the care of their purse. The date of the directions, too, is material. It must have been as late as Sept. 30th at least; for Lord Castlereagh, then for the first time, wrote to Lord W. Bentinck.—House of Com. papers, p. 60.

† House of Com. papers, p. 155.

‡ Ibid. p. 127, 129, & 179. The *despatches* of Captain Carrol are strange specimens of ranting and confusion. It may, indeed, be observed, in general, of the multitude of officers who were sent into Spain as agents, that they were either originally ill qualified for their situations, or were soon spoilt by the attentions they met with, and the empty honours and nominal rank conferred upon them. They all began to play the grand functionary—the ambassador—the commander. The only one, to be sure, who had any right to this, forms a most honourable exception to the remark;—we mean Lord W. Bentinck.

§ Ib. p. 148, 147.

|| Ib. p. 155.

\*\* Ib. p. 146.

line; \* and at the very beginning of the campaign, he complains that it 'suffers a good deal from desertion.' † General Leith says, that the Asturian division of the same army, 'on the 10th of November, fought very bravely; and on the 11th gave way, without resistance.' ‡ The opinion of Generals Moore and Baird, upon the composition of this army, need not be repeated in this place. But we may remark, that Colonel Symes, who was sent to examine the corps formed out of its remains after the battles of the North, gives a report altogether inconsistent with the supposition of that army ever having been fit to oppose French troops. 'A striking instance of this (he observes) is given by the Marquis himself, who assured me that the Spaniards did not lose above 1000 men in their late actions with the French; a proof, not of the weakness of the French, but of the incapacity of the Spaniards to resist them. In fact, the French light troops decided the contest; the Spaniards fled before a desultory fire; they saved themselves, and now claim merit for having escaped.' § 'As to the army of the centre, we may take the report either of its commander, or of the English officer who was sent to inspect it. Castanos describes it in his despatch to the secretary of the Junta, as 'immoveable from its few resources, and the greatest part composed of new levies, badly clothed, and badly provisioned.' || Captain Whittingham says, in his letter to Lord W. Bentinck, from its head quarters,—'To form any idea of its composition, it is absolutely necessary to have seen it. It is a complete mass of miserable peasantry, without clothing, without organization, and with few officers that deserve the name. The General and principal officers have not the least confidence in their troops; and, what is yet worse, the men have no confidence in themselves. This is not an exaggerated picture; it is a true portrait.' ¶ To sum up the whole of this melancholy recital, we find a council of war held by the Spanish Generals, at the opening of the campaign, in which it is agreed that, 'considering the actual state of penury and want which the army of the centre, destitute of the most necessary means, is suffering; considering also that their effective force is much less than had been supposed, it cannot be of assistance to the army of the left, notwithstanding the urgency of such assistance.' \*\*

It appears clear, then, from the most unexceptionable evidence, —from evidence indeed of the highest description, the documents unwillingly

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\* H. of C. papers, p. 122.

† *Ib.* p. 126.

‡ *Ib.* p. 181.

§ Moore, p. 131. The letters of Colonel Symes are among the best in the whole mass of correspondence.

|| Moore, p. 15.

¶ *Ibid.*

\*\* Moore, App. p. 252.

unwillingly produced by the British government and its agents, and the official papers found in the repositories of Sir J. Moore, that he was ordered to march his army into Spain, at a time when the French had four times its number ready to receive him; when the Spaniards, in the immediate neighbourhood of the common enemy, could, at no one point, muster 30,000 men; and when even this inconsiderable force was so composed, that it must be dispersed by half its numbers of regular troops. The British government, however, calculated both upon the sufficiency of the force sent, and upon an adequate time being allowed for it to act. The plan was (as appears by Lord Castlereagh's despatch to Lord William Bentinck, Oct. 1.\*), that the army should, after the junction of its different corps, advance through Leon and Castile towards the enemy, its flanks being covered by the Spanish forces, who had all the while been covering its collection.

Even if all this had been practicable, the enemy would, on its arrival at the Ebro, have been far more than a match. There would then have been no more than 90,000 of the allies, of whom not one half were regular troops, to oppose at least 120,000, but more probably 150,000 of the finest soldiers in the world. The plan, then, was absolutely impracticable, giving its authors every thing their own way. But the enemy could not quite consent to this. He had completed his reinforcements at least four weeks before our army could possibly be assembled. So he began to destroy the allied armies one by one, after his manner,—the 'covering corps,' and the 'flanking corps,'—and the 'Spanish reserve,' and the 'forces of the patriots which we went to second,'—and in short the whole body of the 'Spanish army' which our ministers had proposed should first drive the French out of Spain, and then with our help pursue them across the Pyrenees, God knows how far, but probably to Paris;—we were unluckily beaten and dispersed piecemeal, by the relentless, unaccommodating, and most intractable enemy, who, it seems, never will learn from our example, notwithstanding all the pains we have been taking to teach him for the last twenty years, to waver and delay a little, and to suit his plans to ours. It was thus that he occupied himself during the first three weeks in November, when we were expecting him to remain quiet as he had done for three months; and indeed what right had he, all of a sudden, to begin fighting, when we were not ready? Every thing was doing that man could do to assemble our forces:—the *departments* in Downing-Street and at Whitehall were all in a bustle,—the *boards* could scarcely get out of town of a Saturday,—the life of a cabinet minister was become worse

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\* House of Com. papers, p. 62.

than that of a dray-horse;—then above three dozen of emissaries, brigaded under ministers and major-generals, had been sent, aye and were actually arrived in Spain,—some fourscore letters had been despatched by the secretaries of State,—our army, too, almost one-fourth part as strong as the enemy's, was landed in sundry remote parts of the peninsula, and was uniting as fast as legs could carry it,—the gazette-writer was ready to record its deeds,—and the newspapers had already announced them. What cruelty in that inexorable enemy of our's to spoil so much triumph and exultation,—to mar so very beautiful a plan, and all quite ripe for exhibition,—to begin with our allies a whole month sooner than we had bargained for;—and, not content with that, to advance, after driving them all over the country, so as almost to serve our detachments in the same way, before they could unite—! But it is his constant way—and there is now no hope of his ever becoming more mannerly.

We have now seen precisely the nature of the service upon which Sir J Moore was sent, and how utterly impossible it was for any kind of good to arise out of such a scheme, unless by means of a positive miracle. This seems, indeed, very early to have been his own conviction. At first, he trusted a little to the stories which the ministers told him; but he had scarcely crossed the frontiers of Portugal, when his eyes were opened to the real state of things. Even before he entered Spain, he had a specimen of the credit which was due to the information to be obtained from our allies. The question, whether the roads towards the north-east of Portugal were unfit for the transport of artillery and cavalry, was apparently one which the regency of that country might be expected to answer accurately. The General therefore trusted to their positive assurances, and sent that part of his army round by the Badajoz road. He found, however, when he accompanied the rest of his troops towards Almeida, that the whole might easily have come in the same direction. He was thus needlessly separated from a most essential part of his force;—but it was the last time he ever trusted the information of 'native authorities.'

The history of his progress in Spain now becomes the history of his disappointments in every one expectation which he had been led to form, by his instructions, of efforts on the part of the Spaniards, or even of the British government. He is scarcely arrived at Salamanca, when we find him obliged to complain of the reluctance with which the constituted authorities afford him support. 'They are not (says he) like those of a country who wish our assistance.'\* He has constant occasion to renew this complaint in

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\* Letter to Lord William Bentinck, Nov. 13. Moore, p. 22.

the subsequent course of the campaign. The British commissariat is likewise found to be extremely deficient; and its difficulties are increased by some injudicious appointments from home. Want of money is a perpetual source of the most serious inconvenience; and we find Lord Castlereagh, after the despatch of a very moderate supply, fairly telling the General, that he must expect no more for some months, as silver is not to be had in England. † The enthusiasm of the people, he soon perceived, had been grossly exaggerated; and he could discover no symptoms of vigour in the councils of the government, nor any thing satisfactory and intelligible in the movements of their armies. The French, on the other hand, he saw every reason to suspect, were ready to begin the campaign: indeed, before he arrived at Salamanca, he learnt the defeat of the Spaniards at Burgos, the very point where he had been directed to assemble his troops. Such were the impressions under which his letter to Lord William Bentinck was written on the 13th of November; and after stating, distinctly, that four times his force would be outnumbered and beaten, unless the mass of the Spanish people could resist the enemy themselves, he concludes with this remarkable passage—‘I am therefore much more anxious to see exertion and energy in the government, and enthusiasm in their armies, than to have my force augmented. The moment is a critical one. My own situation is particularly so.—I have never seen it otherwise;—but I have pushed into Spain at all hazards. This was the order of my government; and it was the will of the people of England. I shall endeavour to do my best; hoping, that all the bad that may happen will not happen, but that, with a share of the bad, we shall also have a portion of good fortune.’ ‡

He now received intelligence that the French had pushed a corps as far as Valladolid, on the 13th of November; that they had indeed retired; but that their progress had produced no sensation whatever among the Spaniards; and four days after this he learnt, by a letter from Mr Stuart at Madrid, the total defeat of Blake,

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† Letter to Mr Frere, Nov. 19. Ib. 38. This passage is very striking; and, when coupled with the similar difficulty of procuring specie, in the late expeditions to Portugal and the Scheldt, forcibly reminds us, that Mr Baring predicted this very consequence from the Orders in Council. See his celebrated pamphlet on that subject, p. 157. Thus wonderful is the connexion between all the measures of our rulers! Nor is the conduct of a wise and vigorous government more distinguished by the mutual support which its various proceedings afford one another, than the plans of a rash and feeble administration are remarkable for proving subversive of each other.

‡ Moore, p. 25.



and the prolonged imbecility of the Supreme Junta ; from which indeed that gentleman \* very judiciously infers, that there was room for the most desponding views. About the same time, the reports of General Graham presented such a picture of the central army, as prepared Sir John Moore for the most disastrous events.

It was now evident that the French had it in their power, either to prevent the junction of his three divisions, or to march upon their left and attack Castanos. By a letter from Blake, dated ' Leon, November 23d,' information was communicated to Sir David Baird, that the French were advancing by Rio Seco ; and Romana further apprized him, that they had an army of 18,000 collected there on the 24th. Sir David, therefore, prepared to retreat upon Coruna. Sir John Moore, however, discovered that this alarm was a false one, originating in the corps of cavalry which had been sent to scour the country. He therefore directed Sir David Baird to continue his advance, being resolved to attempt the junction (notwithstanding the delay thus occasioned by Blake and Romana), unless the enemy should advance with his main body, in which case it would be necessary to retreat upon Portugal. ' I see my situation,' he observes in his Journal, ' as clearly as any one, that nothing can be worse ; for I have no Spanish army to give me the least assistance—only, the Marquis Romana is endeavouring to assemble the fugitives from Blake's army at Leon. Yet I am determined to form the junction of this army, and to try our fortune. *We have no business here, as things are ; but, being here, it would never do to abandon the Spaniards without a struggle.*' †

While these measures were in agitation,—while every day brought intelligence of fresh disasters,—and every observation of his own more and more convinced the General that the dispositions and resources of Spain had been magnified out of all resemblance to the truth, the first despatches were received from Mr Frere, who talked lightly of the defeat at Burgos,—gave a decided opinion on the whole state of the country where he had just arrived,—and insisted with perfect confidence upon the evils of retreating under any circumstances, and the necessity of pushing forward to the capital. This was the opinion also of Morla, who recommended that Sir John should advance with part of his army, if he could not immediately bring the whole of it up. ‡ But on the 28th of November, he received intelligence of Castanos's army having been defeated and dispersed. It was to be apprehended, therefore, that as no force remained in the North to resist the enemy, the junction with Sir David Baird would be opposed ; that it might be difficult even to join

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\* Moore, p. 37.

† Ib. p. 50.

‡ Mr Frere's Letters and General Hope's. Moore, p. 31. 52. 53.

join General Hope; and, at all events, the army, when united, could not undertake any thing against an enemy so greatly superior in numbers. These considerations, so satisfactory to any person who calmly reviews the state of the question as we have already exhibited it from the official documents, determined the General to retreat deliberately to Portugal, to order Sir David Baird back to Corunna, and to hasten the junction of General Hope, if possible, by forced marches. Nothing could now be expected but the chance of assisting the Spaniards by assembling the army in the South, where, indeed, Sir John Moore was always of opinion, that a correct knowledge of the state of the country would originally have led the government to employ it. \* This determination was fully approved of by Generals Baird and Hope; and, we will venture to say, there is not one man of common understanding now alive, who does not deeply lament that it was afterwards changed; yet it is remarkable, that it gave as great dissatisfaction to the army as any part of the subsequent operations which have been so bitterly attacked, upon no better authority than the murmurs of the troops.

We are now approaching towards that point of Sir John Moore's operations, at which for the first, and for the only time in the whole course of this arduous service, we are disposed to hesitate whether his conduct be not liable to a certain degree of censure. He had from the beginning clearly perceived, what no man can at present for an instant doubt, that his army had been ordered to enter Spain without any conceivable object,—without even the chance of effecting, by human means, any one valuable purpose. The dispersion of the different Spanish armies, which he had very confidently predicted, had followed in rapid succession. It was now the 1st of December; and the enemy had, above a week before, routed Castanos on the Ebro. It was still longer since he had a force in Burgos, and had even pushed on detachments of his cavalry to Valladolid. A large reinforcement (according to the General's intelligence, above 30,000) were on their march through Biscay; and it was manifest, that even if no such addition was made to the army in our front, it might be supported by a detachment from the force which had defeated Castanos. In truth, that force could now only have one of two destinations; either to march directly against our army, or to proceed towards Madrid. In either case, the junction of our three corps was endangered; but admitting that a rapid and lucky movement, favoured by a moment of supineness on the enemy's part, could have secured their union,—

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\* Despatch of Lord Castlereagh, Nov. 24. House of Commons Papers, p. 155.

admitting that the whole British army was brought safely together, and as soon as possible;—while the enemy was pouring in from the north, and advancing to Madrid from the north-east—it was self-evident that we could not have turned our fortunate junction to any account whatever, and that a speedy retreat was the best that awaited us. It was further manifest, that the delay necessarily occasioned by such a junction, and by the advance of our army, must increase the difficulties of the retreat; and that every hour which the British army spent, and every league which they advanced after the battle of Tudela, augmented the hardships and dangers necessarily to be encountered before they could hope to leave Spain, without affording the smallest chance of assisting the Spaniards. Of all this Sir John Moore was fully aware at the beginning of December; and when he called together his Generals to communicate his plan of retreating, he told them, with that manly spirit which so essentially marked all his proceedings, ‘that he had not assembled them to request their counsel, or to make them commit themselves by giving any opinion.’ He said, ‘he took the responsibility entirely upon himself, and only required them to prepare immediately for carrying his orders into effect.’ From what new occurrences, or by what efforts of other men, he was soon after induced to change this wise and spirited determination, we are now to see. It is the only part of his whole conduct about which any doubts can now remain; and we must confess, that our opinion, originally unfavourable to the General, has been materially altered by the scenes disclosed in the correspondence before us.

When Mr Frere was sent to Madrid at the beginning of November, with the latest instructions from the British cabinet, and an intimate knowledge of their plans and wishes respecting Spain, he also carried with him the peculiar confidence of Mr Canning, then at the head of the foreign department. Although we are decidedly of opinion, that he was disqualified for this post, by the accidental circumstance of his having filled it at the time when Mr Pitt and Lord Melville, with even more than the usual impolicy and rapacity of their councils, declared the Dollar-war of 1805, we yet are willing to allow, that it would have been difficult to find a gentleman of higher honour, more liberal accomplishments, greater enthusiasm in the cause of the patriots, or warmer zeal for the King’s service. Possessed of these qualities, and receiving unlimited credit for the still more ministerial virtues of a sober judgment and discreet temper, it was natural that his opinions should be recommended to the peculiar attention of the military department by his employers, who had given him their entire confidence, and apprised him fully of their sentiments and inclinations. A slight hint, too, of this kind would certainly be implicitly

implicitly attended to by Sir John Moore. The hint, indeed, was not easily to be mistaken. 'Although (says Lord Castlereagh, in his final instructions) communications either from the Spanish government or the British minister are not to be considered by you as in the nature of orders, you will nevertheless receive such requisitions or representations, upon all occasions, with the utmost deference and attention.'\* In the same despatch, he is directed to communicate with the Spanish government only through the British minister; 'to keep up a constant and intimate correspondence with him, and to cooperate in the most cordial manner with him in carrying on the public service.'† If a Spanish commander in chief is appointed, Sir John Moore is directed to obey him implicitly; and if he feels it necessary, on any occasion, to make representations, he is desired, in the first instance, to obey, and then to make this sort of appeal through the British minister to the Spanish government.‡ These instructions amount, we think it must be allowed, to a command, that the General should consider the wishes of the Spanish government and the British envoy as having every thing short of the force of positive orders.

On the 2d of December, the General received a letter from Mr Frere, dated November 30th, strongly urging him to advance to Madrid; expatiating on the enthusiasm of the Spaniards; and describing the delays and difficulties which attended the reinforcement of the French. 'Of the people,' says Mr Frere, 'I have no doubt.'—'The government,' he adds, 'are resolute, and every man of them determined to perish with the country: they will not, at least, set the example which the ruling powers and higher orders of other countries have exhibited, of weakness and timidity.'§ He informs Sir John Moore, that there is a Spanish army of 20,000 in New Castile, on which Castanos is falling back, and that reinforcements from the provinces are daily passing through Madrid, which, when joined to the British army, would 'give a force very much superior to any thing which the French could assemble.' He concludes, that 'considerations both of policy and generosity call for an immediate effort,' which he explained to be, an advance to Madrid. And he adds, that 'this step, he is well convinced, would meet with the approbation of his Majesty's government.'¶ Mr Frere had written this letter before he was apprised of the General's determination to retreat; and he sends it with a short, and, to all appearance, an angry note, 'that he does

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\* House of Commons Papers, p. 71.

† Id. *ibid.*

‡ Id. *ibid.* § Moore, p. 82.—This despatch is to be found, in a very garbled state, in the House of Commons Papers.

¶ Moore, p. 83.

not know that he can, in any way, express with less offence the entire difference of their opinions.' \* At the same time that he received this communication, Sir John Moore was informed, by a letter from Mr Stuart, that St Juan had repulsed the enemy; that there were great hopes of Castanos joining him; and that there were no such detachments as to prevent the junction of the British corps. The greater part of this intelligence Mr Stuart had from Morla; but he adds his own opinion, that the retreat of our army would produce a very serious impression at Madrid, and probably overturn the government. † Together with these letters arrived two Spanish generals, sent by the Junta to prevail on Sir John Moore to advance. They confirmed Mr Frere's statements; and added, that St Juan, with 20,000 men, had fortified the pass of Samosierra, and rendered the approach to Madrid impracticable. General Graham, however, was also arrived at head-quarters: he had supped with St Juan the night before; and had found that his corps had been completely routed, and that the French were marching towards the capital. Sir John Moore, therefore, persevered in his determination to retreat notwithstanding all the hopes and the facts of Mr Frere, and the urgent intreaties of the Junta. We think it will be universally admitted that he did right; but we confess we are not quite prepared to allow, that what followed should have altered his resolution, although we do not deny that it greatly extenuates his error.

On the 5th of December, a messenger arrived with a paper, signed by the Prince of Castelfranco and Morla, the governors of Madrid, in the name of the Supreme Junta, and dated the 2d. They affirm, that Castanos is rapidly falling back on Madrid, with 25,000 men; that St Juan is on his way with 10,000; that there are 40,000 in the town; that they are under no immediate apprehensions for its safety; and they urge him to advance to their assistance with all possible rapidity, by throwing himself either into Madrid, or into the rear of the enemy. At the same time, the General received a letter from Mr Frere, dated December 3d, Talavera, whither that minister had retired with the Junta. After extolling, in the highest terms, the spirit of the people of Madrid, he 'presses upon Sir John Moore, in the strongest manner, the propriety, not to say the necessity, of supporting the determination of the Spanish people, by all the measures which have been entrusted to him for that purpose.' ‡ He concludes in these words—'I have no hesitation in taking upon myself any degree of responsibility which may attach itself to this advice, as I consider

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\* Moore, p. 77

† Ibid. p. 78.

‡ Ibid. p. 88., and House of Commons Papers, 11. April, p. 5.

sider the fate of Spain as depending absolutely, for the present, upon the decision which you may adopt. I say, *for the present*; for such is the spirit and character of the country, that, even if abandoned by the British, I should by no means despair of their ultimate success.\* This important letter was delivered by a Colonel Charmilly, a French emigrant, of whom Sir John Moore, at that time, knew nothing further.† The information which it contained respecting Madrid, was given upon the authority of this person, who had been left there on the 2d of December. Sir John Moore, therefore, yielded to his pressing demand of an interview, and heard him expatiate, in the most lofty terms, on the scenes of enthusiasm and resolute courage which he had so recently witnessed. 'The whole inhabitants of the city,' he said, were in arms, and had united with the troops; the streets were barricaded; batteries were erecting all round; and the peasants were flocking to the capital.—'The accounts,' he added, 'of the rising ardour of the North of Spain, were most favourable.'‡ By these requisitions from the Spanish government and the British envoy, and by the representations which accompanied them of the state of things in the capital, § the General was induced to suspend his retreat, and to attempt a forward movement. He ordered Sir David Baird to advance, put himself in communication with the Marquis Romana, who had collected a few thousand men of Blake's army, and despatched General Graham to obtain more accurate intelligence. That excellent and indefatigable officer returned, on the 9th, from Talavera, where he had learned that Madrid capitulated on the 3d; but had been assured, by the deputies of the Supreme Junta, that the inhabitants continued resolute, with arms in their hands; that the French had not dared

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\* Moore, p. 88., and House of Commons Papers, 11. April, p. 5. The Government, in the copies of these letters which they laid before Parliament, suppressed Colonel Charmilly's name.

† Moore, p. 89.

‡ We purposely avoid entering into the question, Whether Morla and Charmilly acted *treacherously* towards the British army, in their attempts to draw them on. It is supposed by most persons, that the former despatched his letter while he was engaged in surrendering the city; while some consider it as more probable, that he only began his treachery when he found Madrid must surrender; and even they who adopt the worst alternative, are divided with respect to the knowledge which Charinilly had of his designs. The transaction is certainly highly suspicious; but we do not view the precise character of it as necessarily connected with the present discussion. Respecting Mr Frere's choice of an agent, in this instance, we apprehend

to enter, and were receiving no reinforcements; that the army of Castanos, at Guadalajara, amounted to 30,000 men; the remains of St Juan's, at Talavera, to 12,000; and the French in the Retiro, at Madrid, to between 20 and 30,000 only. \* This information, together with the material circumstances of his junction with General Hope, which had now taken place, and the security with which he could also join Sir David Baird, seems to have determined Sir John Moore to persist in that resolution of advancing, which he had formed under a belief that Madrid was holding out; although he now saw, in part at least, the fallacy of Mr Frere and the Junta's representations on that subject; and although General Graham, at the same time that he reported the above very doubtful pieces of intelligence, added, that St Juan had been sacrificed to the popular fury, a few hours before, by his own troops; and that Romana's force was stated by the Junta at 30,000, which was notoriously an unpardonable exaggeration.

While, however, we enumerate the circumstances which ought, in our very humble opinion, to have arrested the General's progress, even after the 5th December, when he had resolved to advance, it is but fair to observe, that he was encouraged in his perseverance by the unceasing efforts of the Spanish government and the British envoy, to whose wishes he had been commanded, 'upon all occasions, to pay the utmost deference and attention.' † The morning after he had taken his unfortunate determination, Colonel Charnilly appeared again at head-quarters, and presented that famous note from his employer, of which it is not easy to decide whether we ought most to admire the audacity or the folly. It was written at the same time with the letter which had been delivered the day before, and which, as we have seen, so powerfully assisted in urging Sir John Moore forward. But it was delivered to the French emigrant, with instructions only to deliver

hence, there is no diversity of opinion. With M. Charnilly's personal character we have nothing to do; though, if any part of what was positively stated in Parliament by Lord Grenville, Lord Grey, and Mr Whitbread, be well founded, it is impossible to imagine a person more unworthy of confidence. As to the paltry retort that has been attempted, by saying that this person had dined at the General's table, it is hardly necessary to observe, that all commanders are obliged to keep a sort of public table, to which every person, who comes to head-quarters with a certain rank, is invited, for once, as a matter of course. We repeat again, however, that the character of Charnilly, or even of Morla, does not enter at all into our view of the question.

Letter from Colonel Graham. Moore, p. 113.

† Lord Castlereagh's despatches, November 14. House of Commons Papers, p. 71.

deliver it in case the first should prove ineffectual. This emissary, ignorant of the fatal success which had attended his former interview, and apprehensive that the retreat was still in contemplation, advanced into the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, surrounded by his Generals and his Staff, at the head of his forces, almost within view of the enemy, and exhibited the formal requisition of the British envoy, that, if he did not think fit to suspend his retreat, he should forthwith examine the bearer before a Council of War. † With whatever indignation Sir John Moore might read this message—this scarcely credible message; how deeply soever this high-spirited man might be afflicted, at having lived to see the day, when a representative of his Sovereign should send a French adventurer into the heart of his camp, to denounce him for want of courage or of zeal, and to controul him, by an appeal to his own inferior officers,—he yet recollected the station which Mr Frere filled, and, contenting himself with the instant dismissal of Charmilly, whom he did not condescend to notice any further, he wrote an answer to his friend, so calm and dignified, that, considering all the circumstances of his situation, we really think no person can read it without being sensibly affected by the picture which it presents. \* • •

But Mr Frere was not satisfied with thus sending a friend of his own to upbraid Sir J. Moore, and almost by force controul his proceedings. He soon after despatched Mr Stuart, a friend of the Generals, with instructions to use his personal influence in order to prevent the retreat, and with a letter, the contents of which, as appears by his journal, had not been communicated to him. In this letter, for which we should in vain seek a precedent, except in the other productions of the same master, Sir John Moore

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† House of Commons Papers, 11th April, p. 5.

\* Moore, p. 99. The passage to which we particularly allude, is carefully omitted in the copy presented to Parliament. After alluding to the feelings naturally excited by the letter, and on a verbal message which it should seem the Frenchman carried with him, the General adds, 'Those feelings are at an end; and I dare say, they never will be excited towards you again. If Mr Charmilly is your friend, it was, perhaps, natural for you to employ him,' &c. He says, in another part of the letter, 'I wish anxiously, as the King's minister, to continue upon the most confidential footing with you; and I hope, as we have but one interest—the public welfare, though we may occasionally see it in different aspects, that this will not disturb the harmony that should subsist between us. Fully impressed as I am with these sentiments, I shall abstain from any remark upon the two letters,' &c. See Moore, p. 99., and House of Commons Papers, 11th April, p. 7.



Moore is solemnly warned of the ‘immense responsibility with which he is charging himself, by adopting, upon a *supposed* military necessity, a measure which must be followed by immediate, if not final ruin to our ally, and by *indelible disgrace to the country* with whose resources he is entrusted.’ He is further told, that his measures are exactly such as he would have adopted, “had he been sent for the express purpose of doing the utmost possible mischief to the Spanish cause, with the single exception of not firing a shot against their troops.” † And Mr Frere observes, whether seriously or not we are at some loss to determine, that ‘he is *unwilling* to enlarge on a subject in which he must either *stifle his feelings*, or express them at the risk of *giving offence*.’ \* To this Sir John Moore, again recollecting what Mr Frere seemed to have forgotten, that he was corresponding with the representative of the King, only returned for answer, that the letter was in the style of the two former;—that he had in substance answered it previously;—and that he hoped the subject was now at rest. † Along with Mr Stuart, a member of the Supreme Junta arrived, and delivered a long letter from that Body, strongly urging the advance of the army, and filled with very sanguine accounts of the strength of the Spaniards, the weakness of the enemy, and the increasing enthusiasm of the people. †

We have now stated, with that fulness which the importance of the subject demanded, the causes of the advance of the British army from Salamanca. It is manifest from this narrative, even if

† House of Com. Papers, 11. April, p. 7.

\* House of Com. Papers, 11. April, p. 7.

† Moore, p. 160. This letter does Sir J. Moore so much honour, that we find no traces of it whatever in the Parliamentary papers.

† Moore, p. 134. This letter, too, is suppressed by the Government. Mr Frere and the Junta were at this time on their retreat to Seville; and, from every stage, they seem to have despatched after Sir J. Moore the most fascinating sketches of the state of things, which, whithersoever they went, appear to have been, not merely going on well (as Dr Pangloss says), but going on in the best of possible ways. As those romantic epistles, however, did not reach the General until the conclusion of his movement in advance, we have not stooped to take notice of them. They are to be found at length in Mr Moore’s publication; and we shall only, as illustrative of Mr Frere’s accurate intelligence, mention, that he announces the capitulation of Madrid, for the first time, to the General, in a letter, dated December 14th (Moore, p. 149.), in which he also asserts, that the French have only 26,000 in that quarter. Buonaparte, in his 20th Bulletin, says, that he reviewed 60,000, and 150 pieces of artillery, on the 18th.

if we had not his own direct assurance in his last despatch, § that he was forced into this fatal step, contrary to his judgment and inclinations, by the remonstrances of the Spanish government and the English envoy,—by the unfounded stories of popular spirit, and exaggerated accounts of their forces which reached him from those respectable quarters in rapid succession,—and by the still more imposing testimonies to the same points, which were transmitted from the constituted authorities in the capital. Influenced by these communications, Sir J. Moore believed, not indeed that there was any great probability of saving Spain, but that there was such a chance of causing a diversion, and thus enabling the Spaniards to rally in the south, as, under all the circumstances of the case, he would not be justified in throwing away, more especially when the urgent demands of the Junta and the envoy were duly considered. The question, then, resolves itself into this—Was Sir J. Moore justified in believing the statements sent to him subsequent to the 4th of December? and, if these were not entitled to his implicit belief, was he justified in believing enough of them to make it proper that he should yield to the requisitions of Mr Frere and the Junta? In determining these points, we must recollect, that statements, almost as flattering, were received before the 5th of December;—that he had found almost every part of the information originally given him from the Cabinet, utterly false;—that he had met with nothing but disappointments from the time he quitted Lisbon;—that he was quite convinced, to use his own language, that he had been sent there for no conceivable purpose. But it is still more material to remember, that, after he had resolved to retreat, for reasons altogether irresistible,—and for none more convincing than the daily proofs he was receiving of the misinformation under which he had been sent into the country, he received representations from Morla through Mr Stuart,—from the Junta through the two generals whom they sent for this purpose,—and from Mr Frere, in the elaborate despatch of November 30th,—all expressly intended to prevent him from persisting in the retreat; and yet he persevered in that wise resolution, because he had, in the person of General Graham, a witness who destroyed the credit of all those flattering tales, and entitled him to turn a deaf ear, even upon the authority of the British Government, which Mr Frere freely quoted in support of his remonstrances.

Again, we may recollect, that, after he had resolved to advance, but while there was yet time to change his plan, he learnt the capitulation of Madrid, and might well have suspected the whole intelligence upon which he was about to proceed. Warm as is our  
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§ Dated Corunna, January 13th. House of Com. papers, 29th March. p. 2.

admiration of Sir John Moore, and piously as we cherish his memory, we are compelled to acknowledge, that we do not recognize, in this one part of his conduct, the bold and decided tone of mind which appears in all his other measures; and that our veneration for this great captain would have led us to expect the same manly resistance to all interference with his deliberate resolutions, on the eve of their execution, which he at first displayed in forming them, and in communicating them to his fellow-soldiers. We are well aware how much we are now demanding. He would have led back in safety a murmuring and almost mutinous army; he would have excited among the Spaniards loud complaints of being deserted in a struggle, which they were unable, perhaps not very willing to maintain; he would have furnished them with a pretext for suspending efforts which they never meant to make; and for refusing to defend themselves in the only point where England could really assist them; he would have been persecuted by Mr Frere and by the fanatical multitude in this country, for ruining the patriotic cause, extinguishing the 'godlike enthusiasm,'—'damping the hopes of Europe,'—'daring to despair of Spain,'—and sacrificing the character of England and the English army;—while the government, too happy to shift the blame from themselves, would infallibly have accused him of preventing the execution of their impossible projects, by neglecting to follow the letter of his instructions. For saving the army from the destruction into which the blind fury of the ministers and their agents was hurrying it;—for rescuing the flower of our troops from a post, not of danger, but of certain ruin, where valour could only ensure disaster, and victory itself must be followed by surrender or flight;—for preserving the honour of his gallant followers, and leading them to fields where it might again be the strength and the ornament of England;—this brave man would have been loaded with every species of obloquy, and pursued with imputations of which the correspondence now before us contains but a foretaste. For a season, at least, his life would have been embittered by the unrestrained efforts of that mean and interested malignity, which the glories of his death have not been able to extinguish,—nor the acclamations of his weeping country to stifle,—nor the emulous applause of her enemies to shame. But this season would have passed away; the nation, instead of being undeceived somewhat sooner, at an immense cost, would have opened its eyes somewhat later to the follies of its rulers, and saved his irreparable loss; and we might now have been employed in weaving an humble wreath for his brow, instead of sorrowfully defending the approach to his tomb.

When the remonstrances of the Supreme Junta and Mr Frere had

had produced the desired effect, and all murmurs at home and abroad were silenced, the army advanced with new alacrity, amidst the acclamations of the multitude in London, and of the faithful representatives in the cabinet. The despatches to Sir John Moore now changed the guarded language of mere sufferance, or ordinary official approbation,\* for expressions 'of the highest satisfaction,' and confident predictions of the 'best effects from so *seasonable* and *vigorous* a demonstration.' † It was evidently not without ample grounds that the British envoy had spoken in the name of his employers; and they indeed could not fail to applaud the commander's submission to the minister and the Junta, who had originally directed that he should be guided by them; and who even, while he was afterwards endeavouring to escape from the difficulties in which his compliance had involved him, once more desired him to follow 'their wishes and determination.' ‡ The history of this 'seasonable and vigorous' operation is all that now remains of our task; and it does not require such minuteness of detail as was essential in the discussion of the plan.

The main body of the army having been joined by General Hope's division, advanced towards Valladolid, where they would have General Baird in their rear. But they had not proceeded above a day's march when an intercepted despatch was received, by which it appeared that Buonaparté was advancing towards Lisbon, on the supposition (so natural to any military man) of General Moore having retreated from Salamanca, and that Soult was at Saldanna with a corps of about 18,000 men. The General instantly perceived an opening, of which some advantage might be taken. He might possibly defeat Soult before he could be reinforced; he might draw the French armies once more towards the north, and might thus turn to good account the mistake into which the first military genius of the age had fallen, from not having divined the tactics of Mr Frere and the Junta. Instead of marching upon Valladolid, therefore, he speedily effected his junction

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\* House of Com. papers, p. 77, 81, 82.

† Ib. p. 88.

‡ Ib. p. 92. Lord Castlereagh's despatch, Jan. 11. This most incredible instruction was sent to General Moore, when it was known that he was in full retreat; his last despatch having been dated from Astorga, Dec. 31. After all the experience which our ministry had then had of Spanish councils, they did not scruple to order that the British army should follow the 'wishes of the Spanish government, communicated through Mr Frere;' and that the General should only use his own discretion, in case 'no distinct communication had been received.'

with Sir D. Baird by a movement to the left ; and directing Romana, with the shattered remains of his force, to support him, he advanced by rapid marches to the Carrion. The advanced posts of the two armies had met ; the usual superiority of British valour and strength had been displayed in a brilliant affair of cavalry ; the main body of the troops was under orders to attack, when authentic intelligence was received from a variety of quarters, that Buonaparte had suddenly suspended his operations in the south, and ordered the army at Talavera to move forward to Salamanca ; that he was himself marching from Madrid with his accustomed rapidity to throw himself into the rear of the British ; and that strong reinforcements had arrived to Soult, whose position was so advantageous, as to give him the option of either fighting or drawing us on by a retreat, while he pushed a detachment upon our flank. There was now not a moment to lose ; a retreat was instantly resolved upon, and executed with that consummate skill and courage by which alone the army could have been saved from the numerous bodies that threatened to envelop it.

The General's plan was, if possible, to defend Galicia, as well as to extricate his army from the hazard in which it was necessarily placed, by the diversion it had just succeeded in making. But this was found to be utterly impracticable, from the superiority of the enemy, the want of provisions, and the ease with which their positions might be turned. Nevertheless, it is for this reason, and because great losses inevitably happened in so rapid a movement as the army was compelled to make, amongst mountains covered with snow, in the depth of winter, ill supplied from home ; opposed, not assisted, by the people whom they came to succour ; almost mutinous from the hardships they encountered ; and their mistaken, though honourable indignation, at having lost the opportunity of fighting. It is upon this ground that so many insidious attacks have been made upon the memory of their commander ; and that men have been found (not certainly soldiers), who have dared to represent him as flying from the enemy, without stopping to count his numbers, or try his strength. It is fit, therefore, that we should briefly state what force was following him, and what means he had of making a stand against it.

The corps of Soult, originally 18,000 strong, had been considerably reinforced, and was of itself superior in numbers to the British army. Junot had advanced on the right flank to Palencia. Buonaparte had left Madrid with 40,000 men, and his advanced guard passed through Tordesillas on the same day that General Moore began his retreat from Sahagun, both marching upon Benavente, which was distant from the English about forty, and from

from the French about seventy miles.\* The French troops at Talavera had likewise begun to move northward, and a corps had been halted on its route to Saragossa. But the divisions under Soult and Buonapartè alone, amounted, according to every authentic statement, to 70,000 men. † Sir J. Moore had about 27,000 British; and there were 7,000 Spaniards under Romana, who acknowledged that 'his army was in effect no army.' ‡ Soult's corps pushed on to Leon, which, after the usual promises of resistance, opened its gates to him at his first appearance. Buonapartè's cavalry, and part of his artillery, actually came up with the rear of the British at Benevente, and were repulsed by the skill and gallantry of Lord Paget. But the main body was following with increasing activity; and having failed in his plan of reaching Benevente before us, Buonapartè was confident that Soult would arrive at Astorga, and cut off our retreat. Happily he was foiled in this attempt also, by the able dispositions of Sir John Moore, who, although he found Romana's army in that town contrary to his express directions, succeeded in drawing off his whole forces from it, before the enemy could come up with him. It cannot be denied, therefore, that the General was under the necessity of retreating at least to Astorga; because, had he attempted to stand before he reached that point, he must have been surrounded by Buonapartè, or by Soult, according as he chose the direct or the Benevente road, admitting that he had such a choice. Had he attempted to resist Soult on the former route, Buonapartè would have reached Astorga before him;—had he made head against Buonapartè on the latter road, Soult would have reached Astorga before him.

The next question then is, ought he to have given battle at Astorga? He was so closely followed that he had no time to prepare his position; for the enemy's advanced guard had well nigh overtaken

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\* General Clinton has clearly proved the necessity of marching round by Benevente from the floods of the Esla. The direct road to Astorga was only three days march, which would have given the army a considerable start of the enemy. *Observations*, p. 14.

† Mr Moore (from his brother's papers) gives this number, p. 184. The General, in his despatch from Benevente, says, 'they cannot be less than 50,000,' *House of Commons Papers*, p. 163.; but he afterwards found them more numerous. Dr Neale (an unquestionable authority on this point) says, that Soult had 20,000 before he was reinforced, and that there are 120,000 on that side of Spain, p. 252—264. And Mr Ormsby, from the statements of the prisoners, gives 50,000 as the *main body*, in which was included Davoust at Astorga, besides Junot's corps of 15,000. vol. II. p. 131.

‡ See the deplorable account of it in Colonel Symes's Letter, Moore, p. 171. 128.

en him at Benevente, and marched into Astorga the day after he left it. Moreover, the country in the neighbourhood was eaten up by Romana's army, which could not subsist itself there for two days longer; and the enemy's superiority in cavalry cut them off from any more distant supplies. But, independent of these important difficulties, his position at Astorga could have been turned with the greatest ease. There is a road from La Baneza to Vigo by Orense, which was taken by General Crawford with 3000 men, for the purpose of easing the retreat, and preventing any corps from getting the start of us at Vigo, and the intermediate positions. No one can doubt, then, that the enemy might have marched a detachment by this route, either to Vigo, or as far as Orense, from whence a road leads to St Jago and Corunna, fit for the passage of any force. Nor was this the only means of turning the position at Astorga; the great road from Madrid to St Jago runs through Orense and Benevente; so that Buonapartè might have turned off at the latter place from his pursuit of the General, and marched any proportion of his army to St Jago. From Benevente to Corunna by this road, he would only have had a march of twenty-three English miles further than the road which the British army took.\* Therefore, it is clear, that had the latter stopped at Astorga, and there completely defeated Soult, they would have found Buonapartè safely arrived at Corunna, and would have had to defeat him also before they could embark. But as Soult very certainly would in this case have refused battle, it is manifest, that, by halting at Astorga, the British army would have

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\* See Laborde's View of Spain, vol. II. p. 427. 438. 447. 448. and 450, and the itineraries there referred to. General Clinton asserts, that 'he knows the possibility of corps of the enemy marching by roads on their right and left was repeatedly and strongly urged to Sir John Moore at Astorga.'—*Remarks*, p. 22. Sir John Moore himself states this as consistent with his own knowledge.—Despatch of 30th December, House of Commons Papers, p. 164. Mr Moore gives (p. 202.) an extract of a report to the General from an engineer officer of great merit, whom he had sent by the Orense road to reconnoitre; it is dated Jan. 1. *Puebla de Senabria*. It complains of the want of artillery there,—a proof that he conceived the French artillery could reach the town; mentions a corps of 700 Spaniards as passing through to join Romana; and alludes to the neighbouring passes as capable of being forced. But what are all these authorities,—Laborde, the first topographical work on Spain,—Generals Clinton and Moore, and the engineers in their confidence,—when put into the scale against the anonymous pamphleteers, and those faithful reporters of the murmurs among the troops, Drs Ormsby and Neale?

have been surrounded and taken, even although they could have subsisted themselves on the supplies of the exhausted country during the halt, or upon the carcasses of their horses, according to the prescription of that distinguished officer Dr Adam Neale. The doctrine of stopping to fight, for the purpose of being surrounded and destroyed, was not taught in the school where General Moore learnt the art of war; nor would he, in all probability, have been extolled and rewarded, as others have since been, had he exemplified it at Astorga. He pursued his retreat, and deferred the moment of resistance, until he should reach a position not liable to be turned.

Buonapartè now formed his junction at Astorga with the army of Soult; and finding that he could no longer hope to cut off the retreat of his skilful adversary, resolved to stop there, and detach such a force after him as should bring him to an engagement before he embarked. General Moore could not venture to halt until he arrived at Lugo; and even there his stay was much limited. Beside the roads already mentioned, by which Buonapartè might now, with increased facility, detach part of the troops whom he kept with him, there was another which led from Combarros to Pontferrada, turning all the positions between Astorga and Villafranca; and a continuation of the same route led towards Orense, turning Villafranca, and Lugo itself. Of this there could be no doubt; for the two flank brigades of the English army took the route in question. The possibility of remaining long at Lugo was still further limited by want of provisions,—the utmost efforts of the commissariat having proved inadequate to procure above two days subsistence. Even the famous resource of Dr Neale here failed; for such horses as were not indispensably necessary had been long ago abandoned; and the remainder were, from the unhappy ignorance of his profession, which Sir John Moore probably owed to his want of a medical education, supposed to be more profitably employed in transporting stores and guns to cover the embarkation, than in regaling the men at Lugo,—until Bessières, with his live cavalry, should get between them and their ships, while Soult cut them off in the midst of their Calmuk revels. It was thus that the General, after offering battle to the enemy in vain during a halt of two days, found himself compelled to fall back from Lugo also. The bulletins of the enemy bear honourable testimony to the skilful dispositions of his whole march, and especially to those which he made in occupying this position. Corunna was preferred to Vigo, on account both of the roads and the distance. No possibility of stopping before he reached the coast was now afforded him, as there were roads from Lugo to Corunna, both on the right and



left, a little more circuitous, but quite practicable; \* and he reached that port in safety, after a retreat of unexampled difficulty and dangers, conducted through an exhausted and unfriendly country, by marches unparalleled for rapidity, with an harassed and mutinous army, and in the face of an enemy almost three times its superior in numbers.

The battle which he fought at the end of this memorable retreat, and which closed the sufferings of his followers, and his own career of glory, will live for ever in the recollection of his grateful country. But it is not this last scene of his triumph alone that will claim the lasting regards of England. She will proudly remember, that his judgment and skill were only surpassed by his unconquerable valour; she will fondly dwell upon that matchless self-denial which subjected all his interests to her weal, as it devoted all his faculties to her service; she will hold him up to her most famous warriors in after times, when the envious clamours of the hour are hushed, and the minions of present power are forgotten, as a bright example of that entire forbearance,—that utter extinction of every selfish feeling,—that high and manly sacrifice even of the highest and meanest of passions,—that severe mortification of ambition itself, which she has a paramount right to require from him to whom she yields the guidance of her armies; and, while she records that the hero of Corunna fought no vain battles,—courted no vulgar applause in rash and senseless marches,—lost no trophies, no captives,—abandoned no hospitals to the enemy, and yielded no post of danger to feeble allies,—she will pronounce the name of Moore, to blight those unhallowed laurels which are won by the wasted blood of her children, and the tarnished honour of her arms.

Melancholy as is the picture which we have just been viewing, of all the varieties of impolicy crowded into the short space of three months, it is nevertheless rich in useful lessons, if the people of this country are still disposed to learn, and to save the state, before their rulers have consummated its destruction. We do not now allude to the information respecting Spain, which the history of

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\* The road from Lugo to Corunna, by St Jago, is about 32 English miles further than the direct road; that it is perfectly passable, is certain from its having been taken by part of Sir David Baird's army in the advance. The road by Mondonedo is not so good; but, that it is practicable as far as Mondonedo, we are entitled to affirm,—at least if we may venture to credit that officer upon such a question, where he is opposed by such authorities as the two Doctors and the anonymous pamphleteer.—See Despatch, 22d November, House of Commons Papers, p. 145.

of the campaign affords, or the conclusions to which every page of it drives us, touching the policy that remains to be pursued in that unfortunate country. We do not even stop to enumerate the new and convincing illustrations which it affords of those doctrines so often maintained by us upon the general conduct of the war. But we desire any man of common understanding, however warped it may be by party prejudices, to contemplate the gross mismanagement of the affairs of this nation which the foregoing narrative displays. We entreat him to consider, that, untaught by the events of the Portuguese campaign,—fully aware that the whole force of Spain had never ventured to disturb the remains of the French army behind the Ebro, knowing that this army was receiving immense reinforcements, while the Spaniards were languishing under a feeble, perverse, and unpopular government, our rulers sent a British army into the heart of the Peninsula, without any one earthly object, except to march so many leagues towards certain destruction, and to furnish a few empty boasts about ministerial activity and vigour. We request him to reflect, that this case is made out against them by the documents which they have themselves laid before Parliament; and that, in no one instance, have they or their advocates attempted to justify their conduct—confining their defence entirely to a criticism of the measures pursued by officers of their own chusing, and an assertion, (how groundless we have already shown), that somewhat of the loss was owing to those measures. We implore him to bear in mind, that while a small but gallant force was thus miserably sacrificed, in an enterprize of which no one has ever yet divined the object, these matters in the art of misgovernment had at their disposal an army above three times more numerous, which, if marched in due season, and to proper points, might have rescued Spain, and which, at whatever time, and in whatever place it might have taken the field, would at least have been secure from discomfiture and flight. With these lamentable and admitted truths before his eyes, we challenge any man to tell us that he can fancy a possibility of such blunders being prevented for the future, except by the exemplary punishment of those who have in fact pleaded guilty to the charge.

The Parliament of England, however, judged otherwise. The subject was brought before them by the Earl Grey, with an ability which they alone can fully appreciate who have gone through all its complicated details, and with a degree of temper which, while it suited well with the dignity of the occasion, was admirably calculated to win the favour of the Senate in that day of plebeian violence. But the ‘mute eloquence of numbers’ prevailed; and it was decided, that whatever might have been their past conduct,

and whatever the actual state of the empire, the projectors of the late campaign deserved the confidence of the country, and should still be entrusted with the management of its affairs. A new vigour was thus communicated to their operations; and the result has, in as far as was possible, surpassed their former achievements. As if to convince even the Parliament, which acquitted them in spite of their confession,—as if to mock that illustrious body for their implicit confidence,—as if to let them feel the real force of the vote which had been passed, and to demonstrate how speedily a parliamentary proceeding can carry ruin into every branch of public affairs;—another corps, as insufficient as Sir John Moore's to cope with the French force, was sent into the heart of Spain, when that country was overrun with victorious armies,—when the distractions and weakness of its government had increased,—when the most fanatical of our prophets foreboded the extinction of popular enthusiasms, and the native troops had given new proofs of their utter inability to stand before the legions of France. This gallant body of men, after being weakened, as before, by detachments and skirmishes in Portugal,—after being delayed, as before, for want of money and supplies, entered Spain, as before, immediately after three armies of Spaniards had been totally defeated by the enemy, and moved towards the centre of the Peninsula, exactly as before, without one earthly object in view, but to take a look at the country, and get near the French.

The parallel indeed ends here; for it was only in the *planning* that the campaign of the North was copied. The British General was attacked in front by a superior force. A rare mistake of the French general, and the extreme gallantry of English soldiers saved him from destruction, and even enabled him to repulse the enemy; but a large army, the very same that he had somewhat whimsically boasted of having *destroyed* a few weeks before, came down upon his rear; and he was compelled to fall back upon Portugal with the utmost rapidity. Too happy to escape with any troops at all, he left his sick and wounded to the vanquished French. Scarcely hoping to carry off the victorious English, he left the 'invincible Spaniards' to get one more beating; and was in this plight driven out of the country which he came to save, by one army which he had completely beaten, and another which he had entirely destroyed! Our rulers, reflecting on the vote of last session, immediately conferred the highest honours upon this great commander; and, by a refinement of mockery, elevated him to a distinguished place among those peers who had passed it. His brother, about the same time, having been sent to remodel the Spanish government, and to complete the conquest of the French in that quarter, signaled his arrival by the exhibition of a splendid triumph  
over

over that people. He stept on shore upon a flag, representing a captured standard,—typical, it is to be presumed, of his near relationship to a person who was then driving the enemy before him in all directions, and emblematical, no doubt, of his own fixed resolution of putting a speedy end to Buonapartè. \*

The folly of our government now only admitted of one increase. After the sanction which a confiding parliament had given to their former measures, it was fit that they should repeat their operations at all events in Spain. But it was desirable, also, that they should present the same design upon an enlarged scale elsewhere, both for the purpose of showing that their forte was not confined to Spanish campaigns, and to exhibit a specimen of the art, where the merit was entirely their own, and could not be divided with their allies. It was further proper, that after the approbation expressed by Parliament, of the system of frittering down our immense resources, and attempting many unattainable things at once, the whole power of England should be drawn together and employed at once in three distinct and simultaneous futures. To demonstrate, therefore, that, if the new Spanish campaign was undertaken with inadequate forces, it was not owing to the want of a sufficient army,—they sent, at the same moment, an expedition of a few thousand men against the body of the French power in Italy; and despatched another armament to invade France in the Netherlands;—thus contriving, with that superior talent which is ever aiming at combined operations, that comprehension of mind which makes all its movements mutually dependent, and forms of the whole line of its operations one vast and solid plan;—contriving, in a word, with that last reach of genius, which they had caught from their enemy, to make Sir J. Stuart's failure support Sir A. Wellesley's, and to combine both those movements with the failure of Lord Chatham, to cover and give effect to the whole.

The diversion at Procida and Ischia is now finished; but trophies still remain from the other parts of the plan. We retain an unhealthy marsh in Estremadura, and keep a pestilential island in Holland, because the whole of the West Indies do not furnish a sufficient number of useless spots, where our army may be divided, and our hospitals filled. There wanted but one circumstance

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\* This transaction, in which the dignity of the British nation was so shamefully outraged, by the persons sent to represent and support it, and in which we were held up to the laughter of the whole world, has been repeatedly stated, and never disputed by the parties or their friends. We have also received it upon authority which enables us, however painful it may be, to pledge ourselves to its truth.

cumstance to make the history of these events complete; and that too has been added by the combined force of genius and fortune. The balance of force between Austria and France was, for the first time since 1800, almost equal; and half the disposable resources of England would, if seasonably and judiciously directed, not, indeed, in the beautiful Bay of Naples, or against the iron wall of the Netherlands, but in the Gulph of Trieste, have sufficed to turn it in favour of our ancient ally, and of European independence.

The Parliament of England is about to assemble once more; and the authors of our calamities cannot prevent their conduct from being at least brought before that illustrious tribunal. Hitherto they have not made any defence; nor have they even hinted that they had any to make. They have admitted all their failures to be complete and fatal; they have confessed, that the opportunities which they have lost will in all likelihood never return. After a few wretched attempts to divide the blame among themselves, in shares different from those in which the country is disposed to apportion it, they have been compelled to allow that among themselves it must all be divided, and upon them alone must the responsibility rest. They have not dared to deny, that the prospects of the Continent are become more dismal than ever; that its confidence in England is gone; that the map of Europe, from Moscow to Paris, and from Lapland to Calabria, offers to the eye only a collection of states, aggrandized by her hostility, or ruined by the perilous bounty of her alliance. Abroad and at home—which way soever the eye can turn, our rulers have amply admitted, that our affairs are only not desperate, and have themselves come forward to declare, that the empire is reduced to a state of difficulty, from which there can be at least no precedent of its ever having escaped in former times.—And after all these confessions, their only excuse, the only attempt they make to regain the confidence of the people, is to tell us, ‘*that the King has reigned fifty years.*’ They have ruined our allies; they have failed in every plan; they have brought us through slaughter and disgrace, loaded with ignominy, and weighed down with almost intolerable burthens—to the very brink of destruction;—‘but the King is very old,’ and ‘he has reigned above half a century.’

It now remains to be seen, whether that Parliament, which stands in no need of reformation—which is a fair representative of the people of England—which speaks the sentiments of the country—will be satisfied with this set off; and once more acquit the ministers of all blame for their recent mismanagement. Holding, in common with the parliament itself, the doctrine of its purity and of its sufficiency to save the state, we cannot anticipate such a decision. But if, unhappily,

we should find ourselves mistaken; if, again, every measure and every minister be covered over with its approbation, then we will venture to predict, not that the government is acquitted, but that the Parliament stands condemned; and we shall most unwillingly be compelled to appear in the foremost rank of those who must acknowledge that they are convinced and converted.—For it is needless to disguise the matter. A refusal to punish the authors of our misfortunes can only mean one of two things—either that there has been no blame incurred—or, that it is inexpedient to declare it, because such a resolution would drive the guilty persons from the government. In the one case, the Parliament will show that it is not the representative of the country; in the other, we shall have a conclusive proof that the ministers of the crown are irremovable. The responsibility of our rulers, that fairest feature in the theory of the Constitution, will be no longer even a name, wherewithal to round parliamentary periods; and the people will thenceforward recognize, in the great council of the nation, not the guardian of their interests, and the champion of their rights, but a well contrived instrument of taxation.

The consequences of such a decision, therefore, will be productive of incalculable mischief; it will complete the alienation of the country from the government, and shame away the boldest defenders of the present system. In the mean time, the pressure of the war, and of the public burthens, will rapidly increase. The scene of hostilities will approach to our own shores; and the taxes, which, like the war, have as yet only been felt at a distance, will at length come home to every man.\* This truth will then break upon the minds of all, even of the most confiding and inconsiderate,—the truth with which we opened the present discussion—that there is an intimate and necessary connexion between the foreign policy of the state, and the happiness of each individual within its boundaries; that every man who pays taxes—every man who values the security of his property, or his own future safety from foreign dominion, is immediately affected by the mismanagement of the war; that not a plan falls to the ground, not a bad appointment of commander or ambassador is made at Court, not an opportunity of beating the enemy in councils, or in arms, is lost, without our being, a little sooner, or a little later, individually

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\* We do not mean to blame the additional rigour with which the taxes, especially that on property, are now levied; because it is undoubtedly fair that defaulters should be made, as far as possible, to contribute; and we only fear, the utmost ingenuity of the collectors will still be eluded by the mercantile classes. But we simply state the fact, that the country scarcely knows the weight of those taxes.

dually sensible of it. What will then remain for the people to do, we need scarcely point out. If they value their personal happiness and national independence, they will watch over their rulers with redoubled jealousy, and never rest satisfied until their efforts shall have restored the indisputable connexion between misrule and retribution.

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## APPENDIX.

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[We have hitherto adhered, with exemplary strictness, to our rule, of never troubling our readers with the controversies we are sometimes obliged to maintain with correspondents. For the apparent deviation from this rule, which may be inferred from the publication of the following letter, we trust that the statement contained in its two first paragraphs will be received as a sufficient apology.]

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TO OLINTHUS GREGORY, ESQ., A. M., &c.

SIR,

IF your Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, inserted in the Monthly Magazine for August last, had related merely to matters of opinion, neither the editor, nor the author of the article to which that letter refers, would have thought it necessary to enter into any argument on the subject. An opinion on the merit or demerit of any work, when it is once laid before the Public, must stand or fall by itself. Though the judgment which we passed on the confused and illiberal effusion which you have been pleased to call 'An Account of the Steam Engine,' might appear to you to be ill-founded, we should not, on that account, have felt ourselves called on to defend it, but would willingly have left the Public to decide. • The motives by which you profess to have been actuated, when you inserted the above account, viz. that you might provoke discussion, and that you might do a service to an unfortunate man, are no doubt very laudable in themselves, but do not seem to have been very happily directed. To insert, without warning, in a didactic work, what is absurd or erroneous, for the sake of having it contradicted, does not seem the best way of promoting useful argumentation; and the wretchedness of an author must be great indeed, if it is not aggravated by the publication of such a work as you have allowed your friend to bring forward.

The public, however, has sufficient *data* for judging between us in *this* matter. In that about which we are now principally concerned, your charges against the good faith and veracity of the author of the Review of the Steam Engine, the public has



not complete information; and we shall therefore lay before such of our readers as take any interest in the matter, a full and detailed statement of the evidence on which our assertions were founded.

The note to which you refer in the *Edinburgh Review*, is this. In looking over the articles in Mr Gregory's two volumes, we have not observed that there is any very scrupulous correctness in referring to his sources of information. For example, the abstract of Coulomb's experiments, and the section on horizontal wind-mills, are taken, with little variation, and no acknowledgement, from Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's *Mechanics*. The same is true of the article on the teeth of wheels, and part of the description of the thrashing machine, &c. *Edinburgh Review*, January 1807, p. 327.

On this you remark—'Hefe, Sir, in a short note of ten lines, are four positive assertions, each of which is positively false. In contradiction to them I affirm, first, that my account of Coulomb's experiments was printed before Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's *Select Lectures* was published, and that no two descriptions of the same experiments can possibly be more unlike; Dr Brewster's being a concise summary, comprised in five pages of a large print, while mine is a detailed account, occupying nineteen pages, printed with a small type. In opposition to the reviewer's further charges, of my having taken from Dr Brewster with no acknowledgment, I have to state as below. The piece in my first edition, extracted from Brewster, on *Horizontal Windmills*, begins thus—"Mr Brewster makes also the following remarks, on the comparative power of *Horizontal and Vertical Windmills*;" and ends with an express reference to Brewster's *Ferguson*, Vol. II. The extract from Brewster, in the article "*Teeth of Wheels*," was preceded by these words—"Availing ourselves, for the most part, of the judicious remarks just published by Mr Brewster, and terminated, as in the former instance, by a reference to Brewster's *Ferguson*, Vol. II."—No part of the description of the thrashing machine is taken from Dr Brewster; but there is a small table, which both that gentleman and myself have derived from the same source,—a source to which we have both referred. Again, you say, addressing yourself to the editor—"I think you must feel indignant, that the character of the *Edinburgh Review* should be degraded by its being made the vehicle of wilful falsehood; for such I fear you will find it."

The intemperate language of this attack we have no desire to report; nor do we claim any merit from this forbearance; as nothing enables one to support an injury with so much equanimity, as the consciousness

consciousness of, having the offender at his mercy. You have nothing, therefore, to fear from abusive language: our defence shall be confined to a simple and plain statement of facts, from which we think it will appear, that the assertions in our note (one of which you have misunderstood), though not perfectly accurate, are nevertheless substantially true; and are but a small part of the evidence that might have been brought in proof of the general position,—‘that you have not been scrupulously correct’ in referring to the sources of your information.

When, in the note above referred to, we mentioned Coulomb's experiments, we did not mean to speak of his experiments on Friction, as you no doubt supposed, when you stated that your account of his experiments was printed before Dr Brewster's edition of Ferguson's Lectures was published, and that it occupies nineteen pages. This can apply only to the experiments on friction; and our note was no doubt faulty in not stating more exactly to what part of Coulomb's experiments it referred. We shall afterwards inquire into the source from which your account of those on friction is derived. At present, we have only to mention, that his experiments and observations, which we meant to speak of, are those on Windmills, of which the account that you give is *exactly copied* from Dr Brewster. This, we presume, is what cannot be denied. In your first edition, vol. ii. p. 500, you begin the description of Verier's windmill, which extends to four pages, and is word for word the same that is found in Ferguson's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 252, and the eight succeeding pages. At p. 503 of your book, an article is introduced, on the method of turning the sails of windmills to the wind; which is your own, for any thing we know: but you go on to give an account of some experiments and observations on windmills by Coulomb, which continues to the middle of the succeeding page, and which, like the preceding, is taken *verbatim* from Dr Brewster (Ferg. Lect. vol. ii. p. 258, &c.); of whom, however, you make no mention whatsoever. Thus much, therefore, for what relates to Coulomb's Experiments; from which it appears that our charge is true in its full extent, and that we might have added to it another of equal magnitude, viz. the description of Verier's windmill.

We come next to the article of Horizontal Windmills.—You begin to treat of this subject at p. 505 of the volume just referred to, and you proceed to about the middle of p. 508, copying literally from Dr Brewster, (p. 281, &c.) All this while you make no mention of his name, nor give the slightest indication that the propositions you are laying down were derived from any other source than your own knowledge. You then begin a paragraph with saying, ‘Dr Brewster makes also the follow-

ing remarks; and what follows is a literal copy from that author, though not pointed out by inverted commas, italics, or any other indications of a similar import. While employed in this humble task of copying, you have paid so little attention to the sense, that an error, which had found its way into Dr Brewster's book, the word *horizontal* instead of *vertical* (a trap, perhaps laid by the Doctor for catching the unwary plagiarist) is copied into your unacknowledged extract with the same fidelity as the rest.—(p. 507, at the bottom, in Gregory; p. 284 of Ferguson.) After having named Dr Brewster as above; you go on, for a page and a half or thereabouts, and end with a general reference to Brewster's Ferguson; vol. II. The passage contained between these references, is what you speak of in your letter to the editor of the Edinburgh Review, as a triumphant refutation of the assertions in our note; and you say, 'The piece in my first edition, extracted from Brewster on Horizontal Wind-mills, begins thus—Mr Brewster makes the following remarks; and ends with an express reference to Brewster's Ferguson, vol. II.' Now, Sir, we must be permitted to remark, that you have surely forgot all the part to which we have just adverted; and that the name of Dr Brewster is introduced, *not* at the beginning of what is copied from him, but near the end of it. Give us leave also to observe, that general references like the above are not such as the case demanded. You have copied *verbatim* and *literalim*; and therefore, it was not a slight note of reference that should have been given. Inverted commas, italics, or some other unequivocal sign, should have informed the reader that they were not your words, but those of another author, that were set before him. To copy a passage exactly from an author, and to give only a general reference to his work, or to a volume of his work, is in truth to practise a deception. It is equivalent to saying—This is no quotation, but an abstract of the meaning of an author given in my own words, in consequence of my having studied his writings, and made myself master of his opinions. Quoting in this fashion, when you at the same time appropriate the whole, is nearly as culpable as to have made no reference at all.

The article on the Teeth of Wheels, begins at p. 423, and extends to p. 432 of your second volume. The name of Dr Brewster is mentioned two or three times in the course of it; and at the end, you refer to four authors, Wolfius, Belidor, Camus, and Brewster; and to the first more particularly than any of the rest. Now, who would not suppose, on reading these references, that you had studied what all these four authors had written on the teeth of wheels, and had drawn up your article from

a diligent comparison of their different treatises? No one certainly would suspect that the nine preceding pages were taken, *word for word, from Dr Brewster alone*, and were, in reality, sixteen of his pages (p. 205, &c.) transcribed without variation. The mention made of Dr. Brewster, in the body of the article, leads to no suspicion of this kind, and the reference at the end to three other authors, as well as to the Doctor, induces the belief, that if you had availed yourself of any of their labours, you had done so equally, or at least in proportion to their respective values. Thus we see, that in the hands of a skilful compiler, a note of reference may, as he inclines, either discover or conceal the sources of his information.

Here, also, one may remark a curious circumstance, not unlike one already taken notice of. In consequence of an error of the engraver, Dr Brewster was obliged to introduce a note, at the bottom of p. 220, to prevent an ambiguity, arising from some letters in the figure being placed too far from the intersections which they were intended to denote. Had you bestowed much attention on the passage which you was about to transplant into your book, you would have perceived this mistake, and would have thought it the simplest way to correct the figure, and to leave out the note. You have, however, with such laudable fidelity, avoided every deviation from the original, that you have retained the error in the figure, and have also had recourse to Dr Brewster's note of explanation.

As to the thrashing machine, we readily acknowledge that there is an inaccuracy in our remark. It is not the description of the machine itself that is taken from Dr Brewster, but some remarks which follow that description, consisting of a paragraph in p. 461, and another in the following page, which concludes the article. These, together with the table to which they refer, are taken from Ferguson, vol. II. p. 351. Speaking of this table in your letter, you say that both Dr Brewster and you have taken it from Mr Fenwick. Dr Brewster, it is true, has done so; and tells us that he did. He has, however, made a selection from Fenwick's table; and has taken, not the whole, but the parts that he judged most valuable. You have taken precisely the same parts.

You affirm positively, in your letter in the *Monthly Magazine*, that no part of your *description* of the thrashing machine is taken from Dr Brewster. This is indeed true; but he will find himself in an error, who, on that account, supposes that it is not taken from any other author, for it is to be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; with very little variation, the figures being also precisely the same, and drawn to the same scale. The machine described, is one which has long since given place to more improved inventions,

inventions, and is now entirely laid aside. Your description of another machine of still earlier date, viz. 1758, is derived from the same source; and both without any acknowledgment. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. *Thrashing Machine*.

The above are the instances of your making free with the works of others, which were alluded to in our Note; and, after correcting what degree of inaccuracy there was in our statement, we believe that we have only added to the evidence of our general proposition. We might add several other instances. On the subject of water-mills, at p. 485, 486, a paragraph of twenty-five lines is taken, word for word, from Dr Brewster's *Ferguson*, vol. II. p. 196, 197. So, also, under the same article, at p. 489, in your second volume, a paragraph of sixteen lines, relating to the discovery of the maximum of the effect of water-wheels, by De Paréaux, is taken from *Ferguson*, p. 198. And again, at p. 492, from *Ferguson*, p. 184, on the subject of concave float-boards. These are given entirely without reference; and indeed the whole article of Water-Mills is drawn up in a way that gives no small insight into the secrets of compilation. You profess to follow Dr Robison in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and you go on copying literally from that work, and from *Ferguson's Mechanics*, nearly alternately, but without ever mentioning the latter, and without quoting the *Encyclopædia*, in the manner you should have done, when you copied whole pages without alteration. This continues for nearly eight pages, with now and then a paragraph of your own.

The references which have been made above are to your first edition; in the second, several of the passages here stated to be taken from *Ferguson's Mechanics*, are not to be found. This makes it necessary for us to consider, a little more accurately, in what the difference of the two editions really consists.

When the first edition of your *Mechanics* reached Edinburgh, the liberal use which you had made of the valuable and judicious Notes with which Dr Brewster had illustrated the text of *Ferguson*, could not but give offence to the proprietors of that work. They conceived what you had done to be a manifest invasion of their rights, and an injury which the law might be called on to redress. In consequence of this, an interdict or injunction was applied for, or threatened to be applied for; and attorneys were employed on the part of the proprietors on both sides. Certain concessions were made on your part; and the matter, if we mistake not, terminated by your agreeing that the greater part of the exceptionable passages should be cancelled or recomposed, (or, to speak more properly, *recompiled*), in a new edition. This happened in summer 1806, in the beginning of which year your book

book had been published. The second edition appeared in 1807; and this uncommonly rapid sale of a book of science might have induced a belief that a trick had been played off, which, we fear, is not quite unprecedented, the second edition being no other than the first, with a new title-page, and some other slight alterations. Of this, however, an advertisement prefixed to the first volume did not allow any idea to be entertained.

‘ In the new impression of this work, *which the favour of the public has thus so soon rendered necessary*, the author has not been able to discharge the debt of gratitude to those who have so liberally encouraged his performance, otherwise than by correcting some errors, and making a few slight alterations and additions in both volumes, with some corresponding improvements in two or three of the plates.’

From this we must certainly infer, that the whole of the first edition was already sold off; it is on this account that you return thanks, though we must say that the favour you announce to those who had not purchased your book, is not a very logical demonstration of your gratitude to those who had. Whatever was the case, it is certain that the second edition differs from the first almost in nothing, but in leaving out the articles taken from Dr Brewster, and in substituting some new matter in their place, *occupying exactly the same space which they had occupied*. This is done with so much exactness, that, after each alteration, the same precise order goes on in the pages, the lines, and even the words of the two editions. Were it not for the assertion involved in your advertisement, this would confirm one in the notion, that there was in fact no new impression, but merely the cancelling and reprinting of a few leaves. Those who are so uncharitable as to hold that opinion, will be at no loss to find out other facts in support of it. At page 399, vol. 1st of your first edition, the third book ends with the subject of Capillary Attraction, without having reached the middle of the page. The remainder of that page, therefore, is a blank, as is also the whole of the next, which, being the left-hand page, the printer did not think suitable for beginning a new book. Now, it is exactly into these two pages, so inadequate to the purpose, that La Place’s theory of Capillary Attraction, which you had announced in the advertisement, is condensed. The quantity of this alteration is so accurately adjusted, that not the least encroachment is made, either in the pages that go before, or on those that come after; and the beginning falls so happily, as to allow the *last line* of page 398 to remain in the second edition the same as in the first, *though making a part of a sentence in the former quite different from what it does in the latter*. The circumstances in which the above mentioned

tioned line is found, were such as immediately to suggest the idea, that the leaf which follows it must be one that was reprinted after the original had been cancelled. The binding of a book may sometimes give material information concerning its internal structure; and on appealing to it, we found that the leaf (p. 499. 200.) in what is called the second edition, is not in continuity with any other leaf of the book, though firmly attached to them by glue. It is therefore a leaf reprinted after the cancel of the former.

A fact equally in favour of the hypothesis, that there was no new impression, is, that the *errata* in your two editions are precisely the same, and that even the same table of them is found at the end. The table, indeed, might have been kept through negligence, though the *errata* were in fact corrected. This, however, is not the case; for if you take any *erratum* from the table, you will find, on looking up the place, that it is carefully preserved in the new edition. This, it must be confessed, is quite unaccountable, if the editions are really different. The first thing that the printer does, when any work is to undergo a new impression, is to correct the *errata* that have been discovered, in the copy to be printed from; and this is so plain a dictate of common sense, that we cannot, in any instance, suppose it to have been neglected.

But, however, before your readers have a right to form a decided opinion, it behoves them to weigh the evidence on opposite sides, and to consider on which it preponderates. Against the hypothesis, we have the direct testimony of the author himself, a man of character and education, and holding a respectable rank in society: in favour of it, we have the curious combination of circumstances just stated, which, if taken by itself, would amount to a probability falling short of certainty by a quantity incalculably small. Every man must determine for himself what opinion he is to form, but will naturally adopt the supposition he thinks least worrisome. We have stated the evidence fairly as it appears to us: the task of drawing the conclusion, we leave to those who may be supposed more impartial judges.

It remains for us, Sir, to mention some examples, the same precisely in both editions of your work, where propositions and demonstrations are borrowed, without acknowledgment, from authors that have not yet been mentioned. One of the most remarkable of these is a proposition given at page 409, &c. of your first volume, constituting two articles, and containing a very beautiful theory of the whirlpool formed by water flowing through a horizontal aperture, and impelled at the same time by some external force. No reference is here made to any book whatsoever; and the reader, of course, is left to ascribe to yourself the whole

whole merit of this elegant investigation. The truth however is, that it is taken, word for word, from Venturi, as translated in Nicholson's Journal, vol. III. 4to. p. 13. The investigation of the proposition is so elegant, and the result to which it leads so simple, that there was great demerit in concealing the name of the author, and great weakness in supposing that it could be concealed. None but a mathematician of the first order could reasonably hope to pass for the author.

Another instance in which you have appropriated the works of a learned foreigner, relates to the same subject, (the issuing of water from a hole in the bottom or side of a vessel), and extends from about the middle of page 412. to page 419. of your first volume, which is translated with very little variation from the *Architecture Hydraulique* of Prony, vol. I. p. 358. to p. 365. You have not, however, mentioned the name of Prony, but have referred to Bossut, and the select Exercises at the end of Dr Hutton's Conics. The student who turns to these last, will find the subject of effluent water treated of in a manner different from yours, and less elegant; but if he look at Prony, he will find the same investigation which he admired in your book, the very same figure, and nearly the same denominations.

In your second volume, you have given an account of Coulomb's Experiments on Friction, and the Stiffness of Cords; and you will please to remember, that you were very much offended with us for supposing (which indeed we did not do) that you had borrowed this from Dr Brewster. We have, however, a charge to bring against you as heavy as that would have been, and one, of which we should perhaps at this moment have been ignorant, if your heat and intemperance had not forced us to make a stricter examination. The greater part of the account just mentioned is so far from being drawn up by yourself, from the study of Coulomb's Memoir, that it is literally translated from the abridgement of that memoir given by Prony, in the first volume of his *Architecture Hydraulique*. From § 33. page 32. of your second volume, to the end of page 43, the whole, with the exception of a sentence here and there, is translated from the work just mentioned, page 504 to page 513; of which, however, you have made no mention. You may allege, perhaps, in your defence, that there is no great harm in all this, because both Prony and yourself were professedly giving an account of the experiments and reasonings of another person; and indeed we will most readily acknowledge, that your readers have no reason to complain that you have given them Prony's Digest of these important experiments, instead of your own. You certainly could do nothing so good as to give  
that.



that which is actually contained in your book, provided you had acknowledged from whence you had taken it, and had not left your reader to give you the credit of a work which you had not performed.

But enough on a subject, in itself disagreeable, and on which nothing but the necessity of repelling your violent and abusive attack could have induced us to enter. Knowing, as you did, how vulnerable you were, not only at the points to which our inquiry has happened to be directed, but, in all human probability, at many more, we cannot commend the prudence that ventured to provoke the present investigation; but must certainly admire the boldness that, in such circumstances, could request of the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, 'that his love of truth and justice would induce him to state, in No. xxvii., that the note of which you complained was erroneous throughout.' With this request we have now so far complied, that we have corrected the errors of that note, to the best of our ability: we have put the public in possession of the facts on which the judgment given in it was founded; and willingly take leave of a subject which no consideration shall induce us to resume.

We have the honour to be,

Sir, your very obedient Servants,

THE EDINBURGH REVIEWERS.

*Edinburgh, 1st November, 1809.*

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*No. XXX. will be published in January 1810.*

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# ERRATA IN THIS AND PRECEDING NUMBER.

- P. 98. l. 28. for *KINGS*, read *THINGS*.
- 122. l. 3. for *tabular*, read *tubular*.
- 126. l. 29. for *Geralde*, read *Gerard*.
- 129. l. 4. from bottom, for *apimaleutic*, read *animaleutic*.
- 131. l. 25. for *cones*, read *corns*.
- — l. 41. for *call*, read *call*.
- 135. note, for *μυσοι*, read *μυσοι*.
- 138. l. 33. for *Angela*, read *Angloripi*.
- 155. l. 21. leg. *Ory. Col.*—p. 156. 23. *Πηλ. Τηγίη*.—ib. ult. & *πυλοζζα*.—p. 157. antepenult. *Πηλ. Τηγίη*.—p. 158. 26. *α. α. α.*—ib. 42. & *α. α. α.*—p. 159. 31. *α. α. α.*—ib. penult. & *πυλοζζα*.—p. 161. 42. *α. α. α.*—ib. 43. *α. α. α.*—p. 162. 26. *α. α. α.*—ib. 28. *α. α. α.*—p. 163. 26. *α. α. α.*—ib. 31. *α. α. α.*
- 198. l. 22. from bottom, for *hott*, read *hott*.
- 218. l. 6 from bottom, for *masses*, read *masses*.
- 228. note, l. 11. from bottom, for *α. α. α.*, read *α. α. α.*
- 236. l. 6. for *indisputable*, read *indispen*.
- 325. l. 7. for *King*, read *Ring*.
- 521. l. 5. for *pretection*, read *protection*.

THE  
EDINBURGH REVIEW,

JANUARY 1810.

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N<sup>o</sup> XXX.

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ART. I. *An Inquiry into the practical Merits of the System for the Government of India, under the Superintendence of the Board of Controul.* By the Earl of Lauderdale. 8vo. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. pp. 260. 1809.

IT must be admitted, we conceive, upon all hands, that the state of our Indian empire has uniformly disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country. The golden prospects of national revenue to be derived from our vast territorial possessions in the East, have hitherto flitted before us like the scenes of an enchanted landscape; and, when they appeared just on the point of being realized, have suddenly receded to a greater distance than ever. As the periodical renovation of the charter of the East India Company drew near, matters have usually assumed a very alluring aspect; but, as the day advanced, clouds have collected, and the whole atmosphere suddenly been enveloped in gloom and obscurity. To what cause, we may ask, is this melancholy result to be ascribed? Has the public formed expectations in themselves unreasonable, and which, in the nature of things, could not be gratified? Does the disappointment originate in unforeseen and uncontrollable circumstances, by which the best exertions of human prudence, vigour and sagacity, have been unavoidably frustrated? Should it be imputed to the pernicious ambition, the incapacity, or the incorrigible supineness, of those selected by the proprietors of East India stock for the management of their concerns? Or, lastly, is it to be ascribed to the same errors or deficiencies in those to whom his Majesty has entrusted the controul of Indian policy? To one or other of these causes, we conceive that the public disappointment must necessarily be ascribed. For we cannot admit a fifth supposition,—that the governors appointed to conduct the affairs of India, equally negligent of the orders of the Directors, and of the injunctions of his Majesty's ministers, have VOL. XV. NO. 30. R presumed.

presumed to act in open defiance of both. The immediate recal of the delinquent would undoubtedly have been considered at all times as a necessary sacrifice to the national interest, and to the vindication of the wisdom and integrity which had been baffled and discredited by his misconduct. No such symptom of ministerial displeasure, however, has hitherto occurred; and the supposition, therefore, must be considered as inadmissible; particularly when we find that each returning viceroy has invariably received the same flattering tribute of applause which had been previously lavished on his predecessor.

As the renewal of the Company's charter must soon undergo a parliamentary discussion, it is extremely desirable that the public should be in possession of some clear and accurate views of the most momentous subject which ever engaged the attention of any legislature. It is from this motive, we presume, that the Earl of Lauderdale has been induced to publish the result of his researches on Indian affairs. His strictures, however, embrace but a limited view of a subject almost boundless; and, while we endeavour to give our readers a view of their result, we shall endeavour to state, as succinctly as possible, a few of the most important considerations involved in the decision. To develop them fully, would require, in addition to that local knowledge to which we presume to lay some claim, a far more intimate acquaintance with the posture of the Company's political and financial concerns at the present moment, than we possess the means of obtaining.

Lord Lauderdale has been long known to the public, both as a zealous statesman, and as a writer of very considerable ability; nor can we recollect any individual of his rank who has evinced a more commendable industry, both to acquire the knowledge which is suitable to his condition, and to disseminate it, when acquired, among those in whom ignorance would be most pernicious. With all his industry, however, and all his talents, his adversaries have sometimes imputed to Lord Lauderdale a degree of rashness and vivacity, which would make him an unsafe guide in questions of great political importance; and even his friends have acknowledged, that his zeal has sometimes been at least a match for his discretion, and that the views which his sagacity has opened, have sometimes taken a little colouring from his prejudice or his passions. It was with the caution suggested by these general impressions that we took up the work before us; and found, to our surprise as well as our satisfaction, that it contained a disquisition as remarkable for temperance of manner, as for clearness of statement and fairness of reasoning. The fruit evidently of a great deal of research, it makes no parade, either of the labour which it must have cost, or of the discoveries by which it has been repaid; but exhibits the results with exemplary conciseness.

conciseness and simplicity, and deduces the conclusions, if not with perfect accuracy and justice, at least with plainness and candour. The subject of our Indian government certainly was not that of all others on which we should have thought Lord Lauderdale most likely to judge without prejudice, or to write without passion; yet we believe, with few exceptions, the Directors of the East India Company would have little difficulty in subscribing to his statements, or in admitting the justice of much of the censure he infers.

The immediate object of this disquisition is to inquire, how far the Board of Controul, erected in 1784 for checking and regulating the proceedings of the Court of Directors in the government of India, has answered the purposes of its institution. With this view he examines, by a reference to historical facts, the proofs of its efficacy; 1st, In preventing schemes of conquest and extension of dominion; 2dly, In increasing the export of our manufactures, and the import of raw materials; 3dly, In effecting the objects to which the Company's profits were by law appropriated.

We entirely concur with the noble author in his admiration of the liberal and enlarged principles which dictated the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1782. We think, too, that the orders of the Court of Directors, which contained a prohibitory condemnation of all schemes of conquest and enlargement of dominion, were founded no less in wisdom than policy; and we are decidedly of opinion, that every transgression of those orders, *without evident necessity*, has tended to weaken their influence, and to diminish their resources; and that every interference as a party in the domestic or national quarrels of the country powers, was wisely forbidden by the Company. Above all, we repeat, with feelings of enthusiastic approbation, the following most excellent resolution—'That the maintenance of an inviolable character for moderation, good faith, and scrupulous regard to treaty, ought to have been the simple grounds on which the British government should have endeavoured to establish an influence superior to other Europeans, over the minds of the native powers in India; and that the danger and discredit arising from the forfeiture of this preeminence, could not be compensated by the temporary success of any plan of violence or injustice.' The recital introduced into the act 1784, and repeated in the act 1793, professes similar principles. 'Forasmuch as, to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation,' &c.

But, noble and enlightened as these principles are, it is but just

to observe, that they had uniformly actuated the policy of the Court of Directors. The territorial possession of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, had long limited the extent of their ambition; and they impatiently waited till a season of tranquillity might permit their servants abroad to conform to their orders, in devising the regulations best adapted to promote the internal prosperity of the fair and fertile regions submitted by Providence to their controul. But whilst such were the principles, and *such the instructions* of the Company to their servants, it must be confessed that far other views influenced the councils of Calcutta and Bombay. The annals of Mr Hastings's administration exhibit an almost uninterrupted series of unjustifiable and ruinous wars. If, indeed, we except the war with Mysor, (a state which has uniformly been the aggressor), all the military operations of that period constituted a direct infringement of the orders which it was the duty of the Bengal government to respect. The systematic aggressions of the English alarmed the native rulers of adjacent states. But the extreme financial embarrassment occasioned by a plan of such extensive military combinations, rendered the efforts of that government only fatal to itself. The diminution of its reputation kept pace with that of its pecuniary resources.

At such a crisis it became the duty of the legislature to interfere. The orders of the Directors had been found insufficient to check the irregular ambition of their own servants; these orders were now to be combined with those of his Majesty's ministers. It might fairly be presumed, that, in some cases, they would correspond more than before with the general policy of the state; and that, in all, they would acquire such an additional authority as to preclude the possibility of disobedience.

Lord Lauderdale thinks himself warranted, by the resolutions of the House of Commons in 1782, by the enactments of 1784, and much more by the speeches delivered in Parliament on both these occasions, to assume, that to check schemes of conquest and extension of dominion was the primary object of the institution of the Board of Control. It follows, upon this view of the case, that to prove its total inefficacy for the purposes of its institution, the able author has only to enumerate the long list of states and kingdoms added to the British dominions since 1784, by which they have in fact been at least doubled in extent and population. 1st, Mysor, nearly reduced to its original limits, has yielded to the conqueror all the additions derived from the warlike achievements of her Moslem kings. 2d, The Carnatic, which first afforded a harbour to the commerce of Britain, now submits to her exclusive sway. After all the blood and treasure expended to support the questionable right of Mahomed Ali to the succession of his father, the

the unquestionable right of his grandson has been transferred to another. 3d, The Mahratta sovereign of Tanjor has put the British in possession of that fertile district. The endless disputes between his family and that of Walajah, have been finally terminated by the dispo-session of both.

*Hi motus ammoru a, aliquæ hæc restamina tunda*

*Pulveris raiqui pectus compressa quiescent.*

4th, The Suba of the Decan has condescended to accept a subsidiary British force for his protection and districts, of which the annual revenue amounts to 720,000*l.*, have been ceded to defray this expense. 5th, The Vizier of Oude has reluctantly been compelled to cede a portion of his territory, the revenues of which are calculated at one million one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds. 6th, The small independent territory of the Nabob of Farrukhabad has been added to the British dominions, from an apprehension that the personal character of that chief would not tend to promote morality and good order amongst his subjects. 7th, The city and port of Surat have been taken possession of by the Bombay government. 8th, When the affairs of the Chief of the Mahratta confederacy were involved in almost hopeless embarrassment, he applied for a subsidiary force, for the maintenance of which he has ceded lands in the province of Bandelcund.

This list no doubt is formidable, and much of what the author infers from it, it would not be easy to deny. Yet there are several circumstances that seem to require observation. In the first place, we submit to the noble author, whether he was warranted in classing the just and unavoidable war waged by the Marquis of Cornwallis against Mysor, in the same category with the events subsequently related. 'The relations of amity and peace,' says Lord Lauderdale, 'remained uninterrupted, till an attack by Tippoo Sahib, the son and successor of Hyder Ali, on our ally the Rajah of Travancor, roused a desire of revenge, that warfare alone could appease. Submissive offers to settle all differences through a person of rank and dignity sent to our camp, were rejected; Lord Cornwallis declaring, that good policy, as well as a regard to our reputation in India, required a severe reparation.' We can venture to state, from the official documents which fell under our inspection at that period, that although Tippu did indeed propose to send an officer of rank to adjust all differences, no intreaties could induce him to suspend his attack on Travancor, even until that officer should reach the English camp. The conquest of Travancor, therefore, was really made a preliminary to negotiation; and the ruin of our ally was the only certain result.

Nay, we have no hesitation in declaring it as our opinion, that the last and decisive warfare directed by the Marquis of Wellesley against the Sultan of Mysor, was also reconcileable both to justice and to policy. The intercourse between that monarch and the French was more than suspected: it was very fully proved. Whatever opinion may be formed of the policy which afterwards annexed so great a portion of his territories to our Indian empire, we believe the justice, vigour and energy which directed our Indian councils during that war, cannot justly be contested. The political operations of the same government at a subsequent period, are of a much more questionable nature.

But, says Lord Lauderdale, the object of all our regulations was, not to prevent war, but to interdict the enlargement of territory.—‘The Legislature,’ to use the words of an illustrious statesman, ‘meant to condemn the policy of extending our territorial possessions in India; not to pronounce, like the French assembly, at the commencement of the Revolution, an idle declaration against unjustifiable warfare.’ Now, the truth is, unfortunately, that a just, defensive and unavoidable war entails the same financial embarrassments, and involves as ruinous an expenditure, as a war of ambition and aggression: it becomes then a question, whether a nation, which has been innocently involved in such a contest, should contentedly support this great pecuniary loss, or, when a successful termination has been put to hostilities, indemnify itself in the only way practicable,—that is, by adding a portion of the conquered territories to its own dominions. We will confess that, in the circumstances of our Indian empire, we do not think this important problem susceptible of a very satisfactory solution.

It must be admitted, that the regular system of aggrandizement which succeeded the conquest of Mysor, cannot be defended by the same arguments. It is not by an appeal to the immutable principles of justice,—or to the dictates of an impetuous necessity, that we can hope to justify the disposition of our allies, and the occupation of their territories. But who were really the authors of these measures? Lord Lauderdale conceives that, in justification of those adopted in Oude, Lord Wellesley might urge the anxiety expressed by the government at home, for the execution of a similar plan in the case of the Nabob of the Carnatic, as by analogy authorizing his conduct in Oude. But all that was enjoined by the Court of Directors in the case of the Carnatic, was, that the sum which the Nabob was already bound to pay, should be committed for a portion of territory, whose revenues should be equivalent. This arrangement exacted nothing additional; and was merely intended to obviate the inconveniences resulting from the Nabob's irregularity in his payments. Lord Lauderdale, accordingly,

cordingly, appear afterwards to allow, that the Court of Directors animadverted with great energy on the successive encroachments of their Indian governments; and admits, that their strictures *were suppressed by the Board of Control*. Whatever blame, therefore, may be due to the measures of Lord Wellesley's administration subsequently to the conquest of Mysor, none of it can obviously accrue to the Court of Directors: and it is equally clear, that they can in no case be considered as responsible for the formidable train of distressing consequences and pecuniary difficulties in which they have been involved by a protracted and extensive plan of hostile operations.

It is impossible to doubt, however, that the measures of Lord Wellesley had the approbation of the successive Boards of Control which existed between the period of his arrival in India and the second appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis; and, waving for the present all consideration of the *justice or injustice* of these individual measures, it is obvious that those Boards and Lord Wellesley may be considered as partisans of a policy favourable to the assumption of territory and aggrandizement of national dominion;—a policy which, disregarding the immediate difficulties resulting from increased expenditure, looks forward to the distant but splendid prospects attending the accomplishment of its plans. On the other hand, the Court of Directors, and that much lamented nobleman the late Marquis Cornwallis, appear as patrons of what we shall venture to denominate the *pacific system*;—a system which would limit our acquisitions within moderate boundaries, and devote all our attention to the improvement of their resources by the salutary effects of good government, a strict system of distributive justice, and a gradual increase of agriculture and commerce. Even the best informed men in England, if destitute of local information, are not fully competent to decide on the comparative merits of these opposite plans. Certain advantages and disadvantages of each, must strike the most superficial observer; but each of them is exposed to greater practical objections than would at first sight be imagined. We shall take this opportunity to subjoin a few observations on their merits; since it would perhaps be unfair to consider the Resolutions of the House of Commons in 1782 as a conclusive and invariable rule of action, which neither more complete information, nor a total change of circumstances, could in any case authorize us to modify.

We may suppose, then, that the patrons of the *pacific system* would endeavour to recommend it by something like the following arguments.—The countries subject to the British authority in India, ever since the acquisition of the Dewanny, require and deserve the full attention of Government to preserve. Those



watered by the Ganges alone, embrace a population of thirty millions of souls, or twice that of Great Britain and Ireland. History furnishes no example of so extensive and populous a nation continuing long subject to another, placed at so immense a distance, and with a population so much inferior. Government, founded on opinion everywhere, cannot here repose on an opinion, that the strength of the governing body is physically competent to enforce obedience. The distance, the climate, and the limited population of Britain, must at all times prevent the supporting an European military force capable of being opposed to native numbers. Those native troops who have fought and bled in our cause, are nevertheless taken from the mass of the inhabitants; imbued with the same prejudices; animated by kindred sentiments; and exposed to the influence of all the causes which may eventually excite a general spirit of discontent. The permanence of a government thus circumstanced, must, therefore, unquestionably rest on an opinion; that it is a *wise* and *beneficent* one; and that it is for the general interest to submit to its authority. But a people, whose calculating habits render them uncommonly clear-sighted, where their own interest is concerned, cannot easily be either deceived or satisfied by this particular. To appear good, the government must really be so; and that, not merely in our view of it, but in theirs also. Besides preserving inviolate the great maxims of justice and humanity, it must be, in a certain degree, accommodated to the prejudices and opinions of its subjects.

Of these, one-twelfth part consists of Mohammedans, the remains of the ruling power whose authority we have superseded, and who may be considered as very generally dissatisfied, and willing to seize the first favourable opportunity of regaining the ascendancy of which they have been dispossessed almost in our memory. The Hindus constitute the rest of the population, and the only part of it on whose fidelity and attachment any reliance could be placed in a crisis of danger. But these, although willing to submit to the authority of Europeans, can never be brought to assimilate with them. Discerning, reserved, temperate and courteous, the manners of the lower classes of our countrymen appear to them coarse, repulsive and savage. Their prejudices on this head are so much the more inveterate, that in many particulars, the inferior orders amongst them possess a real superiority over the lower Europeans; and it may be affirmed, that a more extensive intercourse has only tended to heighten the contempt of the one, and the disgust of the other. The advantages resulting from the attainments of science, and the general diffusion of knowledge amongst the higher classes of the English, they confess and applaud. They admire in them

a more scrupulous veracity, and a stricter probity, than is found amongst themselves. They do justice to their benevolent principles of universal toleration in religious opinions, so conformable to their own doctrines; but, above all, they applaud that incorruptibility in judicial functions, which contrasts so advantageously with the venality of their Moslem rulers.

Keeping these principles in view, therefore, which, though apt to be overlooked by those who have taken all their notions of international relations from Europe, are yet at the bottom of every thing sound or rational in our Indian policy, it must appear, that the arrangements actually adopted for the interior administration are wisely calculated to heighten the general impression of the wisdom and benevolence of the governing body, and to avoid the fatal effects of too rude a collision with 'the worser part' of our countrymen. The Europeans stationed in an extensive district, consist, for the most part, only of the number requisite for the due distribution of justice, the first and most important duty of every government; of those to whom the collection of the revenue is assigned, and of a medical practitioner attached to the station. All these receive such liberal salaries, as to exclude any apology for venality. Their education and habits of life, present to public view only such qualities, and such conduct, as are calculated to command and to deserve respect. Their duty consists, almost exclusively, in protecting the persons and property of those committed to their control; and every act of authority, therefore, assumes a benign and salutary form. For the Mohammedan system of finance, so discouraging to agriculture, has been substituted a perpetual rental. The landholders have thus been deprived of all pretext for undue exactions from the peasant; while, as that assessment was formed when one-fifth only of the soil was supposed to be in cultivation, the improvement of the remainder holds out abundant encouragement to the industry and exertions of the proprietor. Courts of circuit decide, at short intervals, in all matters of civil and criminal jurisprudence beyond the competency of the resident magistrate of the district; and their decisions are founded on the laws acknowledged by the parties. A court of appeal is stationary at the seat of government; and the Board of Revenue, also stationary there, controls the proceedings of the collectors of districts.

In order that a plan of administration so judiciously constructed for the interests of every class of subjects, should be successful in its operations, the utmost vigilance is obviously requisite on the part of the Governor and Council, to whom, in all cases, there lies an ultimate appeal. The necessity of detecting and punishing malversation, where so much authority is unavoidably delegated as to involve the lives and fortunes of multitudes in its exercise,

exercise, indispensably demands an unceasing and vigilant superintendence. But although this was possible, within the limits of our empire, in 1786, any considerable accession to it must obviously render it inefficient, in a degree proportioned to the extent, the population, and the distance of such additions. The natives must be encouraged to prefer their complaints at the Presidency, both in person and interfering. No part of our possessions, then, should be so situate as to prevent this, or to burden it with great personal inconvenience. The institutions here sketched out, had attained a high degree of practical perfection towards the end of Lord Cornwallis's administration; and we know, that at that period there was a very general impression amongst the natives, that the wisdom of the public measures corresponded with the beneficent intentions of the English government.

The limitation of the land revenue (the only productive source of taxation in India), furnished a ledge to the surrounding states of the peaceful policy of those who voluntarily abridged their resources for war. The success of the measure, indeed, depends altogether on a continuance of the same pacific system in which it originated. With a limited revenue, the utmost attention to economy becomes indispensable; and a constant struggle against the natural propensity of all governments to increase their influence and their expenses, by the creation of new offices. This important political principle requires, that we should in no degree interfere in the quarrels of other governments; that we should contract no new alliances, and avoid every possible occasion of being involved in the disputes of neighbouring powers. The allies whom we are already bound by treaty to protect, the Nuabs of Oude and of Arcot, should be maintained in their authority, without being controuled in the exercise of it. In defending their territories, situated between the British dominions and those of any state from whom aggression can be contemplated, we in fact defend our own; and the sums stipulated by those chiefs, to be paid in return for this subsidiary force, enables us to support a larger and more effective army, than if limited to the resources of our own provinces.

At the risk of prolixity, we have ventured to give at some length the probable views of the Court of Directors in the measures adopted and executed by the Marquis of Cornwallis. They all proceed upon these general principles; 1st, that the British should not attempt to impose their jurisdiction over a greater portion of territory than they are capable of governing well; 2d, that this extent is limited to that within which the supreme government

ment can exercise a strict and vigilant superintendence over the conduct of their own officers.

A partisan of the system of aggrandizement might, however, state some important observations. It is only, might he say, because we admit and admire the practical good consequences of the wise and salutary regulations you have adopted for the government of your own territories, that we are desirous of communicating the same advantages to our neighbours. Whatever relaxation in the vigour of controul may be supposed to result from the enlargement of our possessions, it cannot for a moment be disputed, that the inhabitants of the Carnatic and of Oude will be incalculable gainers by the transfer of these territories to the Company's jurisdiction. We are very far, indeed, from asserting, that this consideration alone would authorize that assumption; but it should be recollected, that the ruin into which those fertile provinces are rapidly falling, is fully imputable to the British government. The contrast between their former flourishing condition and their present state of decline, is truly to be considered as a national reproach, not much less severe than would accrue from their forcible seizure. The despotic governments of Asia, when left to their natural course, possess at least one advantage, that the evils which they inflict are of short duration. The imbecile rulers of the Carnatic and of Oude, whose vices and incapacity have proved so detrimental to their subjects, could never have sustained the weight of government for a twelvemonth, if left to their own resources. Like the other shortlived dynasties of Asia, the descendants of Anverredin and of Sadfer Jung would have made way for some military adventurer, whose interest would prompt, and whose talents would enable him, to promote the prosperity of his subjects. It is because you protect them in the exercise and abuse of their undeserved authority, that the fertile regions under their misrule are condemned to decline, to wretchedness, and to ruin. We do not reproach you with not having exercised your influence to promote salutary reforms in those countries; we admit that it would have been ineffectual; and contend, that the only alternative to prevent the utter desolation of their states, is, either to withdraw your protection,—when a revolution will inevitably ensue at no distant period, or to assume the reins of government yourselves. In other circumstances, it is possible we might have preferred the former alternative. But are there no considerations, at the present moment, which forbid the dereliction of provinces contiguous to our own, and so eminently contributing to their defence? Is there no foe approaching, whose arms and whose arts will prove equally formidable to your authority? If Buonaparte finds means to throw a considerable force into India,

dia, on which of the native powers can you rely for a cordial co-operation? But, admitting their inclination, in the present wretched state of their internal resources, which of them possesses the means of affording assistance, or even of opposing effectual resistance to their own subjugation? Relinquishing, then, maxims which, however just when abstractedly considered, are unsuitable to the present crisis; it is now become necessary to adopt a more energetic line of policy; to avail yourselves of such occasions as may occur, of taking possession of the countries most desirable in a military point of view, where this can be done without obvious injustice; and establishing, in the centre of the states which remain, a military force sufficient to secure the doubtful fidelity of their rulers. We are not blind to the seductions and the dangers of such a system of proceeding, and still less to the great financial embarrassments which this policy must entail on the East India Company, both at home and abroad. We admit that the revenues of the ceded territories will not for years be sufficient to defray the expense of the wars which led to their subjugation. We only contend, that the objects in view are sufficiently important to justify us in overlooking every subordinate consideration.

We are perfectly indifferent whether these be the arguments with which the admirers of Lord Wellesley actually defend his Indian policy;—it is enough for us that they appear to be the best and the most plausible that can be urged in its support; and, giving them all due weight, the result of his measures appears to be, that we have acquired some facilities in defending India against the approach of a foreign invader; but that we are infinitely more exposed to internal insurrection, from the probable misgovernment of the distant provinces, and the relaxed vigour of the supreme power in the controul and superintendence of its functionaries. Lord Lauderdale considers all those measures simply as examples of the dereliction of the policy prescribed by the resolutions of Parliament, and by the orders of the Court of Directors. But the votes of last year clearly demonstrate, that the House of Commons of 1809 entertain very different views of Indian policy from that of 1792; and that the Directors alone have been consistent in the principles adopted for the government of their Indian possessions.

We come now to consider, under the noble author's second division of his subject, the success of the arrangement of 1793, in increasing the export of our manufactures, and the import of raw materials.

When we look to the vast encouragement which has been afforded to commercial industry in our intercourse with America, it is natural, perhaps, to expect that India, comprising a much larger population,

lation, should furnish a proportional demand for our manufactures. But it should be recollected that America was peopled by Europeans; that her inhabitants have all the same wants, the same ideas of comfort, and the same notions of luxury. Their dress is composed of the same materials; their houses furnished with the same conveniences, and embellished by the same decorations; and their tables covered with the same articles as in Europe. It cannot for a moment be doubted, that if the 30 millions of human beings who inhabit the countries adjacent to the Ganges were European colonists, an immense demand would ensue for the produce of our manufacturing industry. But still, this, compared to that from America, would not be in the ratio of the population. The climate of a great part of North America resembling our own, requires, as articles of necessity, a variety of commodities, which in India would not be used even as luxuries. But the chief source of the difference is, that, in the present state of the American population, capital has hitherto been most profitably applied in agriculture. The time will undoubtedly come, when manufacturing profits will rise to a level with agricultural; the capital and labour now exclusively devoted to the latter, will be partly occupied in the former; and thus the effects of an increased population will lead to a diminution of foreign imports, by the establishment of home manufactures. The actual predicament of America proceeds from the smallness of her population compared to the extent of her territory. But India had ceased to be in that situation antecedently to the earliest historical records. The division of casts proves the early separation of agricultural labour from the industry of the manufacturer; and when Herodotus tells us, that India was in his time the most populous country then known, the division of labour might be inferred, from his statement, as a necessary consequence, even if it had not been otherwise ascertained. Even the 30 millions of European colonists whom we have supposed to occupy the space now filled by the same number of Hindus, could not subsist merely on the profits of husbandry. Such a population, on such a superficies, implies a division of capital and labour; a division, in certain proportions, between the pursuits of the husbandman and the industry of the manufacturer. The articles required by the climate, and adapted to the taste of its present inhabitants, are furnished by their own industry. To lament that they have no taste for objects which afford us gratification, is to lament that they are Hindus. But really, whilst the climate continues what it is, and whilst their domestic habits remain unaltered, the sale of broad cloth and hardware must unavoidably be extremely limited.

We have felt it necessary to premise these few observations, because the noble author of the publication before us, appears not to have considered this subject with his usual accuracy.

‘Before the acquisition of the territorial possessions,’ says the Earl of Lauderdale, ‘the East India Company conducted their commerce by exporting articles from Europe, for which there existed a demand in the East, and importing the manufactures of India best suited to the taste of their European customers.’

‘It is true, that India never afforded a great demand for British manufactures; for bullion, even in those times, formed the main article of export. But as gold and silver are not of British growth, and could only be acquired in return for our produce, the markets of India indirectly gave rise to a demand for goods of our manufacture, in value equivalent to those we imported.’

‘But by the acquisition of our territories in the East, this system was completely interrupted. The large surplus revenue which the Company enjoyed when it first acquired the territorial possession, in value far greater than both the goods and the bullion it had been accustomed to export, at once furnished means of supplying the British market with Indian produce, independent of all export from Europe. There was no longer any exchange of commodities; nothing was given by this country in return for what it annually took away.’ Again, ‘It would be idle to enter into detailed explanations, to point out the obvious tendency of such an intercourse to inflict irretrievable ruin on the country subjected to it; and he who knows that demand, in the mercantile sense of the word, implies not a mere wish or desire to possess, but a desire of possessing combined with the means of acquiring, will readily perceive how impossible it is, that, under such a system, there should exist a demand for the produce of British industry.’

Now, we have just two remarks to make on the doctrine contained in these passages. The first is, that though the sum and substance of the argument is, that the East India Company have no inducement to export British manufactures, because their surplus revenue supplies an ample fund for their home investments; yet the result of Lord Lauderdale’s subsequent statement is, that now they have no surplus revenue whatever. With what propriety, then, can it be affirmed, that, with an immense debt to discharge in India, and under the necessity of providing an investment without adequate funds, they have no inducement to export any manufactures that would bring a profit in that country? The motives for increased exportation, on the contrary, are great and obvious. It would conciliate the manufacturing interest; it would fill up the vacant tonnage on the outward voyage; it would supply with profit in India the capital required for the home investment. If no imaginable motive can be assigned for the Directors neglecting these obvious

obvious advantages, it must in fair reasoning be admitted, that if their exportations be so limited, it can only be because the demand is so.

Our second observation is, that when Lord Lauderdale represented India as so impoverished by the nature of the trade carried on by the East India Company, as not to be able to purchase those manufactures which might in other circumstances be disposed of, his Lordship must certainly have forgotten his own preceding statement, that, anterior to the acquisition of the Dewanny, when the situation of India was confessedly highly flourishing, that country 'never afforded a great demand for British manufactures.'

Our own conviction undoubtedly is, that the enterprize of individual merchants, and that minute attention to small advantages, which is incompatible with the extent of the Company's concerns, might increase, although in a very limited degree, the quantity of our exports; but that nothing short of an European colonization can produce that effect to any considerable extent. With regard to the manufactured produce of India in the European market, it has now to sustain the competition of our own manufactures brought to an unrivalled degree of perfection: the raw produce has, in many instances, to contend against the interests of the West India planters; and both suffer by the exclusion from foreign markets, which tends to throw an undue proportion of this trade into the hands of the Americans.

But it has been said, who forces the Company to contend against all those disadvantages? Why will they not relinquish to the wishes and the enterprize of their countrymen, a traffic which they admit to be unprofitable to them? In answer to this, it certainly might be suggested, that the East India Company are no longer to be considered merely as a commercial body; and that when they acquired the Dewanny grant, the Directors exchanged high commercial profits on a small capital, for very moderate profits on a large one, accompanied by power and patronage.—But, to consider the subject merely on commercial principles. The rate of their profits concerns only themselves. What concerns the public, is to know whether the aggregate amount of the exports and imports to and from India be as great, or greater, and whether the prices be as low, or lower, than they would be, if the trade was thrown open. Now, it is universally known, that the Company, by the conditions of their charter, are obliged to export British manufactures to a greater amount than they can advantageously dispose of. This, private speculators would never think of. The necessity of providing funds for a half yearly dividend also compels the Company to import goods to a greater amount.



amount than can be sold for a profit. Individual traders would be under no such necessity. After making every possible allowance, therefore, for superior activity, for stricter economy, and for more attention to minutiae of every kind, it is obvious that the great advantage the private trader would possess, would be, that, unfettered in his operations, he would be left at liberty to adapt his speculations to the state of the markets. But this, although it may be the interest of the trader, is not that of the public. The public interest requires the greatest possible exportation and importation. The interest of the manufacturer, is to dispose of as much of the commodity in which he deals as possible;—that of the consumer, to obtain foreign commodities at the cheapest rate;—that of the private trader, to export and import only the quantity which can be disposed of at an advantageous rate of profit. (The activity, industry and frugality, of individual speculators would overcome none of the important obstacles to the extension of the Indian trade. They would not inspire Hindus with a taste for European luxuries; they would not diminish the skill of the English manufacturer, nor induce Buonaparte to open the ports of the Continent to Indian produce. Some years' experience, and many commercial failures, would probably be necessary to teach ardent speculators the extent of the markets at home and abroad; but, subsequently to this dear-bought discovery, the trade would probably subside within its ancient limits, before the acquisition of the Dewanni: and, instead of very moderate profits on an immense capital, the traders to India would again reap a very high rate of profit on a small one. It is not difficult to decide which of these is most for the public advantage, nor which for that of the individual speculator.

We come now, in the last place, to consider the noble author's view of the failure in effecting the objects to which the profits of the Company were by law appropriated.

Under this head, Lord Lauderdale exhibits, in a perspicuous series, the splendid views of future financial prosperity annually exhibited by Lord Melville, and by his successors in the Board of Control, and contrasts them with the real result. Instead of the extinction of the Indian debt, the annual payment to government of 500,000*l.*, and the accumulation of a fund of twelve millions, as a security for their capital, the Company's debts have increased to the enormous sum of thirty-two millions; and no one of the purposes, contemplated by the act 1793, has yet been effected. In this part of his subject, many of our author's remarks have been anticipated by the Court of Directors, who were far from acquiescing, at any time, in the sanguine views of the President of the Board of Control. The statements of Lord Melville, indeed, were all founded on the supposition of a continuance of peace;

peace; but, certainly, the recent despatches from India, previously to his celebrated letter of June 1801, did not warrant any such assumption. How far the brilliant prospects which it exhibits, would have been realized, even if this had been the case, it is now impossible to ascertain, and useless to inquire.

When the Marquis of Wellesley assumed the government of India, the debts of the Company at home and abroad amounted to sixteen millions, and their territorial revenues to eight millions. At present, the former has risen to thirty-two millions, and the latter to sixteen. The accumulation of debt, and the additional revenue, may both be fairly considered as the result of that nobleman's measures. Now, it cannot be denied, we conceive, that those measures have been completely successful. Just or unjust, politic or unpolitic, all the objects which his Lordship had in view, have at any rate been fully attained. Neither do we see any reason to imagine that Lord Wellesley has calculated the expenditure resulting from the system he pursued; or that he at any time imagined that his objects were attainable, without producing most of the consequences which have ensued. Now, upon this supposition, the following dilemma is inevitable.—either Lord Wellesley's measures were expedient, or they were inexpedient. By those who maintain the former opinion, the affairs of the East India Company must be considered as at this moment in a very flourishing condition; since their present financial embarrassments are, only the estimated price of the great political objects which have thus been accomplished. They may add, (though, we fear, with more plausibility than justice), that the proportion between the Company's debts and their territorial revenues, is not materially altered. But they may surely assert, with truth, that neither an individual, nor a public body, can be considered as ruined, whose whole debts are considerably less than the aggregate of his revenue for three years. The finances of Britain furnish no grounds of absolute despondency to the minds of our statesmen of either party; yet the proposition which her public debt bears to her annual income, is infinitely more formidable. On the other hand, those who condemn Lord Wellesley's Indian policy, only censure what the Court of Directors have disapproved. They must therefore admit, that, of all public bodies, the Directors alone have been consistent in maintaining just, moderate and rational principles, for the government of our Indian possessions. From experience of the fact, they must allow, that his Majesty's ministers are less likely to maintain such principles; and, from the frequent changes of men and measures, it may be fairly inferred, that they are not very likely to pursue consistent plans of any kind.

If we have been successful in conveying our own ideas to the

minds of our readers, they will now be at no loss to reply to the queries with which we set out. They will probably be of opinion, that the hopes held out to the nation by Lord Melville were much too sanguine, even on the improbable supposition of a long continuance of peace; but that the adoption of a system diametrically opposite to that assumed in his calculations, led unavoidably to the total failure of all his magnificent predictions.

It is impossible to contemplate the actual posture of affairs in India, without feelings of the most painful anxiety and regret. A great part of this naturally proceeds from the approaching expiration of the Company's charter, during a period of great political and commercial embarrassment. The task of legislating for sixty millions of Asiatic subjects, is about to devolve on the representatives of the counties and boroughs of England,—on a body composed of men, eminently skilled indeed in general principles, but altogether unacquainted with the circumstances which should, in the present case, limit their application. It is to be hoped that the statesmen, to whose lot it may fall to decide a question of such awful magnitude, will approach it without prejudice, and without prepossession,—without any wish to catch an ephemeral popularity, and equally uninfluenced by the dread of innovation on the one hand, and the cry of monopoly on the other.

Every benevolent mind surveying, on the spot, the fair and apparently solid fabric reared by that truly patriotic nobleman, the Marquis of Cornwallis, for the happy and indissoluble union of two distant nations, must have exclaimed, 'Esto perpetua!' The simple principle on which he proceeded was, that each nation should submit to a limitation of all privileges that might, in their exercise, be productive of disunion. But the government of this country has hitherto appeared little aware of the delicate and uncertain tenure by which we hold the dominion of that great and extraordinary region. We have seen one commander in chief occasion a sanguinary conspiracy, for the truly important purpose of effecting a change in the dress of the Sepoys: and if we may adopt Lord Minto's statement, his successor has produced a far more general disaffection, in order to obtain political influence, or to revenge himself for the want of it. A continuation of such appointments will very soon spare us the trouble of legislating for India; and the public should know, that our trade with that country will not survive for a day our political existence as its rulers; and that the lives of our countrymen on the spot will, in all human probability, be sacrificed in the explosion.

The people of England appear to consider the Hindus as a dull phlegmatic race, little to be moved either by good or by bad treatment, and whose weakly frames and dastardly spirits would shrink from

from resistance, under any extremity of condition. We can affirm, on the warrant of a very extensive intercourse, that, if any Englishman, who has at all conversed with them, entertains these opinions, that person has never penetrated the veil of ceremony which envelops the Hindu in the presence of strangers. Corporeal debility may be justly predicated of the inhabitants of Bengal proper; and of them *only* of the whole Indian population. Let those officers who have led to victory the youth of the upper provinces, enrolled under the Company's standard, say, whether they wanted courage to adopt, or strength to execute, the orders of their commanders! From an extensive and very intimate knowledge of their character and habits we venture to assert, and challenge contradiction, that the Hindus are an extremely volatile race, full of sensibility, powerfully affected by kind usage; and, with whatever dexterity it may be concealed, easily and permanently disgusted by the contrary. To conclude, they are of all the people we have ever known, the most capable of adopting desperate resolutions. To such forms, and to such evils of despotism, as they were accustomed to under the Moslem government, but to ~~those~~ only, they submit with great resignation; and it is to this circumstance, chiefly, we presume, that they are indebted for the opinion entertained of them in Europe.

We have already stated our conviction, that the same day which terminates our political power in India, will put a period to all our intercourse with that country. To maintain the former, a wise government is much more necessary than a strong army. An army composed of British troops may be sufficiently numerous to subdue, but must be altogether inadequate to retain it, against the inclinations of the people. It were useless here to state the essentials of good government. The first is, undoubtedly, an intelligent, vigilant, and incorruptible administration of justice. But as, in all countries (but one) the weak are in some degree exposed to oppression from the powerful, we must be careful that those who are thus tempted are, in as few instances as possible, our countrymen; and that, in every district throughout the British territories, no Englishman shall appear in any other character than that of a redresser of grievances; a protector from the violence of the sufferer's *own* countrymen. To attain these objects, an establishment similar to the Company's civil service is, ~~under~~ any change of system, indispensable: since there is no other system by which we can be assured that no individual shall fill an office of trust, who, by a long residence in India, through a gradation of subordinate employments, shall not have obtained a competent knowledge of the laws, manners, and languages of the people he is destined to rule. But it does not appear that this primary object can be better attained, nor the perhaps still more essential

one, of excluding private European settlers from the interior of India, more effectually or less invidiously accomplished, than through the medium of the East India Company. In the same manner, the necessity of the officer speaking the language of his men, will at all times prevent the Indian army from being completely incorporated with the King's.

Our foreign politics, as connected with the native governments of India, were never very complicated; and the operations of Lord Wellesley have had a wonderful effect in simplifying them. It is the interior polity of our own immense empire that will deserve and require the full attention of his Majesty's ministers, if the Company be annihilated. Without practical experience, and destitute of local knowledge, we have no hesitation in declaring that the most penetrating European statesman must be utterly incapable even of conjecturing the effect of any regulation proposed to him, for the internal government of that vast empire. How this difficulty is to be obviated,—and how a consistent and undeviating line of policy, combining unity of principle and object, which is essential in all governments, but supremely so, in that of a distant empire, is to be obtained, amidst the frequent changes of his Majesty's councils,—are questions deserving the attention of all who desire to perpetuate the connexion between India and England. When these important points are disposed of, it will be time to attend to the commercial argument—to discriminate between the most that may be plausibly demanded, and what may be conceded, without the hazard of incurring more serious evils than the renewal of the East India Company's monopoly.

ART. II. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Victor Alfieri.*  
Written by Himself. 2 vol. 8vo. pp. 614. London, 1810.

THIS book contains the delineation of an extraordinary and not very engaging character, and an imperfect sketch of the rise and progress of a great poetical genius. It is deserving of notice in both capacities; but chiefly in the first,—as there probably never was an instance in which the works of an author were more likely to be influenced by his personal peculiarities. Pride and enthusiasm—irrepressible vehemence and ambition—and an arrogant, fastidious, and somewhat narrow system of taste and opinions, were the great leading features in the mind of Alfieri. Strengthened, and in some degree produced, by a loose and injudicious education, those traits were still further developed by the premature and protracted indulgences of a very dissipated youth; and when, at last,

last, they admitted of an application to study, imparted thence a character of impetuosity to those more meritorious exertions, converted a taste into a passion; and left him, for a great part of his life, under the influence of a true and irresistible inspiration. Every thing in him, indeed, appears to have been passion and un-governed impulse; and, while he was raised above the common level of his degenerate countrymen by a stern and self-willed haughtiness, that would have better become an ancient Roman, he was chiefly distinguished from other erect spirits by the vehemence which formed the basis of his character, and by the uncontrolled dominion which he allowed to his various and successive propensities. So constantly and entirely, indeed, was he under the influence of these domineering attachments, that his whole life and character might be summed up by describing him as the victim of a passion for horses—a passion for travelling—a passion for literature—and a passion for what he called independence.

The memoirs of such a life, and the confessions of such a man, seem to hold out a promise of no common interest and amusement. Yet, though they are here presented to us with considerable fullness and apparent fidelity, we cannot say that we have been much amused or interested by the perusal. There is a proud coldness in the narrative, which neither invites sympathy, nor flatters the imagination. The author seems to disdain giving himself *en spectacle* to his readers; and chronicles his various acts of extravagance and fits of passion, with a sober and languid gravity, to which we can recollect no parallel. In this review of the events and feelings of a life of adventure and agitation, he is never once betrayed into the language of emotion; but dwells on the scenes of his childhood without tenderness, and on the struggles and tumults of his riper years without any sort of animation. We look in vain through the whole narrative for one gleam of that magical eloquence by which Rousseau transports us into the scenes he describes, and into the heart which responded to these scenes,—or even for a trait of that sociable garrulity which has enabled Marmontel and Cumberland to give a grace to obsolete anecdote, and to people the whole space around them with living pictures of the beings among whom they existed. There is not one character attempted from beginning to end of this biography;—which is neither lively, in short, nor eloquent—neither playful, unpassioned, nor sarcastic. Neither is it a mere unassuming outline of the author's history and publications, like the short notices of Hume or Smith. It is, on the contrary, a pretty copious and minute narrative of all his feelings and adventures; and contains, as we should suppose, a tolerably accurate enumeration of his migrations, prejudices and antipathies. It is not that he does not condescend to talk about trifling things.

but that he will not talk about them in a lively or interesting manner; and systematically declines investing any part of his statement with those picturesque details, and that warm colouring, by which alone the story of an individual can often excite much interest among strangers. Though we have not been able to see the original of these Memoirs, we will venture to add, that they are by no means well written; and that they will form no exception to the general observation, that almost all Italian prose is feeble and deficient in precision. There is something, indeed, quite remarkable in the wordiness of most of the modern writers in this language,—the very copiousness and smoothness of which seems to form an apology for the want of force or exactness—and to hide, with its sweet and uniform flow, both from the writer and the reader, that penury of thought and looseness of reasoning, which are so easily detected when it is rendered into a harsher dialect. Unsatisfactory, however, as they are in many particulars, it is still impossible to peruse the memoirs of such a man as Alfieri without some interest and gratification. The traits of ardour and originality that are disclosed through all the reserve and gravity of the style, beget a continual expectation and curiosity; and even those parts of his story which seem to belong rather to his youth, rank and education, than to his genius or peculiar character, acquire a degree of importance, from considering how far these very circumstances may have assisted the formation, and obstructed the development of that character and genius; and in what respects its peculiarities may be referred to the obstacles it had to encounter, in misguidance, passion and prejudice.

Alfieri was born at Asti, in Piedmont, of noble and rich, but illiterate parents, in January 1749. The history of his childhood, which fills five chapters, contains nothing very remarkable. The earliest thing he remembers, is being fed with sweetmeats by an old uncle with square-toed shoes. He was educated at home by a good-natured, stupid priest; and having no brother of his own age, was without any friend or companion for the greater part of his childhood. When about seven years old, he falls in love with the smooth faces of some male novices in a neighbouring church; and is obliged to walk about with a green net on his hair, as a punishment for fibbing. To the agony which he endured from this infirmary, he ascribes his scrupulous adherence to truth through the rest of his life;—all this notwithstanding, he is tempted to steal a fan from an old lady in the family, and grows silent, melancholy, and reserved;—at last, when about ten years of age, he is sent to the academy at Turin.

This migration adds but little to the interest of the narrative, or the improvement of the writer. The academy was a great, ill-regulated

regulated establishment; in the quarter of which the pages of the Court, and foreigners of distinction, were indulged in every sort of dissipation,—while the younger pupils were stowed into filthy cells, ill fed, and worse educated. There he learned a little Latin, and tried, in vain, to acquire the elements of mathematics; for, after the painful application of several months, he was never able to comprehend the fourth proposition of Euclid; and found, he says, all his life after, that he had ‘a completely anti-geometrical head.’ From the bad diet, and preposterously early hours of the academy, he soon fell into wretched health, and, growing more melancholy and solitary than ever, became covered over with sores and ulcers. Even in this situation, however, a little glimmering of literary ambition became visible. He procured a copy of Ariosto from a voracious schoolfellow, by giving up to him his share of the chickens which formed their Sunday regale; and read Metastasio and Gil Blas with great ardour and delight. The inflammability of his imagination, however, was more strikingly manifested in the effects of the first opera to which he was admitted, when he was only about twelve years of age.

‘This varied and enchanting music’ he observes ‘sunk deep into my soul, and made the most astonishing impression on my imagination;—it agitated the inmost recesses of my heart to such a degree, that for several weeks I experienced the most profound melancholy, which was not, however, wholly unattended with pleasure. I became tired and disgusted with my studies, while at the same time the most wild and whimsical ideas took such possession of my mind, as would have led me to pourtray them in the most impassioned verses, had I not been wholly unacquainted with the true nature of my own feelings. It was the first time music had produced such a powerful effect on my mind. I had never experienced any thing similar, and it long remained engraven on my memory. When I recollect the feelings excited by the representation of the grand operas, at which I was present during several carnivals, and compare them with those which I now experience, on returning from the performance of a piece I have not witnessed for some time, I am fully convinced that nothing acts so powerfully on my mind as all species of music, and particularly the sound of female voices, and of *contro-alto*. Nothing excites more various or terrific sensations in my mind. Thus the plots of the greatest number of my tragedies were either formed, while listening to music, or a few hours afterwards.’ p. 71—73.

With this tragic and Italian passion for music, he had a sovereign contempt, and abhorrence for dancing. His own account of the origin of this antipathy, and of the first rise of those national prejudices, which he never afterwards made any effort to overcome, is among the most striking and characteristic passages in the earlier part of the story.

‘To the natural hatred I had to dancing, was joined an invincible antipathy



antipathy towards my master—a Frenchman newly arrived from Paris. He possessed a certain air of polite assurance, which, joined to his ridiculous motions and absurd discourse, greatly increased the innate aversion I felt towards this frivolous art. So unconquerable was this aversion, that, after leaving school, I could never be prevailed on to join in any dance whatever. The very name of this amusement makes me shudder and laugh at the same time—a circumstance which is by no means unusual with me. I attribute, in a great measure, to this dancing-master the unfavourable, and perhaps erroneous, opinion I have formed of the French people, who, nevertheless, it must be confessed, possess many agreeable and estimable qualities; but it is difficult to weaken or efface impressions received in early youth. Reason lessens their influence as we advance in life; yet it is necessary to watch over ourselves, in order to judge without passion, and we are frequently so unfortunate as not to succeed. Two other causes also contributed to render me from my infancy disgusted with the French character. The first was the impression made on my mind by the sight of those ladies who accompanied the Duchess of Parma in her journey to Asti, and were all bedaubed with rouge,—the use of which was then exclusively confined to the French. I have frequently mentioned this circumstance several years afterwards, not being able to account for such an absurd and ridiculous practice, which is wholly at variance with nature; for when either sick, intoxicated, or from any other cause, human beings besmear themselves with this detestable rouge,—they carefully conceal it, well knowing that, when discovered, it only excites the laughter or pity of the beholders. These painted French figures left a deep and lasting impression on my mind, and inspired me with a certain feeling of disgust towards the females of this nation.

From my geographical studies resulted another cause of antipathy to that nation. Having seen on the chart the great difference in extent and population between England or Prussia and France, and hearing every time news arrived from the armies that the French had been beaten by sea and land;—recalling to mind the first idea, of my infancy, during which I was told that the French had frequently been in possession of Asti, and that during the last time they had suffered themselves to be taken prisoners to the number of six or seven thousand, without resistance, after conducting themselves while they remained in possession of the place with the greatest insolence and tyranny;—all these different circumstances being associated with the idea of the ridiculous dancing-master, tended more and more to rivet in my mind an aversion to the French nation. p. 85—86.

At the early age of fourteen, Alfieri was put in possession of a considerable part of his fortune, and launched immediately into every sort of fashionable folly and extravagance. His passion for horses, from which he was never entirely emancipated, now took entire possession of his soul; and his days were spent in galloping up and down the environs of Turin, in company chiefly with

the young English, who were resident in that capital. From this society, and these exercises, he soon derived such improvement, that in a short time he became by far the most skilful jockey, farrier, and coachman, that modern Italy could boast of producing.

For ten or twelve years after this period, the life of Alfieri presents a most humiliating, but instructive picture of idleness, dissipation and *ennui*. It is the finest and most flattering illustration of Miss Edgeworth's admirable tale of *Lord Glenlochy*; and, indeed, rather outgoes than falls short of that high-coloured and apparently exaggerated representation. Such, indeed, is the coincidence between the traits of the fictitious and the real character, that if these *Memoirs* had been published when Miss Edgeworth's story was written, it would have been impossible not to suppose that she had derived from them every thing that is striking and extraordinary in her narrative. For two or three years, Alfieri contented himself with running, restless and discontented, over the different cities and cities of Italy, almost ignorant of its language, and utterly indifferent both to its literature and its arts. Consumed, at every moment of inaction, with the most oppressive discontent and unhappiness, he had no relief but in the velocity of his movements and the rapidity of his transitions. Dissatisfied with every thing, and believing himself incapable of application or reflection, he passed his days in a perpetual fever of impatience and dissipation; — apparently pursuing enjoyment with an eagerness which was in reality inspired by the vain hope of escaping from misery. There is much moral truth, as well as peculiar character, in the following simple confession.

‘ In spite, however, of this constant whirl of dissipation, my being master of my own action; notwithstanding, I had plenty of money, was in the heyday of youth, and possessed a prepossessing figure; I yet felt every where satiety, ennui and disgust. My greatest pleasure consisted in attending the opera buffa, though the gay and lively music left a deep and melancholic impression on my mind. A thousand gloomy and mournful ideas assailed my imagination, in which I delighted to indulge by wandering alone on the shores near the Chiaja and Portici.’ *I. 125.*

When he got to Venice, things are, if possible, still worse, — though, like other hypochondriacs, he is disposed to lay the blame on the winds and the weather. ‘The tumult of the carnival kept him alive, it seems, for a few days.

‘ But no sooner was the novelty over, than my habitual melancholy and ennui returned. I passed several days together in complete solitude, never leaving the house, nor stirring from the window, whence I made signs to a visiting lady who lodged opposite, and with whom I occasionally exchanged a few words. During the rest of the day, which hung very heavy on my hands, I passed my

time either in sleeping or in dreaming, I knew not which, and frequently in weeping without any apparent motive. I had lost my tranquillity, and I was unable even to divine what had deprived me of it. A few years afterwards, on investigating the cause of this occurrence, I discovered that it proceeded from a malady which attacked me every spring, sometimes in April, and sometimes in June: its duration was longer or shorter, and its violence very different, according as my mind was occupied.

‘ I likewise experienced that my intellectual faculties resembled a barometer, and that I possessed more or less talent for composition, in proportion to the weight of the atmosphere. During the prevalence of the solstitial and equinoctial winds, I was always remarkably stupid, and uniformly evinced less penetration in the evening than the morning. I likewise perceived that the force of my imagination, the ardour of enthusiasm, and capability of invention, were possessed by me in a higher degree in the middle of winter, or in the middle of summer, than during the intermediate periods. This materiality, which I believe to be common to all men of a delicate nervous system, has greatly contributed to lessen the pride with which the good I have done might have inspired me, in like manner as it has tended, to diminish the shame I might have felt for the errors I have committed, particularly in my own art.’ I. 140—142.

In his nineteenth year, he extends his travels to France, and stops a few weeks at Marseilles, where he passed his evenings exactly as Lord Glenhorn is represented to have done his at his Irish castle. To help away the hours, he went every night to the play, although his Italian ears were disgusted with the poverty of the recitation; and,

—‘ after the performance was over, it was my regular practice to bathe every evening in the sea. I was induced to indulge myself in this luxury, in consequence of finding a very agreeable spot, on a tongue of land lying to the right of the harbour, where, seated on the sand, with my back leaning against a rock, I could behold the sea and sky without interruption. In the contemplation of these objects, embellished by the rays of the setting sun, I passed my time dreaming of future delights.’ I. 150, 151.

In a very short time, however, these reveries became intolerable; and he very nearly killed himself and his horses in rushing, with incredible velocity, to Paris. This is his own account of the impression which was made upon him by his first sight of this brilliant metropolis.

‘ It was on a cold, cloudy, and rainy morning, between the 15th and 20th of August, that I entered Paris, by the wretched suburb of Saint Marceau. Accustomed to the clear and serene sky of Italy and Provence, I felt much surprised at the thick fog which enveloped the city, especially at this season. Never in my life did I experience more disagreeable feelings than on entering the damp and dirty suburb

suburb of Saint Germain, where I was to take up my lodging. What inconsiderate haste, what mad folly had led me into this sink of filth and nastiness! On entering the inn, I felt myself thoroughly undeceived; and I should certainly have set off again immediately, had not shame and fatigue withheld me. My illusions were still further dissipated when I began to ramble through Paris. The mean and wretched buildings; the contemptible ostentation displayed in a few houses dignified with the pompous appellation of hotels and palaces; the filthiness of the Gothic churches; the truly Vandal-like construction of the public theatres at that time, besides innumerable other disagreeable objects, of which not the least disgusting to me was the plastered countenances of many very ugly women, far outweighed in my mind the beauty and elegance of the public walks and gardens, the infinite variety of fine carriages, the lofty façade of the Louvre, as well as the number of spectacles and entertainments of every kind.' I. 153, 154.

There; then, as was naturally to be expected, he again found himself tormented 'by the demon of melancholy;' and, after trying in vain the boasted stimulant of play, he speedily grew wearied of the place and all its amusements, and resolved to set off, without delay, for England. To England, accordingly, he goes, at midwinter; and with such a characteristic and compassionate craving for all sorts of powerful sensations, that 'he rejoiced exceedingly at the extreme cold, which actually froze the wine and bread in his carriage during a part of the journey.' Prepared, as he was, for disappointment, by the continual extravagance of his expectation, Alfieri was delighted with England. 'The roads, the inns, the horses, and, above all, the incessant hustle in the suburbs, as well as in the capital, all conspired to fill my mind with delight.' He passed a part of the winter in good society in London; but soon 'becoming disgusted with assemblies and routs, determined no longer to play the lord in the drawing-room, but *the coachman* at the gate:' and accordingly contrived to get through three laborious months, by being 'five or six hours every morning on horseback, and being seated on the coachbox for two or three hours every evening, whatever was the state of the weather.' Even these great and meritorious exertions, however, could not long keep down his inveterate malady, nor quell the evil spirit that possessed him; and he was driven to make a hasty tour through the west of England, which appears to have afforded him very considerable relief.

'The country then so much enchanted me that I determined to settle in it; not that I was much attached to any individual, but because I was delighted with the scenery, the simple manners of the inhabitants, the modesty and beauty of the women, and, above all, with the enjoyment of political liberty,—all which made me overlook

its mutable climate, the melancholy almost inseparable from it, and the exorbitant price of all the necessaries of life." I. 162, 163.

Scarcely, however, was this bold resolution of *settling* adopted, when the author is again 'seized with the mania of travelling;' and skims over to Holland in the beginning of summer. And here he is still more effectually diverted than ever, by falling in love with a young married lady at the Hague, who was obliging enough to return his affection. Circumstances, however, at last compel the fair one to rejoin her husband in Switzerland; and the impetuous Italian is affected with such violent despair, that he makes a desperate attempt on his life, by taking off the bandages after being let blood; and returns sullenly to Italy, without stopping to look at any thing, or uttering a single word to his servant during the whole course of the journey.

This violent fit of depression, however, and the seclusion by which it was followed, led him, for the first time, to look into his books; and the perusal of the Lives of Plutarch seems to have made such an impression on his ardent and susceptible spirit, that a passion for liberty and independence now took the lead of every other in his soul, and he became for life an emulator of the ancient republicans. He read the story of Timoleon, Brutus, &c., he ~~adores~~ *adores* us, with floods of tears, and agonies of admiration. 'I was like one beside himself, and shed tears of mingled grief and rage at having been born at Piedmont, and at a period, and under a government, where it was impossible to conceive or execute any great design.' The same sentiment, indeed, seems to have haunted him for the greater part of his life; and is expressed in many passages of these Memoirs besides the following.

'Having lived two or three years almost wholly among the English; having heard their power and riches every where celebrated; having contemplated their great political influence, and on the other hand viewing Italy wholly degraded from her rank as a nation, and the Italians, divided, weak, and enslaved, I was ashamed of being an Italian, and wished not to possess any thing in common with this nation.' I. p. 131.

'I was naturally attached to a domestic life; but after having visited England at nineteen, and read Plutarch with the greatest interest at twenty years of age, I experienced the most insufferable repugnance at marrying and having my children born at Turin.' I. p. 175.

The time, however, was not yet come when study was to ballast and anchor this agitated spirit. Plutarch was soon thrown aside; and the patriot and his horses gallop off to Vienna. The state of his mind, both as to idleness and politics, is strikingly represented in the following short passage.

‘ I might easily, during my stay at Vienna, have been introduced to the celebrated poet Metastasio, at whose house our minister, the old and respectable Count Canale, passed his evenings in a select company of men of letters, whose chief amusement consisted in reading portions from the Greek, Latin and Italian classics. Having taken an affection for me, he wished, out of pity to my idleness, to conduct me thither. But I declined accompanying him, either from my usual awkwardness, or from the contempt which the constant habit of reading French works had given me for Italian productions. Hence I concluded, that this assemblage of men of letters, with their classics, could be only a dismal company of pedants. Besides, I had seen Metastasio, in the gardens of Schoenbrunn, perform the customary genuflexion to Maria Theresa in such a servile and adulatory manner, that a man who had my head stuffed with Plutarch, and who embellished every theory, could not think of binding myself, either by the ties of familiarity or friendship, with a poet who had sold himself to a despotism which I so cordially detested.’  
I. p. 182, 183.

From Vienna he flew to Prussia, which, he says, looked all like one great guardhouse; and where he could not repress ‘ the horror and indignation he felt at beholding oppression and despotism assuming the mask of virtue.’ From Prussia he passed on to Denmark; where his health was seriously affected by the profligacy in which he indulged; and where the only amusement he could relish, consisted in ‘ driving a sledge with inconceivable velocity over the snow.’ In this way he wandered on through Sweden and Finland to Russia; and experienced, as usual, a miserable disappointment on arriving at St Petersburg.

‘ Alas! no sooner had I reached this Asiatic assemblage of wooden huts, than Rome, Genoa, Venice, and Florence, rose to my recollection; and I could not refrain from laughing. What I afterwards saw of this country tended still more strongly to confirm my first impression, that it merited not to be seen. Every thing, except their beads and their horses, disgusted me so much, that, during six weeks I remained among these savages, I wished not to become acquainted with any one, nor even to see the two or three youths with whom I had associated at Turin, and who were descended from the first families of the country. I took no measure to be presented to the celebrated Autocratix Catherine II.; nor did I even behold the countenance of a sovereign who in our days has outstripped fame. On investigating, at a future period, the reason of such extraordinary conduct, I became convinced that it proceeded from a certain intolerance of character, and a hatred to every species of tyranny, and which in this particular instance attached itself to a person suspected of the most horrible crime—the murder of a defenceless husband.’ I. p. 194, 195.

This rage for liberty continued to possess him in his return through

through Prussia, and really seems to have reached its acmé when it dictated the following most preposterous passage;—which, we cannot help suspecting, is indebted for part of its absurdity to the translator.

\* I visited Zorndorff, a spot rendered famous by the sanguinary battle fought between the Russians and Prussians, where thousands of men on both sides were immolated on the altar of despotism, and thus escaped from the galling yoke which oppressed them. The place of their interment was easily recognized by its greater verdure, and by yielding more abundant crops than the barren and unproductive soil in its immediate vicinity. *On this occasion I reflected with sorrow, that slaves seem every where only born to fertilize the soil on which they vegetate.*’ I. 196, 197.

After this he meets with a beautiful ass at Gottingen, and regrets that his indolence prevented him from availing himself of this excellent opportunity for writing some immeasurably facetious verses ‘upon this rencounter of a German and an Italian ass in so celebrated an university!’ After a hasty expedition to Spa, he again traverses Germany and Holland, and returns to England in the twenty-third year of his age; where he is speedily involved in some very distressing and discreditable adventures. He engages in an intrigue with an English lady of rank, and is ~~challenged~~, and slightly wounded by her husband. After this ~~sc~~ he consoles himself with the thought of marrying the frail fair, with whom he is, as usual, most heroically in love; when he discovers, to his infinite horror and consternation, that, previous to her connexion with him, she had been equally lavish of her favours to her husband’s groom, whose jealous resentment led him to watch and expose this new infidelity. After many struggles between shame, resentment, and unconquerable love, he at last tears himself from this sad sample of English virtue, and makes his way to Holland, bursting with grief and indignation; but without seeming to think that there was the slightest occasion for any degree of contrition or self-condemnation. From Holland he goes to France, and from France to Spain—as idle, and more oppressed with himself than ever—buying and caressing Andalusian horses, and constantly ready to sink under the heavy burden of existence. At Madrid he has set down an extraordinary trait of the dangerous impetuosity of his temper. His faithful servant, in combing his hair, happened accidentally to give him a little pain by stretching one hair a little more than the rest, upon which, without saying one word, he first seized a candlestick, and felled him to the ground with a huge wound in his temple, and then drew his sword to despatch him, upon his offering to make some resistance. The sequel of the story is somewhat

what more creditable to his magnanimity, than this part of it is to his self-command.

I was shocked at the brutal excess of passion into which I had fallen. Though Elias was somewhat calmed, he still appeared to retain a certain degree of resentment; yet I was not disposed to display towards him the smallest distrust. Two hours after his wound was dressed I went to bed, leaving the door open, as usual, between my apartment and the chamber in which he slept; notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Spaniards, who pointed out to me the absurdity of putting vengeance in the power of a man whom I had so much irritated. I said even aloud to Elias, who was already in bed, that he might kill me if he was so inclined during the night; and that I justly merited such a fate. But this brave man, who possessed as much elevation of soul as myself, took no other revenge for my outrageous conduct, except preserving for several years two handkerchiefs stained with blood which had been bound round his head, and which he occasionally displayed to my view. It is necessary to be fully acquainted with the character and manners of the Piedmontese, in order to comprehend the mixture of ferocity and generosity displayed on both sides in this affair.

When at a more mature age, I endeavoured to discover the cause of this violent transport of rage. I became convinced that the trivial circumstance which gave rise to it, was, so to speak, like the last drop poured into a vessel ready to run over. My fuscible temper, which must have been rendered still more irritable by solitude and perpetual idleness, required only the slightest impulse to cause it to burst forth. Besides, I never lifted a hand against a domestic, as that would have been putting them on a level with myself. Neither did I ever employ a cane, nor any kind of weapon in order to chastise them, though I frequently threw at them any moveable that fell in my way, as many young people do, during the first ebullitions of anger; yet I dare to affirm that I would have approved, and even esteemed the domestic who should on such occasions have rendered me back the treatment he received, since I never punished them as a master, but only contended with them as one man with another. I. 244—6.

At Lisbon he forms an acquaintance with a literary countryman of his own, and feels, for the first time of his life, a glow of admiration on perusing some passages of Italian poetry. From this he returns to Spain, and, after lounging over the whole of that kingdom, returns through France to Italy, and arrives at Turin in 1773. Here he endeavours to maintain the same unequal contest of dissipation against ennui and conscious folly, and falls furiously in love, for the third time, with a woman of more than doubtful reputation, ten years older than himself. Neither the intoxication of this passion, however, nor the daily exhibition of his twelve fine horses, could repress the shame and indignation.



then which he lost by thus wasting his days in ignominious dissipation, and his health was at last seriously affected by those disquieting visitings of his conscience. In 1774, while watching his unworthy mistress in a fit of sickness, he sketched out the outlines of a dramatical work in Italian, which was thrown aside and forgotten immediately on her recovery; and it was not till the year after, that, after many struggles, he formed the resolution of detaching himself from this degrading connexion. The efforts which this cost him, and the means he adopted to ensure his own adherence to his resolution, appear altogether wild and extravagant to our northern imagination. In the first place, he had himself lashed with strong cords to his elbow chair, to prevent him from rushing into the presence of the syren; and, in the next place, he put off his hair in order to make it impossible for him to appear with decency in any society. The first fifteen days, he assures us, he spent entirely in uttering the most frightful groans and laments, and the next in riding furiously through all the solitary places in the neighbourhood. At last, however, this frenzy of grief began to subside; and, most fortunately for the world and the author, gave place to a passion for literature, which absorbed the powers of this fiery spirit during the remainder of his future existence. The perusal of a wretched tragedy on the story of Cleopatra, and the striking resemblance he thought he discovered between his own case and that of Antony, first inspired him with the resolution of attempting a dramatic piece on the same subject; and, after encountering the most extreme difficulty from his utter ignorance of poetical diction, and of pure Italian, he at last hammered out a tragedy, which was represented with tolerable success in 1774. From this moment his whole heart was devoted to dramatic poetry; and literary glory became the idol of his imagination.

On entering upon this new and arduous career, he soon discovered that greater sacrifices were required of him than he had hitherto offered to any of the former objects of his idolatry. The defect of his education and his long habits of indolence and inattention to everything connected with letters, imposed upon him far more than the ordinary labour of a literary apprenticeship. Having never been accustomed to the use of the pure Tuscan, and being obliged to speak French during so many years of travelling, he found himself shamefully deficient in the knowledge of that beautiful language, in which he proposed to enter his claims to immortality; and began, therefore, a course of the most assiduous critical reading of the great authors who had advanced. Dante and Petrarca were his great models of purity; and next to them, Ariosto and Tasso; in which four writers, he

gives it as his opinion, that there is to be found the perfection of every style, except that fitted for dramatic poetry,—of which, he more than insinuates, that his own writings are the only existing example. In order to acquire a perfect knowledge and command of their divine language, he not only made many long visits to Tuscany, but absolutely interdicted himself the use of every other sort of reading, and abjured for ever that French literature which he seems to have always regarded with a mixture of envy and disdain. To make amends for this, he went resolutely back to the rudiments of his Latin; and read over all the classics in that language with a most patient and laborious attention. He likewise committed to memory many thousand lines from the authors he proposed to imitate; and sought, with the greatest assiduity, the acquaintance of all the scholars and critics that came in his way,—pestering them with continual queries, and with requesting their opinion upon the infinite quantity of bad verses which he continued to compose by way of exercise. His two or three first tragedies he composed entirely in French prose; and afterwards translated, with infinite labour, into Italian verse. His whole process of composition, indeed, was very systematical and laborious; and the distinct account he has left of it, is not among the least curious passages in these volumes.

I ought here to explain to the reader what is meant by the terms *conceive*, *develop*, and *put into verse*, which so frequently occur in the course of this work. All my tragedies, so to speak, have been composed three times. By this method, I at least avoided the error of too much haste, which should always be carefully guarded against in such productions, since, if they are ill-conceived at first, it is a fault not easily remedied. By the term *conceive*, is to be understood the distributing of the subject into acts and scenes, fixing the number of the personages, and tracing, in two pages of prose, a summary of the plot. By *developing*, I mean the writing dialogues in prose for the different scenes indicated in this rude sketch, without rejecting a single thought; and with as much enthusiasm as possible, without embarrassing myself with the style or composition. By *versifying*, in short, must be understood, not only converting this prose into verse, but also curtailling the exuberances of the style, selecting the best thoughts, and clothing them in poetic language. After these three operations, I proceed, like other authors, to polish, correct, and amend. But if the conception or development of the piece be imperfect, or erroneous, the superadded labour will never produce a good tragedy. In this way did I execute the whole of my dramatic works, beginning with Philippe; and I am convinced that this constituted more than two thirds of the labour. If, on repeating the manuscript, after a sufficient period had been suffered to elapse, in order that I might forget the original distribution of the scenes, I

felt myself assailed by such a crowd of ideas and emotions as compelled me, so to speak, to take up my pen, I concluded that my sketch was worthy of being unfolded; but if, on the contrary, I felt not an enthusiasm equal at least to what I had experienced on conceiving the design, I either changed my plan, or threw the papers into the fire. As soon as I became satisfied that my first idea was perfect, I expanded it with the greatest rapidity, frequently writing two acts a day, and seldom less than one; so that in six days my tragedy was—I will not say *finished*, but *created*.

In this manner, without any other judge than my own feelings, I have only finished those, the sketches of which I had written with energy and enthusiasm; or, if I have finished any other, I have at least never taken the trouble to clothe them in verse. This was the case with *Charles I.*, which I began to write in French prose, immediately after finishing *Philippe*. When I had reached to about the middle of the third act, my heart and my hand became so benumbed, that I found it impossible to hold my pen. The same thing happened in regard to *Romeo and Juliet*, the whole of which I nearly expanded, though with much labour to myself, and at long intervals. On reperusing this sketch, I found my enthusiasm so much repressed, that, transported with rage against myself, I could proceed no further, but threw my work into the fire.' II. 48-51.

Two or three years were passed in these bewitching studies; and, during this time, nine or ten tragedies, at the least, were in a considerable state of forwardness. In 1778, the study of Machiavel revived all that early zeal for liberty, which he had imbibed from the perusal of Plutarch; and he composed with great rapidity his two books of '*La Tiranide*;'—perhaps the most nervous and eloquent of all his prose compositions. About the same period, his poetical studies experienced a still more serious interruption, from the commencement of his attachment to the Countess of Albany, the wife of the late Pretender;—an attachment that continued to soothe or to agitate all the remaining part of his existence. This lady, who was by birth a princess of the house of Stolberg, was then in her twenty-fifth year, and resided with her ill-matched husband at Florence. Her beauty and accomplishments made, from the first, \* a powerful impression on the

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\* His first introduction to her, we have been informed, was in the great gallery of Florence;—a circumstance which led him to signalize his admiration by an extraordinary act of gallantry. As they stopped to examine the picture of Charles XII. of Sweden, the Countess observed, that the singular uniform in which that prince is usually painted, appeared to her extremely becoming. Nothing more was said at the time; but, in two days after, Alfieri appeared in the streets in the exact costume of that warlike sovereign,—to the utter consternation of all the peaceful inhabitants.

the inflammable heart of Alfieri, guarded as it now was with the love of glory and of literature; and the loftiness of his character, and the ardour of his admiration, soon excited corresponding sentiments in her, who had suffered for some time from the ill temper and gross vices of her superannuated husband. Though the author takes the trouble to assure us that 'their intimacy never exceeded the strictest limits of honour,' it is not difficult to understand, that it should have aggravated the ill humour of the old husband; which increased, it seems, so much, that the lady was at last forced to abandon his society, and to take refuge with his brother, the Cardinal York, at Rome. To this place Alfieri speedily followed her; and remained there, divided between love and study, for upwards of two years, when her holy guardian becoming scandalized at their intimacy, it was thought necessary for her reputation, that they should separate. The effects of this separation he has himself described in the following short passage.

'For two years I remained incapable of any kind of study whatever. so different was my present forlorn state from the happiness I enjoyed during my late residence in Rome:—there, in Villa Strozzi, near to the warm baths of Dioclesian, afforded me a delightful retreat, where I passed my mornings in study, only riding for an hour or two through the vast solitudes which, in the neighbourhood of Rome, invite to melancholy, meditation, and poetry. In the evening I proceeded to the city, and found a relaxation from study in the society of her who constituted the charm of my existence; and, contented and happy, I returned to my solitude, never at a later hour than eleven o'clock. It was impossible to find, in the circuit of a great city, an abode more cheerful, more retired—or better suited to my taste, my character, and my pursuits. Delightful spot!—the remembrance of which I shall ever cherish, and which through life I shall long to revisit.' *Il.* p. 121, 122.

Previously to this time, his extreme love of independence, and his desire to be constantly with the mistress of his affections, had induced him to take the very romantic step of resigning his whole property to his sister, reserving to himself merely an annuity of 14,000 livres, or little more than 500*l.* As this transference was made with the sanction of the King, who was very well pleased, on the whole, to get rid of so republican a subject, it was understood, upon both sides, as a tacit compact of expatriation; so that, upon his removal from Rome, he had no house or fixed residence to repair to. In this desolate and unsettled state, his passion for horses revived with additional fury; and he undertook a voyage to England, for the sole purpose of purchasing a number of those noble animals; and devoted eight months 'to the study of noble heads, fine necks, and well-turned buttocks, without once opening a book, or pursuing any literary avocation.' In London, he

purchased fourteen horses,—in relation to the number of his tragedies!—and this whimsical relation frequently presenting itself to his imagination, he would say to himself with a smile—‘Thou hast gained a horse by each tragedy!’—Truly, the noble author must have been far gone in love, when he gave way to such innocent delirium.—He conducted his fourteen friends, however, with much judgment across the Alps; and gained great glory and notoriety at Sienna, from their daily procession through the streets, and the feats of dexterity he exhibited in riding and driving them.

In the mean time, he had printed twelve of his tragedies, and imbibed a sovereign contempt for such of his countrymen as pretended to find them harsh, obscure, or affectedly sententious. In 1784, after an absence of more than two years, he rejoined his mistress at Bâle, in Alsace; and, during a stay of two months with her, sketched out three new tragedies. On his return to Italy, he took up his abode for a short time at Pisa,—where, in a free indignation at the faults of Pliny’s Panegyric on Trajan, he composed in five days that animated and eloquent piece of the same name, which alone, of all his works which have fallen into our hands, has left on our minds the impression of ardent and flowing eloquence. His rage for liberty likewise prompted him to compose several odes on the subject of American independence, and several miscellaneous productions of a similar character:—at last, in 1786, he is permitted to take up his permanent abode with his mistress, whom he rejoins at Alsace, and never afterwards abandons. In the course of the following year, they make a journey to Paris, with which he is nearly as much dissatisfied as on his former visit,—and makes arrangements with Didot for printing his tragedies in a superb form. In 1788, however, he resolves upon making a complete edition of his whole works at Kehl; and submits, for the accommodation of his fair friend, to take up his residence at Paris. There they receive intelligence of the death of her husband, which seems, however, to make no change in their way of life;—and there he continues busily employed in correcting his various works for publication, till the year 1790, when the first part of these Memoirs closes with anticipations of misery from the progress of the revolution, and professions of devoted attachment to the companion whom time had only rendered more dear and respected.

The supplementary part bears date in May 1803—but a few months prior to the death of the author,—and brings down his history, though in a more summary manner, to that period. He seems to have lived in much uneasiness and fear in Paris, after the commencement of the revolution; from all approbation, or even toleration of which *tragic furce*, as he terms it, he exculpates himself

himself with much earnestness and solemnity; but, having vested the greater part of his fortune in that country, he could not conveniently abandon it. In 1791, he and his companion made a short visit to England, with which he was less pleased than on any former occasion,—the damp giving him a disposition to gout, and the late hours interfering with his habits of study. The most remarkable incident in this journey, occurred at its termination. As he was passing along the quay at Dover, in his way to the packet-boat, he caught a glimpse of the bewitching woman on whose account he had suffered so much, in his former visit to this country nearly twenty years ago. She still looked beautiful, he says, and bestowed on him one of those enchanting smiles which convinced him that he was recognized. Unable to controul his emotion, he rushed instantly aboard—hid himself below—and did not venture to look up till he was landed on the opposite shore. From Calais he addressed a letter to her of kind inquiry, and offers of service; and received an answer, which, on account of the singular tone of candour and magnanimity which it exhibits, he has subjoined in the Appendix. It is undoubtedly a very remarkable production, and shows both a strength of mind and a kindness of disposition which seem worthy of a happier fortune.

In the end of 1792, the increasing fury of the revolution rendered Paris no longer a place of safety for foreigners of high birth; and Alfieri and his Countess with some difficulty effected their escape from it, and established themselves, with a diminished income, at his beloved Florence. Here, with his usual impetuosity, he gave vent to his anti-revolutionary feelings, by composing an apology for Louis XVI., and a short satirical view of the French excesses, which he entitled 'the Antigallican.' He then took to acting his own plays; and, for two or three years, his new passion founded him in a good degree from literature. In 1795, however, he tried his hand in some satirical productions; and began, with much zeal, to peruse and translate various passages from the Latin classics. Latin naturally led to Greek; and, in the forty-ninth year of his age, he set seriously to the study of this language. Two whole years did this ardent genius dedicate to solitary drudgery, without being able to master the subject he had undertaken. At last, by dint of perseverance and incredible labour, he began to understand a little of the easier authors; and, by the time he had completed his fiftieth year, succeeded in interpreting a considerable part of Herodotus, Thucydides and Homer. The perusal of Sophocles, in the following year, impelled him to compose his last tragedy of *Alceste* in 1798. In the end of this year, the progress of the French armies threatened to violate the tranquillity of his Tuscan retreat; and, in the spring following, upon

the occupation of Florence, he and his friend retired to a small habitation in the country. From this asylum, however, they returned so precipitately on the retreat of the enemy, that they were surprised by them on their second invasion of Tuscany in 1800; and had more to suffer, it appears, from the importunate civility, than from the outrages of the conquerors. The French general, it seems, was a man of letters, and made several attempts to be introduced to Alfieri. When evasion became impossible, the latter made the following haughty but guarded reply to his warlike admirer—

“ If the General, in his official capacity, commands his presence, Victor Alfieri, who never resists constituted authority of any kind, will immediately hasten to obey the order; but if, on the contrary, he requests an interview only as a private individual, Alfieri begs leave to observe, that being of a very retired turn of mind, he wishes not to form any new acquaintance, and therefore entreats the French general to hold him excused.” II. 286. 287.

Under these disastrous circumstances, he was suddenly seized with the desire of signalizing himself in a new field of exertion; and set on foot no fewer than six comedies at once, which were nearly finished before the end of 1802. His health, during this year, was considerably weakened by repeated attacks of irregular gout and inflammatory affections; and the memoir concludes with the description of a collar and medal which he had invented, as the badge of ‘the order of Homer,’ which, in his late sprung admiration for Greek literature, he had founded and endowed. Annexed to this record is a sort of postscript, addressed, by his friend the Duke Caluso, to the Countess of Albany; from which it appears, that he was carried off by an inflammatory or gouty attack in his bowels, which put a period to his existence after a few days illness, in the month of October 1803. We have since learned, that the publication of his posthumous works, which had been begun by the Countess of Albany or Milan, has been stopped by the French government; and that several of the manuscripts have, by the same authority, been committed to the flames.

We have not a great deal to add to this copious, and extraordinary narrative. Many of the peculiarities of Alfieri may be safely ascribed to the accident of his birth, and the errors of his education. His *esprit*, arrogance and dissipation, are not very unlike those of many spoiled youths of condition; nor is there any thing very extraordinary in his subsequent application to study, or the turn of his last political opinions. The peculiar nature of his pursuits, and the character of his literary productions, afford more curious matter for speculation.

In reflecting on the peculiar misery which Alfieri and some o-

ther eminent persons are recorded to have endured, while their minds were withheld from any worthy occupation, we have sometimes been tempted to conclude, that, to suffer deeply from *ennui* is an indication of superior intellect; and that it is only to minds destined for higher attainments that the want of an object is a source of real affliction. Upon a little reflection, however, we are disposed to doubt of the soundness of this opinion; and really cannot permit all the shallow coxcombs who languish under the burden of existence, to take themselves, on our authority, for spell-bound geniuses. The most powerful stream, indeed, will stagnate the most deeply, and will burst out to more wild devastation, when obstructed in its peaceful course; but the weakly current is, upon the whole, most liable to obstruction; and will mangle and rot at least as dismally as its betters. The innumerable blockheads, in short, who betake themselves to suicide, dram-drinking, or dozing in dirty nightcaps, will not allow us to suppose that there is any real connexion between *ennui* and talent; or that fellows who are fit for nothing but mending shoes may not be very miserable if they are unfortunately raised above their proper occupation.

If it does frequently happen that extraordinary and vigorous exertions are found to follow this heavy slumber of the faculties, the phenomenon, we think, may be explained without giving any countenance to the supposition, that vigorous faculties are most liable to such an obfuscation. In the first place, the relief and delight of exertion must act with more than usual force upon a mind which has suffered from the want of it; and will be apt to be pushed farther than in cases where the exertion has been more regular. The chief cause, however, of the signal success which has sometimes attended those who have been rescued from *ennui*, we really believe to be their ignorance of the difficulties they have to encounter; and that inexperience which makes them venture on undertakings which more prudent calculators would decline. We have already noticed, more than once, \* the effect of early study and familiarity with the best models in repressing emulation by despair; and have endeavoured, upon this principle, to explain why so many original authors have been in a great degree without education. Now, a youth spent in lassitude and dissipation leads necessarily to a manhood of ignorance and inexperience; and has all the advantages, as well as the inconveniences, of such a situation. If any feeling of strength, ambition, or other extraordinary impulse, therefore, prompt such a person to attempt any thing arduous, it is likely that he will go about it with all that rash and vehement courage which results from unconsciousness of the obstacles that

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are to be overcome; and it is needless to say how often success is ensured by this confident and fortunate audacity. Thus Alfieri, in the outset of his literary career, ran his head against dramatic poetry, almost before he knew what was meant either by poetry or the drama; and dashed out a tragedy while but imperfectly acquainted with the language in which he was writing, and utterly ignorant either of the rules that had been delivered, or the models which had been created by the genius of his great predecessors. Had he been trained up from his early youth in fearful veneration for these rules and these models, it is certain that he would have resisted the impulse which led him to place himself, with so little preparation, within their danger; and most probable that he would never have thought himself qualified to answer the test they required of him. In giving way, however, to this propensity, with all the thoughtless freedom and vehemence which had characterized his other indulgences, he found himself suddenly embarked in an unexpected undertaking, and in sight of unexpected distinction. The success he had obtained with so little knowledge of the subject, tempted him to acquire what was wanted to deserve it; and justified hopes and stimulated exertions which earlier reflection would, in all probability, have for ever prevented.

The morality of Alfieri seems to have been at least as relaxed as that of the degenerate nobles, whom in all other things he professed to reprobate and despise. He confesses, without the slightest appearance of contrition, that his general intercourse with women was profligate in the extreme; and has detailed the particulars of three several intrigues with married women, without once appearing to imagine that they could require any apology or expiation. On the contrary, while recording the deplorable consequences of one of them, he observes, with great composure, that it was distressing to him to contemplate a degradation, of which he had, 'though innocently,' been the occasion. The general arrogance of his manners, too, and the occasional brutality of his conduct towards his inferiors, are far from giving us an amiable impression of his general character; nor have we been able to find, in the whole of these confessions, a single trait of kindness of heart, or generous philanthropy, to place in the balance against so many indications of selfishness and violence. There are proofs enough, indeed, of a firm, elevated, and manly spirit; but small appearance of any thing gentle, or even, in a moral sense, of any thing very respectable. In his admiration, in short, of the worthies of antiquity, he appears to have copied their harshness and indelicacy at least as faithfully as their loftiness of character; and, at the same time, to have combined with it all the licentiousness and presumption of a modern Italian noble.

We have been somewhat perplexed with his politics. After speaking as we have seen, of the mild government of the kings of Sardinia,—after adding that, ‘when he had read Plutarch and visited England, he felt the most unsurmountable repugnance at marrying, or having his children born at Turin,—after recording that a monarch is a master, and a subject a slave,—and ‘that he shed tears of mingled grief and rage at having been born in such a state as Piedmont;’—after all this,—after giving up his estates to escape from this bondage, and after writing his books on the *Tiranide*, and his odes on American liberty,—we really were prepared to find him taking the popular side, at the outset at least of the French revolution, and exulting in the downfall of one of those hateful despotisms, against the whole system of which he had previously inveighed with no extraordinary moderation. Instead of this, however, we find him abusing the revolutionists, and extolling their opponents with all the zeal of a professed anti-jacobin,—writing an eulogium on the dethroned monarch like Mr Pybus, and an Antigallican like Peter Porcupine. Now, we are certainly very far from saying, that a true friend of liberty might not execrate the proceedings of the French revolutionists; but a professed hater of royalty might have felt more indulgence for the new republic; and such a crazy zealot for liberty, as Alfieri showed himself in Italy, both by his writings and his conduct, might well have been carried away by that promise of emancipation to France, which deluded sounder heads than his in all the countries of Europe.—There are two keys, we think, in the work before us, to this apparent inconsistency. Alfieri, with all his abhorrence of tyrants, was, in his heart, a great lover of aristocracy; and he had a great spite and antipathy at the French nation, collectively and individually.

Though professedly a republican, it is easy to see, that the republic he wanted was one on the Roman model,—where there were Patricians as well as Plebeians, and where a man of great talents had even a good chance of being one day appointed Dictator. He did not admire kings indeed,—because he did not happen to be born one, and because they were the only beings to whom he was born inferior: but he had the utmost veneration for nobles,—because fortune had placed him in that order, and because the power and distinction which belonged to it were agreeable to him, and, he thought, would be exercised for the good of his inferiors. When he heard that Voltaire had written a tragedy on the story of Brutus, he fell into a great passion, and exclaimed, that the subject was too lofty for ‘a French plebeian, who, during twenty years, had subscribed himself Gentleman in ordinary to the King!’

This love of aristocracy, however, will not explain the defence of monarchy and the abuse of republics, which formed the substance of his Antigallican. But the truth is, that he was antigallican from his youth up; and would never have forgiven that nation, if they had succeeded in establishing a free government,—especially while Italy was in bondage. The contempt which Voltaire had expressed for Italian literature, and the general degradation into which the national character had fallen, had sunk deep into his fierce and haughty spirit, and inspired him with an antipathy towards that people by whom his own countrymen had been subdued, ridiculed, and outshone. This paltry and vindictive feeling leads him, throughout this whole work, to speak of them in the most unjust and uncandid terms. There may be some truth in his remarks on the mean and meagre articulation of their language, and on their horrible *u*, with their little lips drawn in to pronounce it, as if they were blowing hot soup. Nay, we could even excuse the nationality which leads him to declare, that ‘he would rather be the author of ten good Italian verses, than of volumes written in *English or French*, or any such harsh and disharmonious jargon,—though their cannon and their armies should continue to render these languages fashionable.’ But we cannot believe in the sincerity of an amorous Italian, who declares, that he never could get through the first volume of Rousseau’s *Heloise*; or of a modern author of regular dramas, who professes to see nothing at all admirable in the tragedies of Racine or Voltaire. It is evident to us, that he grudged these great writers the glory that was due to them, out of a vindictive feeling of national resentment; and that, for the same reason, he grudged the French nation the freedom, in which he would otherwise have been among the first to believe and to exult.

It only remains to say a word or two of the literary productions of this extraordinary person;—a theme, however interesting and attractive, upon which we can scarcely pretend to enter on the present occasion. We have not yet been able to procure a complete copy of the works of Alfieri; and, even of those which have been lately transmitted to us, we will confess that a considerable portion remains to be perused. We have seen enough, however, to satisfy us that they are deserving of a careful analysis, and that a free and enlightened estimate of their merit may be rendered both interesting and instructive to the greater part of our readers. We hope soon to be in a condition to attempt this task; and shall, in the mean time, confine ourselves to a very few observations suggested by the style and character of the tragedies with which we have been for some time acquainted.

These pieces approach much nearer to the ancient Grecian model,

del, than any other modern production with which we are acquainted—in the simplicity of the plot, the fewness of the persons, the directness of the action, and the uniformity and elaborate gravity of the composition. Infinitely less declamatory than the French tragedies, they have less brilliancy and variety, and a deeper tone of dignity and nature. As they have not adopted the choral songs of the Greek stage, however, they are, on the whole, less poetical than those ancient compositions; although they are worked throughout with a fine and careful hand, and diligently purified from every thing ignoble or feeble in the expression. The author's anxiety to keep clear of figures of mere ostentation, and to exclude all show-pieces of fine writing in a dialogue of deep interest or impetuous passion, has betrayed him, on some occasions, into too sententious and strained a diction, and given an air of labour and heaviness to many parts of his composition. He has felt, perhaps a little too constantly, that the cardinal virtue of a dramatic writer is to keep his personages to the business and the concerns that lie before them; and by no means to let them turn to moral philosophers, or rhetorical describers of their own emotions. But, in his zealous adherence to this good maxim, he seems sometimes to have forgotten, that certain passions are declamatory in nature as well as on the stage; and that, at any rate, they do not all vent themselves in concise and pithy sayings, but run occasionally into hyperbole and amplification. As it is the great excellence, so it is occasionally the chief fault of Alfieri's dialogue, that every word is honestly employed to help forward the action of the play, in serious argument, necessary narrative, or the direct expression of natural emotion. There are no excursions or digressions,—no episodical conversations,—and none but the most brief moralizings. This gives a certain air of solidity to the whole structure of the piece, that is apt to prove oppressive to an ordinary reader, and reduces the entire drama to too great uniformity.

We make these remarks chiefly with a reference to French tragedy. For our own part, we believe that those who are duly sensible of the merit of Shakespeare, will never be much struck with any other dramatical composition. There are no other plays, indeed, that paint human nature,—that strike off the characters of men with all the freshness and sharpness of the original,—and speak the language of all the passions, not like a mimic, but an echo—neither softer nor louder, nor differently modulated from the spontaneous utterance of the heart. In these respects he disdains all comparison with Alfieri, or with any other mortal; nor is it fair, perhaps, to suggest a comparison, where no rivalry can be imagined. Alfieri, like all the continental dramatists, considers a tragedy as a poem. In England, we look upon it rather

as a representation of character and passion. With them, of course, the style and diction, and the congruity and proportions of the pieces, are the main objects;—with us, the truth and the force of the imitation. It is sufficient for them, if there be character and action enough to prevent the composition from languishing, and to give spirit and propriety to the polished dialogue of which it consists;—we are satisfied, if there be management enough in the story not to shock credibility entirely, and beauty and polish enough in the diction to exclude disgust or derision. In his own way, Alfieri, we think, is excellent. His fables are all admirably contrived and completely developed; his dialogue is copious and progressive; and his characters all deliver natural sentiments with great beauty, and often with great force of expression. In our eyes, however, it is a fault that the fable is too simple, and the incidents too scanty; and that all the characters express themselves with equal felicity, and urge their opposite views and pretensions with equal skill and plausibility. We see at once that an ingenious author has versified the sum of a dialogue, and never, for a moment, imagine that we hear the real persons contending. There may be more eloquence and dignity in this style of dramatizing;—there is infinitely more deception in ours.

With regard to the diction of these pieces, it is not for *tramontane* critics to presume to offer any opinion. They are considered, in Italy, we believe, as the purest specimens of the *favella Toscana* that late ages have produced. To us they certainly seem to want something of that flow and sweetness to which we have been accustomed in Italian poetry, and to be formed rather upon the model of Dante than of Petrarca. At all events, it is obvious that the style is highly elaborate and artificial; and that the author is constantly striving to give it a sort of facitious force and energy, by the use of condensed and emphatic expressions, interrogatories, antitheses, and short and inverted sentences. In all these respects, as well as in the chastised gravity of the sentiments, and the temperance and propriety of all the delineations of passion, these pieces are exactly the reverse of what we should have expected from the fiery, fickle and impatient character of the author. From all that Alfieri has told us of himself, we should have expected to find in his plays great vehemence and irregular eloquence—sublime and extravagant sentiments—passions rising to frenzy—and poetry swelling into bombast. Instead of this, we have a subdued and concise representation of energetic discourses—passions not loud, but deep—and a style so severely correct and scrupulously pure, as to indicate, even to unskilful eyes, the great labour which must have been bestowed on its purification.

rification. No characters can be more different than that which we should infer from reading the tragedies of Alfieri, and that which he has assigned to himself in these authentic Memoirs.

ART. III. *Advice to Young Ladies on the Improvement of the Mind.*  
By Thomas Broadhurst. 8vo. London. 1805.

MR Broadhurst is a very good sort of a man, who has not written a very bad book upon a very important subject. His object (a very laudable one) is to recommend a better system of female education than at present prevails in this country—to turn the attention of women from the trifling pursuits to which they are now condemned—and to cultivate faculties which, under the actual system of management, might almost as well not exist. To the examination of his ideas upon these points, we shall very cheerfully give up a portion of our time and attention.

A great deal has been said of the original difference of capacity between men and women; as if women were more quick, and men more judicious—as if women were more remarkable for delicacy of association, and men for stronger powers of attention. All this, we confess, appears to us very fanciful. That there is a difference in the understandings of the men and the women we every day meet with, every body, we suppose, must perceive; but there is none surely which may not be accounted for by the difference of circumstances in which they have been placed, without referring to any conjectural difference of original conformation of mind. As long as boys and girls run about in the dirt, and trundle hoops together, they are both precisely alike. If you catch up one half of these creatures, and train them to a particular set of actions and opinions, and the other half to a perfectly opposite set, of course their understandings will differ, as one or the other sort of occupations has called this or that talent into action: there is surely no occasion to go into any deeper or more abstruse reasoning, in order to explain so very simple a phenomenon. Taking it, then, for granted, that nature has been as bountiful of understanding to one sex as the other, it is incumbent on us to consider what are the principal objections commonly made against the communication of a greater share of knowledge to women, than commonly falls to their lot at present: for though it may be doubted whether women should learn all that men learn, the immense disparity which now exists between their knowledge, we should hardly think could admit of any rational defence. It is not easy to imagine that there can be any just cause why a woman of forty

should be more ignorant than a boy of twelve years of age. If there be any good at all in female ignorance, this (to use a very colloquial phrase) is surely too much of a good thing.

Something in this question must depend, no doubt, upon the leisure which either sex enjoys for the cultivation of their understandings;—and we cannot help thinking, that women have fully as much, if not more idle time upon their hands, than men. Women are excluded from all the serious business of the world: men are lawyers, physicians, clergymen, apothecaries, and justices of the peace—sources of exertion which consume a great deal more time than producing and suckling children; so that, if the thing is a thing that ought to be done—if the attainments of literature are objects really worthy the attention of females, they cannot plead the want of leisure as an excuse for indolence and neglect. The lawyer who passes his day in exasperating the bickerings of Roe and Doe, is certainly as much engaged as his lady who has the whole of the morning before her to correct the children and pay the bills. The apothecary, who rushes from an act of phlebotomy in the western parts of the town to insinuate a bolus in the east, is surely as completely absorbed as that fortunate female who is darning the garment, or preparing the repast of her *Æsculapius* at home; and, in every degree and situation of life, it seems that men must necessarily be exposed to more serious demands upon their time and attention, than can possibly be the case with respect to the other sex. We are speaking always of the fair demands which ought to be made upon the time and attention of women; for, as the matter now stands, the time of women is considered as worth nothing at all. Daughters are kept to occupations in sewing, patching, mantuamaking and mending, by which it is impossible they can earn tenpence a day.\* The intellectual improvement of women is considered to be of such subordinate importance, that twenty pounds paid for needle work would give to a whole family leisure to acquire a fund of real knowledge. They are kept with nimble fingers and vacant understandings, till the season for improvement is utterly passed away, and all chance of forming more important habits completely lost. We do not therefore say that women have more leisure than men, if it be necessary they should lead the life of artisans; but we make this assertion only upon the supposition, that it is of some importance women should be instructed; and that many ordinary occupations, for which a little money will find a better substitute, should be sacrificed to this consideration.

We bar, in this discussion, any objection which proceeds from the mere necessity of teaching women more than they are already taught. It may be useless that their education should be improved,

or it may be pernicious; and these are the fair grounds on which the question may be argued. But those who cannot bring their minds to consider such an unusual extension of knowledge, without connecting with it some sensation of the ludicrous, should remember, that, in the progress from absolute ignorance, there is a period when cultivation of mind is new to every rank and description of persons. A century ago, who would have believed that country gentlemen could be brought to read and spell with the ease and accuracy, which we now so frequently remark,—or supposed that they could be carried up even to the elements of antient and modern history? Nothing is more common, or more stupid, than to take the actual for the possible—to believe that all which is, is all which can be; first to laugh at every proposed deviation from practice as impossible—then, when it is carried into effect, to be astonished that it did not take place before.

It is said, that the effect of knowledge is to make women pedantic and affected; and that nothing can be more offensive, than to see a woman stepping out of the natural modesty of her sex, to make an ostentatious display of her literary attainments. This may be true enough; but the answer is so trite and obvious, that we are almost ashamed to make it. All affectation and display proceed from the supposition of possessing something better than the rest of the world possesses. Nobody is vain of possessing two legs and two arms;—because that is the precise quantity of either sort of limb which every body possesses. Who ever heard a lady boast that she understood French?—for no other reason, that we know of, but because every body in these days does understand French; and though there may be some disgrace in being ignorant of that language, there is little or no merit in its acquisition. Diffuse knowledge generally among women, and you will at once cure the conceit which knowledge occasions while it is rare. Vanity and conceit we shall of course witness in men and women as long as the world endures: but, by multiplying the attainments upon which these feelings are founded, you increase the difficulty of indulging them, and render them much more tolerable, by making them the proofs of a much higher merit. When learning ceases to be uncommon among women, learned women will cease to be affected.

A great many of the lesser and more obscure duties of life, necessarily devolve upon the female sex. The arrangement of all household matters, and the care of children in their early infancy, must of course depend upon them. Now, there is a very general notion, that the moment you put the education of women upon a better footing than it is at present, at that moment there will be an end of all domestic economy; and that, if you once



suffer women to eat of the tree of knowledge, the rest of the family will very soon be reduced to the same kind of aerial and unsatisfactory diet. These, and all such opinions, are referable to one great and common cause of error;—that man does every thing, and that nature does nothing; and that every thing we see, is referable to positive institution, rather than to original feeling. Can any thing, for example, be more perfectly absurd than to suppose, that the care and perpetual solicitude which a mother feels for her children, depends upon her ignorance of Greek and Mathematics; and that she would desert an infant for a quadratic equation? We seem to imagine, that we can break in pieces the solemn institution of nature, by the little laws of a boarding-school; and that the existence of the human race depends upon teaching women a little more, or a little less;—that Cimmerian ignorance can aid parental affection, or the circle of arts and sciences produce its destruction. In the same manner, we forget the principles upon which the love of order, arrangement, and all the arts of economy depend. They depend not upon ignorance nor idleness; but upon the poverty, confusion and ruin which would ensue from neglecting them. Add to these principles, the love of what is beautiful and magnificent, and the vanity of display;—and there can surely be no reasonable doubt, but that the order and economy of private life is amply secured from the perilous inroads of knowledge.

We would fain know, too, if knowledge is to produce such baneful effects upon the material and the household virtues, why this influence has not already been felt? Women are much better educated now than they were a century ago; but they are by no means less remarkable for attention to the arrangements of their household, or less inclined to discharge the offices of parental affection. It would be very easy to show, that the same objection has been made at all times to every improvement in the education of both sexes, and all ranks,—and been as uniformly and completely refuted by experience. A great part of the objections made to the education of women, are rather objections made to human nature, than to the female sex: for it is surely true, that knowledge, where it produces any bad effects at all, does as much mischief to one sex as to the other,—and gives birth to fully as much arrogance, inattention to common affairs, and eccentricity among men, as it does among women. But it by no means follows, that you get rid of vanity and self-conceit, because you get rid of learning. Self-complacency can never want an excuse; and the best way to make it more tolerable, and more useful, is to give to it as high, and as dignified an object as possible. But at all events, it is unfair to bring forward against a part of the world an objec-

tion which is equally powerful against the male. When foolish women think they have any distinction, they are apt to be proud of it; so are foolish men. But we appeal to any one who has lived with cultivated persons of either sex, whether he has not witnessed as much pedantry, as much wrong conduct, as much arrogance, and certainly a great deal more rudeness, produced by learning in men, than in women; therefore, we should make the accusation general—or dismiss it altogether; though, with respect to pedantry, the female are certainly a little unfortunate, that so very emphatic a word, which is occasionally applicable to all men embarked eagerly in any pursuit, should be reserved exclusively for them; for, as pedantry is an ostentatious ostension of knowledge, in which those who hear us cannot sympathize, it is a fault of which soldiers, sailors, sportsmen, gamesters, cultivators, and all men engaged in a particular occupation, are quite as guilty as scholars; but they have the good fortune to have the vice only of pedantry,—while scholars have both the vice, and the name for it too.

Some persons are apt to contrast the acquisition of important knowledge with what they call simple pleasures; and deem it more becoming that a woman should educate flowers, make friendships with birds, and pick up plants, than enter into some difficult and fatiguing studies. If a woman has no taste and genius for higher occupations, let her engage in these, to be sure, rather than remain destitute of any pursuit. But why are we necessarily to doom a girl, whatever be her taste or her capacity, to one unvaried line of petty and frivolous occupation? If she is full of strong sense, and elevated curiosity, can there be any reason why she should be diluted and enfeebled down to a mere caller of simples, and fancier of birds?—why books of history and reasoning are to be torn out of her hand, and why she is to be sent, like a butterfly, to hover over the idle flowers of the field? Such amusements are innocent to those whom they can occupy; but they are not innocent to those who have too powerful understandings to be occupied by them. Light broths and frisks are innocent food only to weak or to infant stomachs; but they are poison to that organ in its perfect and mature state. But the great charm appears to be in the word *simplicity*—simple pleasures! If by a simple pleasure is meant an unalloyed pleasure, the observation is best answered by showing, that the pleasure which results from the acquisition of important knowledge is quite as innocent as any pleasure whatever; but if by a simple pleasure is meant one, the cause of which can be easily removed, or which does not last long, or which in itself is very trifling, then simple pleasures seem to be very nearly synonymous with small

pleasures; and if the simplicity were to be a little increased, the pleasure would vanish altogether.

As it is impossible that every man should have industry or activity sufficient to avail himself of the advantages of education, it is natural that men who are ignorant themselves, should view, with some degree of jealousy and alarm, any proposal for improving the education of women. But such men may depend upon it, however the system of female education may be exalted, that there will never be wanting a due proportion of failures; and that after parents, guardians and preceptors have done all in their power to make every body wise, there will still be a plentiful supply of women who have taken special care to remain otherwise; and they may rest assured, if the utter extinction of ignorance and folly is the evil they dread, that their interests will always be effectually protected, in spite of every exertion to the contrary.

We must in candour allow, that those women who begin, will have something more to overcome than may probably hereafter be the case. We cannot deny the jealousy which exists among pompous and foolish men, respecting the education of women. There is a class of pedants, who would be cut short in the estimation of the world a whole cubit, if it were generally known that a young lady of eighteen could be taught to decline the tenses of the middle voice, or acquaint herself with the *Æolic* varieties of that celebrated language. Then women have, of course, all ignorant men for enemies to their instruction, who being bound (as they think), in point of sex, to know more, are not well pleased, in point of fact, to know less. But, among men of sense and liberal politeness, a woman, who has successfully cultivated her mind, without diminishing the gentleness and propriety of her manners, is always sure to meet with a respect and attention bordering upon enthusiasm.

There is in either sex a strong and permanent disposition to appear agreeable to the other: and this is the fair answer to those who are fond of supposing, that an higher degree of knowledge would make women rather the rivals than the companions of men. Presupposing such a desire to please, it seems much more probable, that a common pursuit should be a fresh source of interest, than a cause of contention. Indeed, to suppose that any mode of education can create a general jealousy and rivalry between the sexes, is so very ridiculous, that it requires only to be stated in order to be refuted. The same desire of pleasing, secures all that delicacy and reserve which are of such inestimable value to women. We are quite astonished, in hearing men converse on such subjects, to find them attributing such beautiful effects to ignorance. It would appear, from the tenor of such objections, that

that ignorance had been the great civilizer of the world. Women are delicate and refined, only because they are ignorant;—they manage their household, only because they are ignorant;—they attend to their children, only because they know no better. Now, we must really confess, we have all our lives been so ignorant as not to know the value of ignorance. We have always attributed the modesty and the refined manners of women, to their being well taught in moral and religious duty,—to the hazardous situation in which they are placed,—to that perpetual vigilance which it is their duty to exercise over thought, word, and action,—and to that cultivation of the mild virtues, which those who cultivate the stern and magnanimous virtues expect at their hands. After all, let it be remembered, we are not saying there are no objections to the diffusion of knowledge among the female sex. We would not hazard such a proposition respecting any thing; but we are saying, that, upon the whole, it is the best method of employing time; and that there are fewer objections to it, than to any other method. There are, perhaps, 50,000 females in Great Britain, who are exempted by circumstances from all necessary labour: but every human being must do something with their existence; and the pursuit of knowledge is, upon the whole, the most innocent, the most dignified, and the most useful method of filling up that idleness, of which there is always so large a portion in nations far advanced in civilization. Let any man reflect, too, upon the solitary situation in which women are placed;—the ill treatment to which they are sometimes exposed, and which they must endure in silence, and without the power of complaining,—and he must feel convinced that the happiness of a woman will be materially increased, in proportion as education has given to her the habit and the means of drawing her resources from herself.

There are a few common phrases in circulation, respecting the duties of women, to which we wish to pay some degree of attention, because they are rather inimical to those opinions which we have advanced on this subject. Indeed, independently of this, there is nothing which requires more vigilance than the current phrases of the day, of which there are always some resorted to in every dispute, and from the sovereign authority of which it is often vain to make any appeal. 'The true theatre for a woman is the sick chamber;'—'Nothing so honourable to a woman as not to be spoken of at all.' These two phrases, the delight of *Noddledom*, are grown into common places upon the subject; and are not infrequently employed to extinguish that love of knowledge in women, which, in our humble opinion, it is of so much importance to cherish. Nothing, certainly, is so ornamental and

delightful in women as the benevolent virtues; but time cannot be filled up, and life employed, with high and impassioned virtues. Some of these feelings are of rare occurrence—all of short duration—or nature would sink under them. A scene of distress and anguish is an occasion where the finest qualities of the female mind may be displayed; but it is a monstrous exaggeration to tell women that they are born only for scenes of distress and anguish. Nurse, father, mother, sister and brother, if they want it;—it would be a violation of the plainest duties to neglect them. But, when we are talking of the common occupations of life, do not let us mistake the accidents for the occupations;—when we are arguing how the twenty-three hours of the day are to be filled up, it is idle to tell us of those feelings and agitations above the level of common existence, which may employ the remaining hour. Compassion, and every other virtue, are the great objects we all ought to have in view; but no man (and no woman) can fill up the twenty-four hours by acts of virtue. But one is a lawyer, and the other a ploughman, and the third a merchant; and then, acts of goodness, and intervals of compassion and fine feeling, are scattered up and down the common occupations of life. We know women are to be compassionate; but they cannot be compassionate from eight o'clock in the morning till twelve at night;—and what are they to do in the interval? This is the only question we have been putting all along, and is all that can be meant by literary education.

Then, again, as to the notoriety which is incurred by literature.—The cultivation of knowledge is a very distinct thing from its publication; nor does it follow that a woman is to become an author, merely because she has talent enough for it. We do not wish a lady to write books,—to defend and reply,—to squabble about the tomb of Achilles, or the plain of Troy,—any more than we wish her to dance at the opera, to play at a public concert, or to put pictures in the exhibition, because she has learned music, dancing and drawing. The great use of her knowledge will be, that it contributes to her private happiness. She may make it public; but it is not the principal object which the friends of female education have in view. Among men, the few who write bear no comparison to the many who read. We hear most of the former, indeed, because they are, in general, the most ostentatious part of literary men; but there are innumerable men, who, without ever laying themselves before the public, have made use of literature to add to the strength of their understandings, and to improve the happiness of their lives. After all, it may be an evil for ladies to be talked of: But we really think those ladies who are talked of, only as Miss Edgeworth, Mrs Barbauld, and Mrs Hamilton

Hamilton are talked of, may bear their misfortunes with a very great degree of Christian patience; and such singular examples of ill fortune, may perhaps render the school of adversity a little more popular than it is at present.

Their exemption from all the necessary business of life, is one of the most powerful motives for the improvement of education in women. Lawyers and physicians have in their professions a constant motive to exertion; if you neglect their education, they must in a certain degree educate themselves by their commerce with the world: they must learn caution, accuracy, and judgment, because they must incur responsibility. But if you neglect to educate the mind of a woman, by the speculative difficulties which occur in literature, it can never be educated at all: if you do not effectually rouse it by education, it must remain for ever languid. Uneducated men may escape intellectual degradation; uneducated women cannot. They have nothing to do; and if they come untaught from the schools of education, they will never be instructed in the school of events.

Women have not their livelihood to gain by knowledge; and that is one motive for relaxing all those efforts which are made in the education of men. They certainly have not; but they have happiness to gain, to which knowledge leads as probably as it does to profit; and that is a reason against mistaken indulgence. Besides, we conceive the labour and fatigue of accomplishment, to be quite equal to the labour and fatigue of knowledge; and that it takes quite as many years to be charming, as it does to be learned.

Another difference of the sexes is, that women are attended to, and men attend. All acts of courtesy and politeness originate from the one sex, and are received by the other. We can see no sort of reason, from this diversity of condition, for giving to women a trifling and insignificant education; but we see in it a very powerful reason for strengthening their judgment, and inspiring them with the habit of employing time usefully. We admit many striking differences in the situation of the two sexes, and many striking differences of understanding, proceeding from the different circumstances in which they are placed: but there is not a single difference of this kind which does not afford a new argument for making the education of women better than it is. They have nothing serious to do;—is that a reason why they should be brought up to do nothing but what is trifling? They are exposed to greater dangers;—is that a reason why their faculties are to be purposely and industriously weakened? They are to form the characters of future men;—is that a cause why their own characters are to be broken and frittered down as they now are? In short,

there is not a single trait in that diversity of circumstances, in which the two sexes are placed, that does not decidedly prove the magnitude of the error we commit in neglecting (as we do neglect) the education of women.

If the objections against the better education of women could be overruled, one of the great advantages that would ensue, would be the extinction of innumerable follies. A decided and prevailing taste for one or another mode of education there must be. A century past, it was for housewifery,—now it is for accomplishments. The object now is, to make women artists,—to give them an excellence in drawing, music, painting and dancing,—of which, persons who make these pursuits the occupation of their lives, and derive from them their subsistence, need not be ashamed. Now, one great evil of all this is, that it does not last. If the whole of life, as somebody says, were an olympic game,—if we could go on feasting and dancing to the end,—this might do; but this is merely a provision for the little interval between coming into life, and settling in it; while it leaves a long and dreary expanse behind, devoid both of dignity and cheerfulness. No mother, no woman who has passed over the few first years of life, sings, or dances, or draws, or plays upon musical instruments. These are merely means for displaying the grace and vivacity of youth, which every woman gives up, as she gives up the dress and the manners of eighteen: she has no wish to retain them; or, if she has, she is driven out of them by diameter and diversion. The system of female education, as it now stands, aims only at embellishing a few years of life, which are in themselves so full of grace and happiness, that they hardly want it; and then leaves the rest of existence a miserable prey to idle insignificance. No woman of understanding and reflection can possibly conceive she is doing justice to her children by such kind of education. The object is, to give to children recourses that will endure, as long as life endures,—habits that time will ameliorate, not destroy,—occupations that will render sickness tolerable, solitude pleasant, age venerable, life more dignified and useful, and therefore death less terrible; and the compensation which is offered for the loss of all this, is a short-lived blaze,—a little temporary affect, which has no other consequence than to deprive the remainder of life of all taste and relish. There may be women who have a taste for the fine arts, and who evince a decided talent for drawing, or for music. In that case, there can be no objection to their cultivation; but the error is, to make these things the grand and universal object,—to insist upon it that every woman is to sing, and draw, and dance—with nature, or against nature,—to bind her apprentices to some accomplishment, and, if

she cannot succeed in oil or water-colours, to prefer gilding, varnishing, burnishing, box-making, or shoe-making, to real and solid improvement in taste, knowledge, and understanding.

A great deal is said in favour of the social nature of the fine arts. Music gives pleasure to others. Drawing is an art, the amusement of which does not centre in him who exercises it, but is diffused among the rest of the world. This is true; but there is nothing, after all, so social as a cultivated mind. We do not mean to speak slightly of the fine arts, or to depreciate the good humour with which they are sometimes exhibited; but we appeal to any man, whether a little spirited and sensible conversation—displaying, modestly, useful acquirements—and evincing rational curiosity, is not well worth the highest exertions of musical or graphical skill. A woman of accomplishments may entertain those who have the pleasure of knowing her for half an hour with great brilliancy; but a mind full of ideas, and with that elastic spring which the love of knowledge only can convey, is a perpetual source of exhilaration and amusement to all that come within its reach;—not collecting its force into single and insulated achievements, like the efforts made in the fine arts—but diffusing, equally over the whole of existence, a calm pleasure—better loved as it is longer felt—and suitable to every variety and every period of life. Therefore, instead of hanging the understanding of a woman upon walls, or hearing it vibrate upon strings,—instead of seeing it in clouds, or hearing it in the wind,—we would make it the first spring and ornament of society, by enriching it with attainments upon which alone such power depends.

If the education of women were improved, the education of men would be improved also. Let any one consider (in order to bring the matter more home by an individual instance) of what immense importance to society it is, whether a nobleman of first-rate fortune and distinction is well or ill brought up;—what a taste and fashion he may inspire for private and for political vice;—and what misery and mischief he may produce to the thousand human beings who are dependent on him! A country contains no such curse within its bosom. Youth, wealth, high rank and vice, form a combination which baffles all remonstrance and invective, and beats down all opposition before it. A man of high rank who combines these qualifications for corruption, is almost the master of the manners of the age, and has the public happiness within his grasp. But the most beautiful possession which a country can have, is a noble and a rich man, who loves virtue and knowledge;—who, without being feeble or fanatical, is pious—and who, without being factious, is firm and independent;—who, in his political



litical life, is an equitable mediator between king and people; and, in his civil life, a firm promoter of all which can shed a lustre upon his country, or promote the peace and order of the world. But if these objects are of the importance which we attribute to them, the education of women must be important, as the formation of character for the first seven or eight years of life seems to depend almost entirely upon them. It is certainly in the power of a sensible and well educated mother to inspire, within that period, such tastes and propensities as shall nearly decide the destiny of the future man; and this is done, not only by the intentional exertions of the mother, but by the gradual and sensible imitation of the child; for there is something extremely contagious in greatness and acuteness of thinking, even at that age, and the character of the mother with whom he passes his early infancy, is always an event of the utmost importance to the child. A merely accomplished woman cannot infuse her tastes into the minds of her sons; and, if she could, nothing could be more unfortunate to her success. Beside, when her accomplishments are given up, she has nothing left for it but to amuse herself in the best way she can; and, becoming entirely frivolous, either declines the fatigue of attending to her children, or, attending to them, has neither talent nor knowledge to succeed: and, therefore, here is a plain and fair answer to those who ask so triumphantly, Why should a woman dedicate herself to this branch of knowledge? or why should she be attached to such science?—because, by having gained information on these points, she may inspire her son with valuable tastes, which may abide by him through life, and carry him up to all the sublimities of knowledge;—because she cannot lay the foundation of a great character, if she is absorbed in frivolous amusements, nor inspire her child with noble desires, when a long course of trifling has destroyed the little talents which were left by a bad education.

It is of great importance to a country, that there should be as many understandings as possible actively employed within it. Mankind are much happier for the discovery of barometers, thermometers, steam-engines, and all the innumerable inventions in the arts and sciences. We are every day and every hour reaping the benefit of such talent and ingenuity. The same observation is true of such works as those of Dryden, Pope, Milton and Shakspeare. Mankind are much happier that such individuals have lived and written;—they add every day to the stock of public enjoyment—and perpetually gladden and embellish life. Now, the number of those who exercise their understandings to any good purpose, is exactly in proportion to those who exercise it at all; but, as the matter stands at present, half the talent in the universe

universe runs to waste, and is totally unprofitable. It would have been almost as well for the world, hitherto, that women, instead of possessing the capacities they do at present, should have been born wholly destitute of wit, genius, and every other attribute of mind of which men make so eminent an use: and the ideas of use and possession are so united together, that, because it has been the custom in almost all countries to give to women a different and a worse education than to men, the notion has obtained that they do not possess faculties which they do not cultivate. Just as, in breaking up a common, it is sometimes very difficult to make the poor believe it will carry corn, merely because they have been hitherto accustomed to see it produce nothing but weeds and grass—they very naturally mistake its present condition for its general nature. So completely have the talents of women been kept down, that there is scarcely a single work, either of reason or imagination, written by a woman, which is in general circulation, either in the English, French, or Italian literature;—scarcely one that has crept even into the ranks of our minor poets.

If the possession of excellent talents is not a conclusive reason why they should be improved, it at least amounts to a very strong presumption; and, if it can be shown that women may be trained to reason and imagine as well as men, the strongest reasons are certainly necessary to show us why we should not avail ourselves of such rich gifts of nature; and we have a right to call for a clear statement of those perils which make it necessary that such talents should be totally extinguished, or, at most, very partially drawn out. The burthen of proof does not lye with those who say, Increase the quantity of talent in any country as much as possible—for such a proposition is in conformity with every man's feelings: but it lyes with those who say, Take care to keep that understanding weak and trifling, which nature has made capable of becoming strong and powerful. The paradox is with them, not with us. In all human reasoning, knowledge must be taken for a good, till it can be shown to be an evil. But now, Nature makes to us rich and magnificent presents; and we say to her—You are too luxuriant and munificent—we must keep you under, and prune you;—we have talents enough in the other half of the creation;—and, if you will not stupify and enfeeble the mind of women to our hands, we ourselves must expose them to a narcotic process, and educate away that fatal redundancy with which the world is afflicted, and the order of sublunary things deranged.

One of the greatest pleasures of life is conversation;—and the pleasures of conversation are of course enhanced by every increase of knowledge: not that we should meet together to talk of alkalis and



sure he derives from them. We really can see no reason why it should not be otherwise; nor comprehend how the pleasures of domestic life can be promoted by diminishing the number of subjects in which persons who are to spend their lives together take a common interest.

One of the most agreeable consequences of knowledge, is the respect and importance which it communicates to old age. Men rise in character often as they increase in years;—they are venerable from what they have acquired, and pleasing from what they can impart. If they outlive their faculties, the mere frame itself is respected for what it once contained; but women (such is their unfortunate style of education) hazard every thing upon one cast of the die;—when youth is gone, all is gone. No human creature gives his admiration for nothing: either the eye must be charmed, or the understanding gratified. A woman must talk wisely, or look well. Every human being must put up with the coldest civility, who has neither the charms of youth nor the wisdom of age. Neither is there the slightest commiseration for decayed accomplishments:—no man mourns over the fragments of a dancer, or drops a tear on the relics of musical skill. They are flowers destined to perish; but the decay of great talents is always the subject of solemn pity; and, even when their last memorial is over, their ruins and vestiges are regarded with pious affection.

There is no connexion between the ignorance in which women are kept, and the preservation of moral and religious principle; and yet certainly there is, in the minds of some timid and respectable persons, a vague, indefinite dread of knowledge, as if it were capable of producing these effects. It might almost be supposed, from the dread which the propagation of knowledge has excited, that there was some great secret which was to be kept in impenetrable obscurity,—that all moral rules were a species of delusion and imposture, the detection of which, by the improvement of the understanding, would be attended with the most fatal consequences to all, and particularly to women. If we could possibly understand what these great secrets were, we might perhaps be disposed to concur in their preservation; but, believing that all the salutary rules which are imposed on women are the result of true wisdom, and productive of the greatest happiness, we cannot understand how they are to become less sensible of this truth in proportion as their power of discovering truth in general is increased, and the habit of viewing questions with accuracy and comprehension established by education. There are men, indeed, who are always declaiming against every species of power, because it is connected with danger: their dread of abuses is so much stronger than their admiration of uses, that they

they would cheerfully give up the use of fire, gunpowder, and printing, to be freed from robbers, incendiaries and libels. It is true, that every increase of knowledge may possibly render depravity more depraved, as well as it may increase the strength of virtue: It is in itself only power; and its value depends on its application. But, trust to the natural love of good where there is no temptation to be bad—it operates no where more forcibly than in education. No man, whether he be tutor, guardian, or friend, ever contents himself with infusing the mere ability to acquire; but, giving the power, he gives with it a taste for the wise and rational exercise of that power; so that an educated person is not only one with stronger and better faculties than others, but with a more useful propensity—a disposition better cultivated—and associations of a higher and more important class.

In short, and to recapitulate the main points upon which we have insisted.—Why the disproportion in knowledge between the two sexes should be so great, when the inequality in natural talents is so small; or why the understanding of women should be lavished upon trifles, when nature has made it capable of higher and better things, we profess ourselves not able to understand. The affectation charged upon female knowledge is best cured by making that knowledge more general: and the economy devolved upon women is best secured by the ruin, disgrace, and inconvenience which proceeds from neglecting it. For the care of children, nature has made a direct and powerful provision, and the gentleness and elegance of women is the natural consequence of that desire to please, which is productive of the greatest part of civilization and refinement, and which rests upon a foundation too deep to be shaken by any such modifications in education as we have proposed. If you educate women to attend to dignified and important subjects, you are multiplying, beyond measure, the chances of human improvement, by preparing and mediating those early impressions, which always come from the mother; and which, in a great majority of instances, are quite decisive of character and genius. Nor is it only in the business of education that women would influence the destiny of men;—if women knew more, men must learn more—for ignorance would then be shameful—and it would become the fashion to be instructed. The instruction of women improves the stock of national talents, and employs more minds for the instruction and amusement of the world;—it increases the pleasures of society, by multiplying the topics upon which the two sexes take a common interest;—and makes marriage an intercourse of understanding as well as of affection, by giving dignity and importance to the female character. The education of women favours public morals; it provides for every

every season of life, as well as for the brightest and the best; and leaves a woman when she is stricken by the hand of time, not as she now is, destitute of every thing, and neglected by all; but with the full power and the splendid attractions of knowledge,—diffusing the elegant pleasures of polite literature, and receiving the just homage of learned and accomplished men.

ART. IV. *Æschyli Tragediæ, ex Editione Thomæ Stanleii. Accedunt notæ VV. DD. quibus suis intertextat Samuel Butler, A. M. Cantabrigiæ, Typis ac Sumtibus Academicis. Tom. I. 4to. Tom. I. & II. 8vo. 1809.*

WE expected, in our last Number, to have completed the examination of the first volume of this important publication; but, having been unfortunately prevented by the pressure of time, we now proceed to the consideration of the fragments of the lost dramas on the subject of Prometheus, which are printed from Stanley, with his version and commentary, and the notes of other critics, forming an appendix to the first volume.

These dramas are usually distinguished by the titles of *Προμηθεύς*, *Προμηθεύς & Προμηθεύς Λυσίμενος*; but, from a passage in Pollux ix. 8, wherein he cites the *Προμηθεύς Προκαίης*, Meursius and Hemsterhuis conclude that this was a distinct play from the *Π. Προμηθεύς*; which is very improbable; for the title is nowhere else quoted; and Pollux might easily call it *Προκαίης*, whilst classing it with the *Ναύπλιος Προκαίης* of Sophocles. Mr Butler, therefore, judiciously follows Caüter and Stanley in thinking that there were only three plays on the subject of Prometheus. We have before mentioned our disapprobation of his notion, that these three, with the Supplices, formed a Tetralogia Promethea; but, in doing so, we inadvertently committed a mistake. The author of the argument to the *Persæ*, states, that Æschylus gained the prize in the archonship of Menon by the following tetralogy, the *Persæ*, *Glaucus Pontiensis*, *Phineus* and *Prometheus*; 'that is,' we said, 'either the Prometheus Vincitus or Solutus; for the Prometheus Ignifer seems to have been a satyric drama, as was the Glaucus Pontiensis.' We should have said, the Glaucus Pontius or Marinus; for the other was a tragedy: the Phineus was probably the satyric drama of the tetralogy. Mr Butler, in a note, p. 215. 8vo, has no doubt but that the Prometheus of Epicarmus was a satyric drama. Now, we believe that the comic writers never composed satyric dramas; which were invented by Pratinas, a tragic writer, contemporary with Æschylus, and seem to have been appropriated

appropriated to the buskin. Herman has discussed the question in his *Epistola de Dramate Comico-Satyrico*, but scarcely at sufficient length. We proceed now to offer some observations on the Fragments, in the order which Mr Butler has adopted. The account which he has given of some of them, is not so complete as it might have been : we will endeavour to supply the deficiency, taking for the basis of our remarks the text printed by Stanley.

FRAG. I. PROM. IGNIFER. I. A. Gell. N. A. xiii. 18. *Id. quoque animadvertimus, apud Æschylum in Πυρφόρῃ Προμηθεῖ, et Euripidem in τῷ αὐτῷ esse versum absque paucis syllabis. Σιγῶν δ' ἔπου δέ, καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια. Euripides autem sic, Σιγῶν δ' ἔπου δέ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.* Which, as Gronovius remarks, more nearly resembles the 580th verse of the Choeph., than that quoted by A. Gellius, to the similar lines adduced by Gronovius and Pauw ; Valcknaer, *Diatrib.* p. 175, adds Eamen. 277.

FRAG. II. Pollux x. 17, *λίναδες καὶ πίσσα καὶ ὀρελίνου μακροὶ τόναι.* The edition of Aldus omits the second καὶ, and has ὀρελίνου. Salmasius and Stanley, *λίναδες, πίσσα, καὶ ὀρελίνου μακροὶ τόναι.* Pauw, *λίνα δὲ, πίσσα, κῆρολίνου μακροὶ τόναι.* both evidently futile corrections. Bentley, *Epist. ad Hemsterhus.* p. 96. *Λινὰ δὲ γῆσσα κῆρολίνου μακροὶ τόναι.* *Lineæ fimbriæ et crudi lini teniæ.* — ‘Sed,’ he adds, ‘cum editio Aldina habeat *λίναδες πίσσα, et* Codd. MSS. *λίνα δὲ πίσσα,* merito illud sigma haud temerè irrepsisse videatur. Verius igitur, credo, reponas *λινὰ δὲ σπύρα, κῆρολίνου μακροὶ τόναι;* which is a most singular mistake ; for, how can we believe Bentley not to have observed, that, by this correction, he introduced a spondee into the second foot? γῆσσα is far more probable, though this sense of it occurs but seldom : indeed, we do not now remember any instance, except that of Aristophanes quoted by Hesychius.

FRAG. III. in Plut. p. 150. H. St. Eustath. p. 415. Ed. Rom. The introductory words of Plutarch prove that this was a satyric drama ; of which, indeed, the fragments themselves contain internal evidence. • PROM. SOL. FRAGM. I. apud Strab. iv. p. 183. Dionys. Halic. i. Mr Butler has given these references ; but he does not mention that in Dionysius is εἰς οἶδα for σὰφ' οἶδα. μέμνη for μέμνη, and εὐχὴ πρὸς δὲ for θεοὺς πρὸς, as H. Stephens had corrected the words in Strabo. Secondly, he gives Salmasius the credit of οὐ βάλλει θῆρας for συμβάλλει θῆρας, which is the correction, and an excellent one it is, of Paulus Leopardus, Em. v. 17. ; nor does he notice that Leopardus, Salmasius and Heade, all leave a spondee in the fourth foot of the seventh verse. *υφὲρ δ' ὀπισθῶν, υφῶδ' ὀπισθῶν πρὸς.* We have heard γογγύλλει conjectured ; but we think it a comic word.

FRAG. IV. The arrangement suggested by Mr Butler had been previously made by Toup. in Suid. I. p. 94.

FRAG. V. apud Galen. de Morb. Epid. p. 451. *εὐταργίας* is Bentley's correction, Epist. ad Mill. p. 50, and not Pauw's. — Ruhnkén, Ep. Crit. p. 65, for *ἡ εὐταργίας* quotes *εὐ δ' εὐταργίας*, which we do not approve.

FRAG. VII. Steph. Byz. in v. *Ἀβίος*; for *ἔξ*, Stanley, Pauw, and Mr Butler, read *ἔξ*; but the true reading is *ἔξ*. See Prom v. 723. Orph. Argon. 641. *ἔξ ἡμέτερο νόος*, Ruhnkén, from the MSS. *ἔξ ἡμέτερο*. *ἐκ δ' ὧν πάντων* is the conjecture of Hartungus. Loc. Memorab. I. 4. Valcknaer in Adoniam p. 217, conjectures *ἐκ δ' ὧν πάντων*, which we conceive not to be Greek. (*ὀργάνων* and *γάρων* for *γάρων*, Stanley copied from Grotius, Exc. p. 43.) Valcknaer thinks also, that Stephanus was 'deceived' by a faulty manuscript in quoting *Γαβίους* from Æschylus; and we perfectly agree with him in his opinion. Toup. in Suid. III. 403, thinks that it should be written *ΓΑβίους*, with the digamma, which we imagine to be totally out of the question.

We shall now consider that most deplorably corrupt Play, the *Suppliants*, which we never peruse, without regretting deeply the loss of that invaluable Codex Manuscriptus, which the reverend Mr Adams is recorded to have thrown upon the fire in the transports of his joy. Had this valuable 'charitaceous copy' been preserved, together with the marginal annotations of the learned possessor, the bulky labours of nine or ten commentators might probably have been spared.

V. 4. Mr Butler has not remarked that Porson retains the old reading *ὑπερβαλόν*, without the article: *τῶν* does not appear to us to be indispensable, though it improves the verse. V. 39. *πατρὸς δελφίαν*. We agree with Mr Butler in adopting the correction of Pauw, *πατρὸς δελφίαν*; though the alteration is not absolutely necessary; for the similar instances of *αἰκία*, *ὑπεροπλία*, *καταδία*, *μορία*, *αἰδρία*, *κονία*, *ἐρμία*, *καλία*, *προδρία*, and several others, may be urged in defence of the quantity of its penultima. Great confusion exists amongst the nouns terminating in *ua* and *ia*, from the different modes of writing the diphthong *Ei* in different ages. V. 44. Herman, in his edition of the Orphica, p. 314, has given *ἀνθορμαύτας*, as a correction of his own, for *ἀνθορμούτας*; when, in fact, Porson has printed *αυθορμουστας*, which was probably suggested to him by the reading of Robertellus. V. 84. *ὑβρίν δ' ἰσχυρὰς στυγερὰς Πέλοϊς ἀνδρῶν γάμοις* — a syllable is wanting after *στυγερὰς*; — we would supply *εὐ*, and construe it thus — 'If ye indeed hate insolent violence, ye cannot be with justice concerned in this marriage.'

An excellent conjecture of Bothe's, in v. 101, is unnoticed: he reads *ἀντιπῶν* for *δ' ἀπιδόν*. So seldom does that unfortunate editor blunder.



blunder upon the truth, that it is but fair to give him credit when he really deserves it:—he has need enough of it. There is a dismally tedious note on v. 130, in which a conjecture or two is set forth in the form of a query. 'Nec tamen placet,' says Mr Butler;—which observation, with regard to ourselves, is strictly true. Schutz is certainly right in taking *δεξις* with *ἀντιπαιστήριον*, notwithstanding that the learned editor, on this occasion, 'desiderates Mr Schutz's wonted elegance.' But where, in the name of fortune, did Mr Butler learn to talk of the *elegance* of this commentator, which is a topic he insists on in frequent laudatory remarks? May we not expect to hear of the *elegant* Le Clerk, the *elegant* Pauw, the *elegant* Bothe? What possible claim an editor can have to this epithet, who possesses neither learning, taste, nor literary honesty, we are at a loss to conceive.

Mr Butler renders *ἄλλα στίχων ὄρεσι*, 'mare arcens a ligno;' which is so evidently false, that it would be superfluous to prove it so. V. 184. *ἵκεται* Porsonus; 'quod quis non prætulerit?'—but why is not the reason assigned, viz. that *ἵκει* is never used by the Attic poets in the active voice? V. 212. *οἷος φρονέοντας ἐνέπαισις*. *φρονέονται*, Med. Ask. D. Guelph. Which of these readings Mr Butler prefers, he has given us no clue to conjecture. Is it not strange that he should have omitted to remark, that the metre requires, and the well-known canon of Dawes confirms, the reading of these three MSS.?—which, if it be admitted, establishes *ἐνέπαισις* in the succeeding verse. V. 222. is cited by Plutarch, p. 1077. For *ὦν*, in v. 228, we think *ὦ* should be read. V. 261. *τῶνδε τὰπὶ τὰς κρατῶ*. We conceive the true reading to be *τῶνδε τὰπῖτα κρατῶ*, as before *τὰπῖτα*. *τῶνδε τὰπῖτα τὰς*, Guelph. *τῶνδε τὰπῖτα δὲ* Ald. *κρατῶ* governs an accusative case, v. 262. V. 274. *μῆτι καὶ δόξει*. *μῆτιται* Ald. Med. Ald. Rob. If we mistake not, Porson's correction was *μῆτι δόξει*. His emendation of vv. 321. 326. is admirable. For *ἄφθονοι*, in the latter of these verses, we should probably read *ἀφθονοί*, *ἀφθονοί* Med. Ald. *ἀφθονοί* Ask. D. Rob. V. 355. *ἀμείψαντο*. Mr Butler's conjecture *ἀ μείψαντο*, appears to us very probable.

The strophe and antistrophe, which Mr Butler has arranged at v. 369, are capable of a much more rhythmical division; but we shall forbear to suggest it, as our hints will probably have been superseded by the appearance of Dr Burney's work on the choric metres of *Aeschylus*, before these remarks can issue from the press. V. 514. *ἰφάνταρ ἰός*. Porson *ἰφάνταρ*, which Herman proposes as his own correction. Orphic. p. 314. The commentators make strange work of v. 568; and Mr Butler hallucinates with the rest—*ὡς τὸ ἐνὶ ποταμῷ Τυφῶ πέλας*: *Ἰδὼν τὸ Νεῖλου ποταμὸν ἄβυστον*. 'Pulcherrime,' says Mr B. 'interpret Gallicus—*Où se repand, amenée par Typhon, l'eau du Nil.*' This may be beautiful, and it is new; but

but it is not true: and, till the French translator, or the English editor, shall explain to us the construction and the meaning, which they have adopted, we shall continue to think that *Νέεσσι* is the antecedent to *δ*.

V. 744. Wessejng. ad Herod. IV. p. 347. reads *μήχης* for the common reading *μήκεις*; but, we think, without reason.

V. 788. We think that the two first verses of the strophe should be read thus.

## STROPHE.

γὰρ βῶνις ἴνδικον σέβας,  
τί πισύμεσθα; ποῖ φύγαμεν Ἀπία; . . .

## ANTISTROPHE.

ἀφικτον· οὐκ ἔτ' ἐν πύλοι.  
μελαινοχρως δὲ πάλλεται μοῦ παρδίᾳ.

V. 814. *τῆμα*, for *ὑῖμα*, is undoubtedly the true reading. But the passage from *Ælian*, adduced by *Abresch*, is nothing to the purpose. We are surprised that Mr Butler should not have illustrated the phrase, or at least have referred us to Stanley's note on the *Agamemnon*, v. 17. & *Ruhnkens*, *Hymn. Cerer.* 229.

V. 815. and the 16 following lines, may, we think, be reduced under the form of Strophe and Antistrophe. We will give them as we would propose that they should be read; and we request the reader to compare them with the common text.

## STROPHE.

Ἴυξ δ' ὁμῶς οὐρανίαν,\*  
θεοῖσι μέλη λίτανα, καί  
τέλειά γ' ἔμοι πολέμευα πῶς  
λυσίβαχ' ἐπιδῆ, πάτερ, †  
βίαν οὐ φίλῃς ὀρώ  
ῥομασιν ἴνδικοι.  
εἰβίζου δ' ἐκείτας σέθεν,  
γαίουχ' παγκρατὶς Ζεῦ.

## ANTISTROPHE.

γίνος γὰρ Αἰγύπτιον ὕβρι  
δύσφορον ἀρσενολογίης;  
μετὰ μὲ δρόμοισι διαμένοι,  
φυγὰδα μάταις πολυθρόοις  
βία διζήνται λαβείν.  
οὐκ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι ζυγῶ  
ταλάντων. τί δ' ἄντι σέθεν  
θατοῖς τέλειον ἔστιν;

We scarcely know what to say of v. 855. &c., except that the conjectures of Mr Butler and his learned friend are equally inadmissible, since *μῆμα* requires a genitive case.

\* *ουρανίαν*, Ald. Tum.

† Edd. *λίσημα μήχρη δ' ἐπιδῆ*.

V. 879. ἰσὺς καὶ λακάς. Mr Butler first conjectures λακίς; and then, in the Second Commentary, renders λακάς *vestem abscondit*: fortifying himself behind his friends the lexicographers, who, as usual, fail him in the time of need. We will give the learned editor a specimen of the caution which should be used, in citing the authority of these auxiliaries. The following gloss is given from Hesychius. λακίζω· βαπτίζω, ῥηγνύω, ῥίπτω; in which, we suppose, Mr Butler sees no need of correction. But it is evident, that two glosses are confounded; and we read, at our peril, λακάζω· βαπτίζω· ῥηγνύω· ῥίπτω. Scholiast. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 63. λακάζω· ἑσπανά. A similar confusion exists in the gloss of Hesychius on λασιάζω, where also should be read λακάζω.

V. 886. ὁ ἔρατος· ὁ μέγας Νῦλος. ‘Mira est,’ says Mr Butler, ‘emendatio Scaligeri.’ ὁ ἔρας ἦν ὁ μέγας· Νῦλος. Where this emendation comes from, we know not; but if Valcknaer may be believed, Diatrib. p. 53., Scaliger’s conjecture was ὁ ἔρας γῆς.

V. 899. With regard to βῶ, μᾶ, and πᾶ, about which interjections Mr Butler seems to be in doubt, all that we could tell him about them has been anticipated by Valcknaer, in Adoniaz. Theocr. p. 382., to whom we refer him. Three unhappy conjectures are started at v. 917. The true reading is to be restored partly from Schutz, and partly from a MS. note of Porson. “ἐπὶ οὐκ ἀκούει· ἔξω τῶν ἡμῶν λόγων. Vid. Eurip. Orest. 1544. Soph. El. 30.” Thucyd. II. 11. τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ΟΞΕΩΣ διχόμενοι. II. 89. τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ΟΞΕΩΣ διχρεοῖ. II. p. 256. ὡς ἔφατ’ ΟΞΥ Δ’ ΑΚΟΥΕΝ ὀδῆος ταχύς Αἴας.

V. 957. ἰσθὶ τὰδ, ἡδὲ πόλεμον αἰρεῖται νῆον; which Porson corrected in the following admirable manner—

ἡ στήν τὰδ, ἡ δὲ πόλεμον αἰρεῖται νῆον;

V. 994. δορὶ ἀνείρεται θανάον, is thus restored by the same great critic—δορυκαπὶ μέγα θανάον. And here we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise, that none of these emendations which the late Professor communicated to his friends, should have reached Mr Butler’s ears; for we cannot help thinking, that he might have come to the knowledge of them without much trouble. Such is the veneration which we feel for the name of Porson, that we think it a duty incumbent on every English scholar, who is preparing an edition of a Greek author, to inquire diligently what has been said by that incomparable scholar on the subject, and to record his opinions, with deference and fidelity. The arrangement of a chorus by Dr Burney, which is given at v. 1019. from the Monthly Review, Jan. 1795, is a sufficient proof of the metrical skill of that eminent scholar. But the conjecture of Bothe, θάλαττει, for θάλαττει, v. 1048. appears to us quite indisputable,

able, inasmuch as it improves the rhythm and the sense, and is confirmed by v. 1063. *οὐ δὲ βέλγας αἰ' ἔβαλλον*. On the metrical notes of Mr Butler it is difficult to decide: we do not believe that the metres of Æschylus can ever be defined with certainty, except in a few instances.

In the philological commentary on v. 97, Mr Butler alludes to a passage in Pausanias. If he intends to publish the Fragments, this passage will enable him to refer to the Glaucus Pontius, a verse which Stanley has inserted in the *Fragmenta Incerta*. *δαῦλος δ' ἐπὶ καὶ γαστήρος πύθμην*—Eustath. in II. B. p. 274. Etym. M. v. *Δαῦλος*, Pausan. p. 253. Ald., which was overlooked by Paulus Leopardus. Em. XI. 24.

Mr Müller's remarks on the first part of the Supplices are unusually facetious. We were somewhat startled at his expression, '*Curiosam Apidis historiam*'—*the curious history of Apis*. This we conceive to be curious Latin, at all events. He makes some amends, however, at v. 809, by quoting a passage from Seneca, which singularly resembles some well known lines of Shakespeare. '*Sculpello aperitur ad illam magnam libertatem via, et puncto securitas constat.*' Ep. LXX. The resemblance is remarked by Mr Butler.

In v. 559. Stanley seems to imagine, that *Λύδια γύαλα* are the plains of Lydia; and adds, '*Planam fuisse Lydiam innuit adagium, Λυδὸν εἰς πῆδιον προκαλῶν.*' In the first place, *γύαλον* always signifies 'a hollow;' and, in the proverb adduced, *Λυδὸν* is 'a Lydian;' and the meaning of it is, 'to challenge a Lydian (i. e. a coward) to the fight.' Plato and Menander apud Schol. Plat. p. 29. *ἰσπῆις προκαθίσθαι εἰς πῆδιον*—'to catch a Tartar;' which is exactly an opposite adage.

Of the heap of useless annotations which have been written on this play, Mr Butler has given a tolerably copious selection; but he has also inserted a considerable number of useful remarks from Abresch, Valcknaer, and his own *Adversaria*. We beg leave, however, to enter a vigorous protest against the publication of any more of the lucubrations of Mr Müller; which, to speak the truth plainly, are mostly unqualified nonsense, and serve only to augment the bulk of commentaries, already too voluminous. The additional notes, which Mr Butler has published from the MSS. of Stanley, are highly valuable, and display the extensive reading of that learned man. They are principally illustrations of sentiments or expressions; and, in this species of commentary, Stanley was peculiarly successful. There are many, however, which Mr Butler might have enlarged with the observations of later critics, where they could throw additional light on the subject. For specimens of the value of these *Curæ Posteriores* of Stanley, we refer the reader to vv. 78. 119. 189. 198. 300. 314. 645. 980.

We now take leave of Mr Butler for the present, and shall be happy to renew our acquaintance with him on the appearance of another volume. A little more discretion in the selection of the notes, and a little more care in compressing those which are selected, will certainly enhance the value of the work. Many parts of it will undoubtedly be serviceable to readers of Æschylus; but it is extremely troublesome to pick out the wheat from the quantity of chaff which hides it. For ourselves, we should have been better pleased, had Mr Butler contented himself with publishing what he terms the *Commentarius Criticus*, containing a synopsis of the various lections. This would have formed a neat octavo volume of about 200 pages, extremely useful to the student who reads Æschylus with critical attention. But we are decidedly of opinion, that to republish literally the text of Stanley's edition, was a superfluous and useless undertaking. This portion of the book, we conceive no reader will make use of: the philological commentary will scarcely repay the trouble of perusing it. But the '*Notæ Criticæ*' are worth consulting; perhaps we may say, *must* be consulted by him who would study the text in its purest form. In discussing the comparative merit of the text, as it stands in the volume before us, and the critical commentary which is subjoined to it, we may apply the remark which Scaliger is said to have made concerning the Persius of Casaubon—'*La sauce vaut mieux que le poisson.*'

ART. V. 1. *Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London on Vaccination; with an Appendix, containing the Opinions of the Royal Colleges of Physicians of Edinburgh and Dublin, and of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London, of Dublin, and of Edinburgh.* Ordered to be printed, 8th July 1807. pp. 13. Folio.

2. *Ministère de l'Intérieur; Seance Générale de la Société Centrale établie pour l'Extinction de la Petite Verole en France, par la Propagation de la Vaccine.* pp. 130. 8vo. 12. Juin 1806.

3. *£. 30,000 for the Cow-Pox!!! An Address (to Lord H. P., and) to the British Parliament on Vaccination, (of the greatest Importance to Mankind); wherein the Report of the College of Physicians is completely confuted. Audiwalteram partem—Be candid, be just.* By Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, Esq. Second Edition; with an Appendix and Plates. pp. 85 & xxi. 8vo. London. 1807.

4. *A Letter to the Right Honourable Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. &c. on the Expediency and Propriety of regulating, by Parliamentary Authority, the Practice of Variolous Inoculation,*

- Inoculation, with a View to the Extermination of the Small-Pox.* pp. 36. 8vo. London. 1807.
5. *A Popular View of Vaccine Inoculation, with the Practical Mode of conducting it, showing the Analogy between the Small-Pox and Cow-Pox, and the Advantages of the Latter.* By Joseph Adams, M. D. F. L. S. Physician to the Small-Pox and Inoculation Hospitals, &c. pp. 161. 12mo. London. 1807.
  6. *The Cow-Pox Chronicle, or Medical Reporter.* (Stamped Newspaper.) Jan. 23d, 1808.
  7. *The Fatal Effects of Cow-Pox Protection; manifested by a Narrative of the Occurrences which have recently happened at Ringwood in Hampshire.* 8vo. London. 1808.
  8. *Report of the Royal Jennerian Society on the supposed Failures at Ringwood.* Feb. 1808.
  9. *The Vaccine Scourge, in Answer to the Calumnies and Falsehoods lately circulated with great Industry by that extraordinary Surgeon Mr Birch, and other Antivaccinists. 'A Rod for a Fool's Back.'* 8vo. London. 1808.
  10. *The Vaccine Phantasmagoria.* pp. 27. 4to. London. 1808.
  11. *Hints for the Consideration of Parliament, in a Letter to Dr Jenner on the supposed Failures of Vaccination at Ringwood, including a Report of the Royal Jennerian Society on that Subject, after a careful Public Investigation upon the Spot; also containing Remarks on the prevalent abuse of Variolous Inoculation, and on the dreadful Expence of Out-Patients attending at the Small-Pox Hospital.* By William Blair, Surgeon, &c. pp. 300. 8vo. London. 1808.
  12. *Debates in Parliament, respecting the Jennerian Discovery, including the late Debate on the future Grant of 20,000*l.* to Dr Jenner; together with the Report of the Royal College of Physicians of London, with introductory Remarks.* By Charles Murray pp. 164. 8vo. London. 1808.
  13. *A Statement of some Objections to the Bill as amended by the Committee of the House of Commons, to prevent the spreading of the Infection of the Small-Pox; to which is subjoined, a Copy of the Bill.* By A. Highmore, Gent. pp. 32. 8vo. London. 1808.
  14. *An Answer to Mr Highmore's Objections to the Bill before Parliament, to prevent the spreading of the Infection of the Small-Pox; with an Appendix, containing some interesting Communications from foreign Medical Practitioners on the Progress and Efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation.* By Charles Murray. pp. 70. 8vo. London. 1808.
  15. *An Inquiry into the Laws of Epilemics; with Remarks on the Plans lately proposed for exterminating the Small-Pox.* By Joseph Adams, M. D. &c. pp. 157. London. 1809.

16. *Practical Observations on the Inoculation of Cow-Pox, pointing out a new mode of obtaining and preserving the Infection, and also a certain Test of perfect Vaccination. Illustrated by Cases and Plates. The second Edition: with an Appendix, containing additional Observations, together with a Plan for extinguishing the Contagion of the Small-Pox in the British Empire, and for rendering the Vaccine Inoculation general and effectual.* By James Bryce, F. R. S. Edinburgh, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, &c. pp. 214. and Append. pp. 132. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.
17. *An Inquiry into the antivarious Powers of Vaccination, in which, from the State of the Phænomena, and the Occurrence of a great variety of Cases, the most serious Doubts are suggested, of the Efficacy of the whole Practice, and its Powers, at best, proved to be only Temporary, from which also will appear the Necessity of, and proper Period for, again submitting to Inoculation with variculous Virus.* By Thomas Brown, Surgeon, Musselburgh. *Magna en veritas, et prevalebunt.* pp. 327. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.
18. *Report of the Surgeons of the Edinburgh Vaccine Institution, containing an Examination of the Opinions and Statements of Mr Brown of Musselburgh on Vaccination. Drawn up at the Desire of the Managers, and published by their Direction, for the Benefit of the Institution.* pp. 35. with Append. pp. 8. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.
19. *A Letter, in reply to the Report of the Surgeons of the Vaccine Institution, Edinburgh; with an Appendix, containing a variety of interesting Letters on the Subject of Vaccination, and including a Correspondence with Dr Duncan, Dr Lee, and M Bryce from which also the Public will be able to appropriate the Authority of the Surgeons of the Vaccine Institution, and to form a correct Opinion of the whole Subject.* By Thomas Brown, Surgeon, Musselburgh. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1809.

ON a former occasion we entered at considerable length into the merits of Vaccination, and gave a sketch of the acrimonious controversy it had excited in the medical world. Since that time the subject has acquired still greater interest, and has given rise to various legislative projects of no common delicacy and importance. It is very probable, we think, that these will soon be renewed and multiplied; and, in disposing of them, we are well aware, that the utmost caution will be requisite; lest, on the one hand, we prevent the adoption of safe and effectual means, for limiting the ravages of the most loathsome and destructive of our diseases—or, on the other, increase, by precipitate coercion, the evils we wish to avert.

The

The long list of publications prefixed to this article, and which, after all, is but a small portion of what has lately been written on the subject, will give our readers an idea of the keenness with which the vaccine controversy is still maintained. While the vaccinists have been strengthening their position by parliamentary votes and collegiate reports;—while Mr Blair has been flogging Mr Birch, and Mr Ring has been sounding a peal in the ears of Dr Mosely,—the nicknames, handbills, squibs, and caricatures of their adversaries, have been too successfully employed, where they were calculated to do most mischief—among the weak and the ignorant. This disgraceful warfare, we must however remark, has been almost entirely confined to the metropolis; and, till within these few months, was unknown on this side of the Tweed.

It would be both an irksome and unprofitable task, to attempt to give a regular view of all that has been written for and against cowpox, since the subject was formerly under our consideration. With a few praiseworthy exceptions, the dispute has been carried on with the same violence and disregard of accuracy, either in observing or in reasoning, which we had formerly so much occasion to reprobate. In truth, vaccination has had to struggle, not only against the indefatigable activity of avowed opponents, but also against the treacherous manœuvres of pretended friends, and the misguided zeal of injudicious partisans. While Dr Auban recommends vaccination to the followers of Mahomet as a preventive, not only of smallpox, but also of the plague, Dr Gillum, in the course of his arguments for a *gradual* introduction of cowpox, seriously expresses his fears to Lord Hawkesbury, that by relinquishing smallpox inoculation, we shall have the plague again introduced among ourselves. This sagacious conjecture is assumed as a fact in another lucubration of the same author,—‘On the Efficacy of inoculated Smallpox in promoting the Population of Great Britain.’—‘Inoculation,’ observes this profound and patriotic writer, ‘has supplied mild smallpox, and consequently saved to the country the multitude of inhabitants formerly destroyed by the plague. Hence, had inoculation been known, and seasonably employed, the plague of London in 1665 might have been prevented, and the lives of 100,000 of its inhabitants saved, exclusive of their offspring.’

‘*Et nati natorum, et qui nascuntur ab illis.*’

But, leaving Dr Gillum to his profound meditations, it is time for us to enter upon the cardinal point of the controversy, which is, whether vaccination be an effectual preventive of smallpox or



not. This, it is evident, is entirely a question of fact; and will be more satisfactorily answered, in proportion to the extent and uniformity of our actual experience and observation. In both respects, we do not know almost any disputable point, certainly not one in the whole range of medical science, of which the affirmative is as decisively proved. The great majority, we may say all the respectable part of the profession, now concur in considering vaccination as a safe and perfect security against small-pox; in recommending and promoting it in evident opposition to their private interest; and in entrusting to it, in full confidence of its efficacy, not merely the lives of their patients, but of their children and dearest relatives. Those who received the first accounts of it with most scepticism and doubt, are now its firmest patrons and advocates; and, in this instance, the young and the enthusiastic have been ultimately supported by the testimony of the old and experienced. In proof of this, we need only quote the concluding paragraph of the report of the London College of Physicians, who, under the authority of Parliament, endeavoured to collect the opinion of the profession at large.

‘From the whole of the above considerations, the College of Physicians feel it their duty strongly to recommend the practice of vaccination. They have been led to this conclusion by no preconceived opinion, but by the most unbiassed judgment, formed from an irresistible weight of evidence which has been laid before them. For when the number, the respectability, the disinterestedness, and the extensive experience of its advocates are compared with the feeble and imperfect testimonies of its few opposers; and when it is considered that many, who were once adverse to vaccination, have been convinced by further trials, and are now to be ranked among its warmest supporters, the truth seems to be established as firmly as the nature of such a question admits; so that the College of Physicians conceive, that the public may reasonably look forward, with some degree of hope, to the time when all opposition shall cease, and the general concurrence of mankind shall at length be able to put an end to the ravages, at least, if not to the existence, of the smallpox.’

The detailed and valuable report of the Central Society to the minister of the interior of France, is not less satisfactory; nor has any feeling of national rivalry prevented them from owning their obligations to this country for one of the most unexpected and beneficial discoveries ever made in the art of medicine. We could easily quote similar testimonies, in favour of vaccination, from every Medical Board in Europe. The remotest corners of the globe, indeed, have now experienced its efficacy. In every country into which it has been introduced, its progress has been

been uniform and steady; and no experiment, perhaps, was ever conducted on so extensive a scale, nor any discovery so rapidly disseminated. We have no data to estimate correctly the number of individuals of every race, and of every climate, who have been vaccinated; or to ascertain the proportion of favourable cases; but these are not necessary in order to enable us to form a decisive opinion upon the great questions regarding vaccination. A remedy, a mode of practice, or an opinion, may become fashionable in *one* country from adventitious circumstances; but they will not make their way in *all* countries, and under all variety of circumstances. Vaccination, however, has penetrated to the remotest corners of the globe; and, wherever it has been introduced, the increasing experience of every year has only served to confirm the general confidence in its efficacy. It is impossible to explain these facts upon any other principle, than that the advantages derived from it are substantial and permanent. Simple as the practice is, it is attended with some trouble; and nothing but a very firm and general conviction of its utility, could induce the bulk of the population of any country, much less of so many countries, to submit to it.

Nor is the great extent of the practice to be explained, by ascribing it to any undue influence of professional men. Their persuasions might have considerable weight within a certain circle of friends and patients; and imitation might lead a considerable number more to follow their example; but we repeat, that nothing but a conviction of its utility could have induced so large a proportion of the inhabitants of the world to receive and adopt it. Even the patronage it has experienced from medical men of every description, is conclusive in its favour. When first promulgated, it was received with scepticism and distrust; its phenomena were strictly investigated; and its reputed antivariolous powers repeatedly exposed to the severest tests, until all doubts were removed. In Scotland, we know of only *one* medical man who is not satisfied with it, and who does not recommend or practise it; and the same gentleman is the only individual of the profession, in any country, who, as far as we have learned, has abandoned it, after having been satisfied, or rather, as we shall presently see, pretending to have been satisfied of its efficacy. It must also be remembered, that the general practice of vaccination is injurious to the pecuniary interests of the profession; and therefore, the patronage bestowed upon it by them is a most honourable proof of the candour and disinterestedness of the profession at large. We have heard a great deal of railing about jobs and jobbing; and Mr Brown has insinuated, that the motives of

its greatest advocates are not more disinterested than those of its greatest enemies. But although it might be granted that a few individuals may have been actuated by the desire of notoriety,—by a sure introduction into practice,—or by the hopes of being appointed to a lucrative office in the vaccine institutions, still, the motives of the great majority of the profession, are evidently above all suspicion. The inoculator cannot expect the same remuneration for performing an apparently easy operation, for the event of which the most timid mother has not a moment's anxiety, as for conducting his patient safely through a painful, loathsome, and dangerous disease. Vaccination has even cut off entirely a very considerable source of the professional emoluments of the physician. Natural smallpox is entirely banished from the higher and middling classes of society; and the cowpox is too insignificant a complaint to require the consultation of an extraordinary medical attendant. But, although vaccination be adopted and recommended by far the greatest and most respectable part of the profession, still it has been most obstinately opposed by a few individuals, and by means the best calculated to make an impression on the timid and ignorant. We shall now examine the grounds of their opposition, and their pretensions to our notice. They contend that vaccination does not afford sufficient security against smallpox; that it has injurious effects on the constitution; and that it has put an end to inoculation, without serving the same purposes.

The first is the most important objection; not on account of its being better founded than the others, but on account of the nature of the evidence brought in support of it; which consists in a multiplicity of statements, originating in misconception or misrepresentation, and not admitting of a general and permanent refutation. One fact is no sooner explained or contradicted, than another is invented.

The boldest and most determined antivaccinists of the present day, however, will scarcely venture to maintain, as they did once, that Cow-Pox affords no security whatever. The thousands, and tens of thousands, in every quarter of the world, whom it has enabled to resist various contagion,—the total extinction of that pestilence in whole countries, and the security against its importation, which they have experienced from there being no subjects for it to operate upon,—leave no doubt upon the subject. Hence, most of those who originally maintained that opinion, in the most positive and peremptory manner, have now shifted their ground; and contend, that though vaccination must be allowed to impart security for a time, this security gradually decays, and is at last exhausted.

exhausted. This hypothetical objection was satisfactorily refuted long ago by Drs Willan and Stanger. The latter found, by direct experiment, that the insertion of variolous matter into the arms of twenty children, who had been vaccinated in 1801, produced exactly the same effects in 1802 and in 1804. This same opinion, however, has been lately brought forward, with much parade and pretension, by Mr Thomas Brown, surgeon in Musselburgh, as if it were something new and incontrovertible. The sensation produced by the vaunting advertisements of this gentleman's book in the public papers, induced the Managers of the Public Dispensary and Vaccine Institution, to make a strict inquiry into the cases he had referred to; and a report from the surgeons of that useful charity was drawn up and published. Mr Brown has since replied, both in a pamphlet and in the newspapers; and we shall now proceed to examine his statements and arguments a little more closely, both because they are the most recent and the most detailed that have been laid before the public, and because the reputed facts having taken place in our immediate neighbourhood, are more easily inquired into.

Before we can admit that any instance of unsuccessful vaccination has been established, we must be satisfied of two things: *first*, that the patients were properly vaccinated; and, *secondly*, that they were afterwards affected with the small-pox.

The difficulty of ascertaining the former of these circumstances, is the chief cause of what are called cowpox failures. 'There is little doubt,' say the London College, 'that some of the failures are to be imputed to the inexperience of the early vaccinators.' And, indeed, when we consider that, from the very nature of the cow-pox, the distinction between a mere local affection, affording no security even for a day, and a perfect constitutional affection, is so small, as to require the utmost attention on the part of the most experienced; that, at the beginning of the practice, all the necessary minutiae were not thoroughly understood; that from the simplicity and safety of the operation, ladies and clergymen, midwives and farriers, vied with each other in multiplying their inoculations: And when we also consider that the total number of those vaccinated in Great Britain, during the few years which have elapsed since the promulgation of the discovery, is perhaps not less than those variolated since inoculation was first introduced, it is so far from being surprising that some failures have taken place, that we ought rather to wonder that they have been so few. Even now, some practitioners seem to be ignorant of what is necessary to constitute constitutional cowpox. Of this number, we cannot help suspecting, is our Scottish anti-vaccinist,

vaccinist, who, at the same time, displays considerable ignorance of the phenomena of smallpox. 'In conformity, then,' says he, 'both with my own experience of the phenomena of inoculation and vaccination, I contend, that if you have a vesicle attended with an areola, you may depend upon the production of whatever effects it is capable of.' Some of the other anti-vaccinists go still farther, and represent every puncture by a lancet armed with vaccine virus, whatever effect it produce, or even if it should not produce any effect at all, as a true vaccination, for which the supporters of the practice must be responsible, in case smallpox should supervene.

The testimony of persons entertaining such opinions cannot possibly be admitted, as to the fact of the vaccination having been complete, even when they have had an opportunity of witnessing the progress of the vesicle. The cases, which they state on hearsay evidence, and on the authority of ignorant mothers, of course are still more suspicious; and, in truth, there is no tale so improbable, no story so palpably absurd, but, provided it be adverse to vaccination, it is immediately received with open ears and willing hearts, by Drs Mosely and Squirrel, and Messrs Birch and Lipscomb. If it militate against cowpox, it must be true; and it is needless to investigate it. Mr Brown, we must do him the justice to say, is honest or hardy enough to confess this.

It is perhaps proper to notice, that I carefully avoided having any communication with the different practitioners by whom the children were vaccinated, being aware of the strong hold which system has upon the human mind, more especially in this very important subject; thinking it best, for the attainment of truth, to state with the greatest possible accuracy, the parents' account of the circumstances that attended the vaccination of their children, notice the appearance of the arm, and give the names of the families, whereby an opportunity is afforded to any of the practitioners to satisfy themselves.

In his reply to the surgeons of the vaccine institution, he betrays still less reserve in maintaining the same doctrine. Some of his statements with regard to certain cases of supposed failure at Haddington, having been contradicted by the medical gentleman who had the care of them, with a civil expression of his regret that Mr Brown had not applied to him *before* publishing his book, that learned person most valiantly replies—

For from reflecting that I did not communicate with the medical gentleman at Haddington, before I mentioned in my book that such cases had occurred there, I have daily reason to congratulate myself on the opinion I had formed of the extensive and alarming effects of system on the human mind; for, had I done so, and afterwards  
had

had been regulated, by the information I certainly would have received, undoubtedly no such opinions would have been promulgated; and which, says Mr Brown, 'I now find many very respectable characters, both in and out of the profession, consider as entitled to attention and respect.'

Such a confession is of itself sufficient to destroy all confidence in Mr Brown's testimony. It proves a conviction in his own mind, that, had he communicated with *the only persons* who could possibly give satisfactory evidence with regard to these cases, it would have been adverse to his views. In the same spirit, accordingly, we find him bringing forward cases, in which he admits, that 'the pustules were so small, and the inflammation so trifling, as to make the practitioner in attendance suspect that he had not undergone the true form of the disease;' and others, in which the inoculator informed the parents, at the time, that the child was *not* properly vaccinated. Nay, he gives the names of respectable practitioners, as having performed that operation to their perfect satisfaction, on patients whom, to their knowledge, they never saw. 'The oldest (of two children) was vaccinated by me,' says Mr Brown, 'when four months old, in the arm; and the other by Mr Keith, surgeon of the Berwickshire militia in both, about the same age. I recollect perfectly that the vesicle and areola were quite characteristic; and the mother describes, that the areola in both were equal to the size of half-a-crown; and that Mr Keith saw the arm in its progress, and expressed himself satisfied of the child having passed through the disease.' Now, the whole of this statement turns out to be incorrect; and the most charitable supposition is, that the mother imposed upon Mr Brown, by saying what she saw was agreeable to him. 'So far from having vaccinated the child in question,' writes Mr Keith, in a letter which we are authorised to quote, 'I never, to my knowledge, saw it; but, on inquiry, find that it was vaccinated by my hospital serjeant, at the request of the mother, who supplied the hospital with milk; the first and only time of his ever attempting the operation. He saw it but once at the distance of eight days after; and at present only recollects, that the vesicle was smaller than he had been in the habit of seeing in those vaccinated by me.' These examples fully develop the motives of Mr Brown's conduct in carefully avoiding all communication with the gentlemen by whom these cases were said to be vaccinated; and explain why, in a pretended investigation of truths of such importance, he wilfully shut his eyes, and, when the object he ought to have drawn from nature was before him, chose to copy its reflection from a distorting mirror.

It should also be remembered, that, of those vaccinated gratuitously, either at public institutions, or by individual surgeons, a great number never return to show the progress of the vesicle; and yet, nothing was more common than for these people, in order to excuse their laziness and indifference, to report that the surgeons were well satisfied with the appearances, and had even taken matter from the arm. This, indeed, occurred so frequently, at the Vaccine Institution of Edinburgh, that the managers were at last obliged to order, that each patient should deposit a pledge, to be forfeited, unless they attend regularly at the stated periods. This has had the best effects; though for a time it diminished the number of applicants.

Another prolific source of alleged failures, is the mistaking chicken-pox, and other eruptive distempers, for small-pox. That such a mistake has often been made, even by practitioners of much experience, cannot be doubted. The diagnosis of regular constitutional small-pox, is indeed abundantly easy; and if we were to refuse that name to every eruption which had not the nosological character, or did not correspond with the best systematic descriptions, we should hear very seldom of small-pox after vaccination. It would be foreign to our present purpose, to inquire into the nature of all the varieties and modifications of which small-pox is said to be susceptible. It is enough for us to prove, that, since the introduction of vaccination, eruptive diseases, of a very different nature, have been confounded with small-pox. Mr Brown's cases are especially liable to objection on this account, because he has coupled them with a theory which sets all diagnosis at defiance. Mr Brown contends, in direct contradiction to all analogy and observation, that before his period of security is elapsed, persons who have been vaccinated are liable to be partially affected by the small-pox; that at an early period, it produces a slight rash; at a more advanced period, papulae, which disappear without suppurating; afterwards pustules, which continue a few days; and at length complete small-pox. What opinion is to be formed of the professional knowledge or candour of a man, who records such cases as the following as instances of small-pox after vaccination? 'The oldest fell sick on the Wednesday following; and, at the time I saw the other, was confined to bed, and had been so for two days. He was extremely sick, and affected with starting, sneezing, and other symptoms of eruptive fever. When I called, three days after, the sickness was gone, and no pustular eruption followed.' p. 192. This is one of Mr Brown's cases of natural small-pox. His inoculated small-pox is no less singular. Thus, in his twelfth case, 'No constitutional symptoms could be detected; a slight

‘haz

'heat appeared on the skin, but little or no alteration on the pulse.' Next day, 'from the report of Mr M. and the maid, *she had sneezed repeatedly*, which they attributed to cold; and 'her appetite appeared impaired.' The day after, 'she had sneezed some the preceding night; only drank tea to breakfast, but eat no bread.' Such statements are truly ridiculous; but we must refer our readers, for an able analysis of the whole series by the surgeons of the Vaccine Institution, to their Report.

After such a refutation of Mr Brown's statements, his hypothesis is scarcely worthy of any notice, in so far as it is founded on observation; and it is obviously contrary to all analogy, although he has attempted to bolster it up, by mistating the most universally received principles of pathological science. It is well known, that two general constitutional diseases cannot exist in the body at the same time. But it is equally well known, that an attack of such a disease, as soon as it is over, leaves the body as susceptible to the impressions of any other as it was before; nay, in many cases renders it much more so; since, in every elementary writer, we find debility from preceding disease enumerated among the causes predisposing the body to receive infection. Mr Brown, however, has the merit of inventing a very different doctrine. 'Indeed, there seems to be a general principle in the laws of the animal economy, that after it has been influenced by any power, it is, for some time, exempted not only from a repetition of its effects, but also from those of any other cause; and the distance seems in general to bear a proportion to the severity and extent of the power previously exerted.' In another paragraph, he has still more luminously explained the principle upon which he supposes this exemption to depend. 'These cases, and the whole phenomena and circumstances of vaccination, show, that there are just grounds for concluding, that a specific action may exist, *minus or negatively*, in the constitution; that therefore it would be improper, in the event of vaccination being found inadequate to maintain its antivariolous character, to reinoculate those cases, which have previously undergone vaccination, before it was capable of producing a distinct constitutional effect.' We really cannot persuade ourselves to reply to such arguments; but it is not a little singular, that his hypothesis should be directly contradicted by his own experience. Mr Brown has vaccinated, in all, about 1200; of whom, upon his principles, and upon the supposition that he vaccinated nearly the same number every year while he continued the practice, 400 or 500 have now recovered their original susceptibility of small-pox infection, and 300 are liable to be affected by it in a mitigated form. But, of his alleged cases of failure in his own practice, *eight* only have occurred



occurred in the former class, and *ten* in the latter; so that, were we to credit his statements, the antivenereal influence of cow-pox would seem to increase, and to become almost doubled after five years. But it is not by Mr Brown's experience that we wish any fact or opinion on the subject to rest; we must go to less suspicious authority. Every practitioner is acquainted with the numerous observations recorded in Willan and other writers on the subject. In addition to these, we have real satisfaction in quoting the general result of the experience of the surgeons of the Vaccine Institution at Edinburgh.

'With regard to the facts which have occurred in the practice of the surgeons of the Vaccine Institution, which tend to confirm or refute the doctrine of the mere temporary protection afforded by vaccination against the small-pox, the reporters beg leave to state, that the result of their experience is in strict conformity with that of Dr Jenner, and the other advocates of vaccination. They have lately inoculated with small-pox, children who were vaccinated eight and nine years ago, and find that they completely resist the disease; they have not been able to produce on any of them more than a local inflammation, which disappeared in four or five days. They have, almost every year, visited numbers of children who were vaccinated during the first years of this institution; and this they have again done within these three months. In this investigation, they have found a great many of those who were vaccinated in the years 1801 and 1802, that is, seven and eight years since, who have been frequently and freely exposed, and especially within these last six months, to the contagion of the natural small-pox, by playing, sleeping, and otherwise mixing with children in all the different stages of that disease, without being infected.' p. 32, 33.

The medical attendants of the Foundling Hospital of Dublin have also lately published an account of some very decisive and satisfactory experiments made in that Institution, to disprove the hypothesis, that the preventive powers of vaccination diminish in proportion to the distance of time from inoculation. Nine children, who had been vaccinated prior to July 1801, were inoculated with small-pox matter in July 1804, and exposed to the contagion in every possible way; and all of them resisted the infection. These nine children, together with ten others vaccinated between July 1801 and August 1802, were again submitted to small-pox inoculation on the 22d December 1809, (*i. e.* the first class upwards of eight, and the second upwards of seven years after the vaccination.) 'In every instance,' says Mr Creighton the reporter, 'the punctures in the arm of each child, from the third day, inflamed, and continued until the seventh, when the inflammation gradually subsided, as certified by Mr Stewart, (surgeon-general), and marked in a table, which, in another publication,

‘ publication, will be more fully expressed ;—which circumstance  
 ‘ has proved the activity of the small-pox matter inserted, and  
 ‘ which must have affected the constitution, was it in the least  
 ‘ susceptible of the disease. Fourteen days (Jan. 4. 1810) have  
 ‘ now elapsed : the inflammation of the punctures is entirely gone,  
 ‘ and never was attended with the slightest fever, sickness or erup-  
 ‘ tion.’

‘ In corroboration of the above facts,’ continues Mr Creighton, ‘ conducted with every degree of accuracy, and which cannot admit of the smallest doubt on the minds of those gentlemen who have witnessed them, and heretofore subscribed their names, I can safely assert, that I have submitted upwards of five hundred infants and children, vaccinated by me at this Institution, and at the Dispensary for Infant Poor and Cow-Pox Inoculation, as established in the year 1800, to a like experiment, and with the same result in every instance.’

We ourselves had lately an opportunity of witnessing an equally satisfactory result in regard to the duration of the antivariolous effects of vaccination, from some trials made in a public hospital in this city, in which it was the practice to vaccinate, upon admission, every child which had not previously been vaccinated, or had the small-pox. A boy admitted in 1808, concerning whom no information was received, was erroneously supposed to have been vaccinated, and the operation was not repeated. In the beginning of October 1809, this boy, although not more exposed to small-pox infection than an hundred other children living under the same roof with him, was seized with natural small-pox, and had a very full crop of the distinct kind, which ran their course with perfect regularity. With virus taken from this boy on the 5th day of the eruption, seventeen children of the hospital were inoculated, who had all been vaccinated at former periods, varying from five months to upwards of eight years. The result of this experiment proved, first, that although a considerable degree of swelling and hardness, or even a distinct pustule on the arm with surrounding inflammation, may sometimes be produced by inoculation with variolous virus, yet the constitution is incapable of being affected with the small-pox ; secondly, that these different effects, from a slight hardness to a distinct pustule with surrounding inflammation, are produced from circumstances altogether independent of the period intervening between the time of vaccination and the inoculation of the variolous virus : and, lastly, that the power of cow-pox, in protecting the constitution against the small-pox, is as complete at the end of eight years, as at the end of five months ; and that, during this period at least, it is to be regarded as a perfect security.

There are even facts on record which prove that the antivariolous powers of cowpox are permanent, or, at least, that they suffer no diminution in the course of upwards of half a century.

Farmer Jesty, according to the report of the Broad Street Vaccine Institution, visited London in 1805, and 'afforded decisive evidence of his having vaccinated his wife and two sons in the year 1774, who were thereby rendered unsusceptible of the smallpox, as appears from the exposure of all the three parties to that disorder frequently, during the course of *thirty-one years*; and from the inoculation of the two sons for the smallpox fifteen years ago.'

Dr Jenner has recorded cases of persons who had been casually affected with the cowpox, and had resisted smallpox upwards of fifty years; and, in a very excellent report of the Medical Faculty in Kiel, upon the cowpox in the dutchies of Schleswig and Holstein, there is the remarkable case of a woman, then a slave, who had the cowpox when a year and a half old, and had remained secure against smallpox infection for *sixty years*. In another case, the protection had then lasted 56, and in many 40, 30, 20 years.

There is no fact, therefore, we conceive, relating to the animal economy, which can be considered as more decisively proved, than that the antivariolous powers of cowpox do not decrease or wear out by length of time. At the same time, it must be admitted, that there are some apparently authenticated exceptions to the universality of its antivariolous influence. Within the circle of our own observation, none of these have occurred, and it is a very remarkable thing, that they are confined almost exclusively to the lower orders of society, and to the practice of certain individuals. Mr Brown admits, and has attempted an explanation of this fact, in which we are desired to believe, that gentlemen, at the head of the profession, 'never hear of cases of smallpox after cowpox, because the poor only are exposed to smallpox contagion; and that those who have most practice even amongst the poor, never learn of failures, because the poor never complain when disappointed and deceived, and never seek for assistance even in the most dangerous and loathsome maladies!'

Before concluding this part of the subject, it is absolutely necessary that we should notice the last report from the Original Vaccine Institution, Broad-Street, London, both on account of its singularity, and of the use Dr Brown has made of it in support of his hypothesis.

'The late authentic instances of failure after vaccination, demand from this institution an explicit declaration of the results of their experience on this point, for ten solid years from its establishment.'

establishment. During the course of the first five years, the alleged examples of failure not being substantiated by just evidence, the Institution saw no facts to render questionable the unqualified assertion of the promulgator, Dr Jenner, "that those who have undergone the cowpock are, *for life*, unexceptible of smallpox." Each subsequent year, however, has furnished cases of failure, on conclusive evidence, progressively increasing in number. Notwithstanding these adverse occurrences, our experience justifies the opinion, that vaccination is eminently beneficial to the community and the individual;

First, because a very large proportion of vaccinated persons have been found not susceptible of the smallpox, on trial of the most decisive tests.

Secondly, because (a very small proportion of cases excepted) the smallpox subsequent to cowpock is a milder affection than the slightest cases of inoculated smallpox.

Thirdly, Because the chance of death is far less than even in the inoculated smallpox.

Fourthly, Because security, equal to that of smallpox inoculation, may be given by the harmless practice of a second vaccination, as long ago recommended by this Institution.

It is to be considered, however, that the effects of the vaccine infection have hitherto been but partially investigated; and the results of further experience and observation, of which records will continue to be preserved, will not fail to be reported.

We agree with Mr Brown in regretting that this institution has not condescended to be more particular as to the facts alluded to in this report. It is, in truth, so vague and ambiguous, that it may be interpreted either in favour of, or against vaccination. Accordingly, Mr Brown, while he ridicules the advice which it gives, and descants on the dangers to be apprehended from following it, gladly seizes upon the admission, that the effects of vaccination have been hitherto but partially investigated, and that authentic instances of failure have now been collected. On the other hand, it might be contended, that the report is decidedly in favour of vaccination, and that the perplexities which it states, are to be attributed entirely to our limited knowledge of the laws of this disease, as well as of those of smallpox. It strongly recommends the practice of vaccination. It positively states, that security, equal to that of smallpox inoculation, may be obtained from it. And, so far are we from considering it of any consequence, that the admissions to which we have alluded should come from one of the oldest establishments in the kingdom, that we are very much disposed to ascribe them to the known peculiarities which have al-

were distinguished their opinions;—since it is notorious to all who are acquainted with the history of vaccination, that, though friendly to the practice in general, this Institution has, from the very beginning, acted uniformly in opposition to Dr Jenner, representing him as the mere promulgator of a fact known to every farmer in Gloucestershire, and as having left the history and character of the disease to be investigated and ascertained by *their* experience and observations.

Upon the whole, we are satisfied that we concede more than is necessary, when we conclude our observations on the antivariolous power of cowpox in the terms of the Collegiate Report. ‘The security derived from vaccination, if not absolutely perfect, is as nearly to as can perhaps be expected from any human discovery; for, amongst several hundred thousand cases, with the results of which the College have been made acquainted, the number of alleged failures has been surprisingly small; so much so, as to form certainly no reasonable objection to the general adoption of vaccination; for it appears, that there are not nearly so many failures in a given number of vaccinated persons, as there are deaths in an equal number of persons inoculated for the small-pox.’

The second general objection to cowpox inoculation, is, that it produces new and unheard of diseases. This, we may observe, was first advanced as a conjecture, prior to all experience, and upon grounds purely hypothetical; though facts have since been referred to by these ill-auguring theorists. These theories, it is scarcely necessary to notice, as we are now in possession of sufficient experience to decide the question. With regard, however, to the facts which have been referred to by the enemies of vaccination, nothing can be more vague and inconclusive. We have heard all the common cutaneous diseases, which uniformly attend on filth and poverty, attributed to the cowpox. If in a scrofulous family any symptom of that disease should appear in a child who had been vaccinated, no matter how long before, still the cowpox is alone to blame for having engendered foul humours. Nay, if measles, or whoopingcough, or pleurisy, should be unusually fatal, even though the sufferers were never vaccinated, still the cowpox is the cause of the mortality. Clamorous assertions of this kind, enforced by disgusting caricatures of mangy girls and ox-faced boys, have done more to prevent the universal adoption of vaccination, than any doubts of its efficacy. Of these, the most ridiculous, perhaps, is the frontispiece to a publication\* by Ferdinand Smyth Stuart, Esq. physician, barrackmaster, and great grandson to King Charles the Second, in which Dr Jenner and his coadjutors, *cornuted* and *caudated*, are represented feed-  
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ing a monster with baskets full of infants; while, to poor Dr. Thornton is assigned the final drudgery of shovelling them into a scavenger's cart, after being duly digested. The following is the poetical description by which this eloquent representation is illustrated.

"A mighty and horrible monster, with the horns of a bull, the hind hoofs of a horse, the jaws of the krakin, the teeth and claws of a tyger, the tail of a cow,—all the evils of Pandora's box in his belly,—plague, pestilence, leprosy, purple blotches, fetid ulcers, and filthy running sores covering his body,—and an atmosphere of accumulated disease, pain and death around him, has made his appearance in the world, and devours mankind—especially poor helpless infants;—not by scores only,—or hundreds, or thousands,—but by hundreds of thousands."

Dr Moseley, again, has described, in technical style, a whole tribe of new cowpox diseases; and Mr Stuart has discovered a brutal degeneration of the human species.

"The cowpox mange or farcy, cowpox ulcers, with pus. green—green as grass, clearly demonstrating their bovine origin; cowpox evil or abscess, cowpox mortification, are nothing in comparison of the brutalization of the noblest work of the creation."—"Among the numerous shocking cases of cowpox which I have heard of, I know not if the most horrible of all has yet been published, viz. of a child at Peckham, who, after being inoculated with the cowpox, had its former natural disposition absolutely changed to the *brutal*, so that it ran upon all fours like a nigger, bellowing like a cow, and butting with its head like a bull. For my part," he adds, with philosophical scepticism, "I can scarcely think it possible, having had no time to ascertain the truth!"

O Moseley! thy books, nightly phantasies rousing,

Full oft make me quake for my heart's dearest treasures:

For fancy, in dreams, oft presents them all browsing

On commons, just like little Nebuchadnezzars.

There, nibbling at thistles, stand Jeni, Joe and Mary;

On their foreheads, oh horrible! crumpled horns bud:

Here Tom with a tail, and poor William all hairy,

Reclin'd in a corner, are chewing the cud."

The diary of Dr. Barckmaster Stuart's own child's illness and death, is truly humiliating, and excites a mixed emotion of ridicule and compassion. But as if the powers of language were not sufficient to excite our sympathy with his sufferings, and our indignation at the beastly disease which occasioned them, he has elucidated the history by a very antipathetic representation of Mrs Stuart with the baby on her knee, the cradle on one side, and a bason of gruel on the other;—notwithstanding all which, we should have had no doubt that the poor babe's death was owing to scrophula, had it been of less than royal extraction.

But to be serious—The following appears to us to be a satisfactory answer to all this disgraceful clamour. Dr Bateman, from the records of the Public Dispensary of London, has proved, that the proportion of cutaneous eruptions to all other diseases, was the same before the publication of Dr Jenner's Inquiry, as in the sixth and seventh year of vaccination. 'And the Report of the London College states, 'The testimonies before the College of Physicians are very decided in declaring, that vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less frequently gives rise to other diseases, than the smallpox either natural or inoculated. The College feel themselves called upon to state this strongly, because it has been objected to vaccination, that it produces new, unheard-of, and monstrous diseases. Of such assertions, no proofs have been produced; and after diligent inquiry, the College believe them to have been the inventions of designing, or the mistakes of ignorant men.'

The last important objection which we shall notice, is, that vaccination has put an end to smallpox inoculation, without being so extensively adopted in its stead. In this objection may be traced the motives of many of the keenest opposers of the new practice; and it must be confessed, that its advocates have afforded some pretext for it, by their injudicious and unfounded complaints of want of patronage and encouragement. The truth is, however, that, when all the obstacles which vaccination has had to encounter, are considered, its progress must appear to have been inconceivably rapid. It has been adopted by millions who never would have submitted to variolation. For example, in this very city, gratuitous inoculation for smallpox had long been offered to the poor at the Public Dispensary, but altogether in vain; while, at the same useful charity, no less than 10,000 have been vaccinated since February 1801. This greater willingness on the part of the poor to inoculate for cowpox than for smallpox, may be ascribed partly to their conviction of its utility and superior safety, and partly to its not being opposed by the mistaken but very powerful prejudice which prevails among the religious sectaries in this kingdom, that the wilful inoculation of any disease is an impious interference with the ordinances of the Almighty; while they do not consider the slight affection produced by vaccination as a disease. But while it has thus become much more general than smallpox inoculation ever was at home, the rapidity of its progress in the most remote corners of the earth, is altogether without example. It has been gratefully received by people of the most opposite races and religions, encouraged by governments of every description, and been the subject of publi-

cations in every written language. Manuals of vaccination, in the *Chinese* and *Polish* tongues, are now before us, illustrated with coloured figures. In our own colonies in the East Indies, its success has been astonishing; and the numbers who have been vaccinated are such, that, in the settlements of Bombay, smallpox is said to be altogether exterminated. The reports of its progress in Ceylon are particularly interesting, on account of its insular situation so nearly resembling our own. The following is the report made of it by a resident physician.

• The dreadful ravages which the small-pox usually committed in Ceylon, previous to the introduction of vaccination, must be in the recollection of every one; and it affords me infinite pleasure to observe, that, agreeably to the most certain information I have been enabled to procure, that destructive malady has not existed in any part of the British possessions on this island during the year 1808, except in the district of Galle, into which it was brought on the 31st of January by a Maldivian boat, last from Bengal. A large proportion of the crew of this boat died; and the disease was communicated by a fisherman, who visited it on its first arrival, to two or three inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Galle, but it spread no further; which must be attributed chiefly to the favourable influence of vaccination, which has been so extensively diffused in that and the other districts of the island.' *Report 1809.*

We have here a striking proof of the good effects of general vaccination. Contagion may be introduced; but it dies for want of susceptible subjects:—a firebrand may be applied; but there is no fuel to produce a conflagration. Even old Spain was roused from its apathy by the obvious advantages of vaccination; and sent forth an expedition, worthy of its better days, which circumnavigated the globe for the sole purpose of carrying to all its vast possessions, and to those of several other nations, the inestimable gift of vaccination: and, in point of fact, it succeeded in disseminating it, not only through the boundless colonies of Spain, but through the vast Archipelago of the Visayan islands, and in establishing it wherever it touched in its progress.

So far as our information extends, therefore, we conceive there is no foundation whatever for this objection. Cowpox, we verily believe, is far more generally resorted to than smallpox ever was; and the public, of course, must have great gain by the substitution.

So much for the objections: but we cannot allow the objections to escape quite so easily. In a controversy as to matter of



fact, where the witnesses contradict each other, it is absolutely necessary to ascertain, as far as possible, their relative credibility; and to settle our belief by comparing the number and value of opposite experiences. We have already seen, that these are decidedly, and almost infinitely, in favour of the advocates of vaccination. Still, however, the statements of their opponents may have been candid, and their opposition sincere; and the frequent occurrence of adverse facts would have perplexed us, and left doubts upon our minds with regard to the universal safety and efficacy of the practice. Fortunately, however, the conduct of the antivaccinists themselves has set our minds at ease. Their zeal has so far overstepped their prudence, and they have given such evident proofs of want of observation and candour, and have had recourse to such mean tricks and devices to frighten the timid and mislead the ignorant, as to deprive them of all credit with the well-informed and judicious. What opinion must be entertained of the fairness or judgment of a man who could affix, on the walls of the most populous streets of London, posting-bills, displaying, in gigantic letters, "*Fatal Effects of Cowpox!*" with an earnest recommendation to heads of families to peruse the treatise in which they are stated,—who employs the driver of errand carts to distribute them indiscriminately to travellers upon the roads near London,—and could deliberately state, as one of his serious reasons for continuing the smallpox inoculation, that, 'in the populous part of the metropolis, where the abundance of children exceeds the means of providing food and raiment for them, this pestilential disease is considered as a merciful provision on the part of Providence to lessen the burthen of a poor man's family!' Another device of the same gentleman, was the publication of a newspaper, for the exclusive purpose of attacking vaccination and its patrons with the lowest and most contemptible abuse.

But the most unjustifiable part of this gentleman's conduct is his wilful falsification of the report of the College of Physicians,—a public record widely distributed under the sanction of Parliament. The few passages we have already quoted from it, will enable our readers to judge, whether it be in any respect warrantable to assert, 'that the Report of the College of Physicians allows the evidence, produced before the committee of the House of Commons, to be totally overhrown; that they allow there is no spurious cowpox; and that failure, disorder, and death, sometimes occur from some deviation in the genuine Jennerian cowpox, which, after a precise period, fails in its security, and, if it does any thing, produces a new kind of eruptive tumour, or ulceration.'

‘ulceration.’—Mr Stuart, however, improves upon this hint; and, in his Address to the British Parliament, thus expresses himself. ‘*Patres conscripti!* celebrated and illustrious senators of Britain, lay aside all prejudice, and receive, I entreat you, the following information with candour and attention, viz. That all the physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, most eminently distinguished for abilities and professional skill, *all to a man*, now acknowledge, that vaccination is not a certain preventive of the small-pox; and that it sometimes produces new, dangerous, and fatal diseases. These truths are at this time universally granted, and candidly acknowledged, by every intelligent medical gentleman; and this is all I contend for.’ Now, in these passages, there can be no misconception or mistake, to be accounted for by ignorance; and, therefore, we are afraid we must set them down as instances of wilful and unpardonable misrepresentation. Misquotation, indeed, seems to be a favourite figure with the antivaccinists; and with none more remarkably, than with their newly-enlisted Scottish auxiliary, who, we may remark by the way, wishes to be considered as the first writer, on that side of the question, entitled to any sort of attention; and treats all his predecessors altogether as cavalierly as his opponents. In proof of this gentleman’s extreme looseness, and unfairness of quotation, we might refer to the greater part of his extracts from the public reports, and the writings of Dr Jenner and Mr Eryce; but we shall content ourselves with one example, in the case of Dr Willan, whom he ingeniously contrives to quote as an authority for an opinion which he openly disavows, and that by the simple method of stating a sort of caution or exception to his general opinion, as the opinion itself.—‘I shall, perhaps, be asked,’ says Dr W., ‘whether I think that the variolous eruptions, in all the cases ad-  
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\* The reader may take this further specimen of the eloquence and accurate reasoning of this scion of royalty.—‘The Omnipotent God of Nature, the inconceivable Creator of all existence, has permitted *Evil*, *Buonaparté*, and *Vaccination* to exist,—to prosper,—and even to triumph for a short space of time,—perhaps as the scourge and punishment of mankind for their sins, and for reasons no doubt the best, far beyond the powers of our very circumscribed and limited portion of penetration and knowledge to discover.—But, are we to worship—to applaud—or even to submit to *Evil*,—to *Buonaparté*,—or to *Vaccination*,—because they have for some time been prosperous?—No!—Never let us degrade our honour—our virtue—or our consciences—by such servility:—let us contend against them, with all our exertions and might;—not doubting but we shall ultimately triumph, in a cause supported by the humanity of the people, and which therefore we well know, *Heaven itself must approve.*’

duced above, were the consequences of imperfect vaccination? This is the question;—and here is the answer which is immediately subjoined; and of which Mr Brown, when professing to quote both question and answer, has omitted the whole which we have put in italics. ‘*Vaccine inoculators were, at first, generally satisfied with any vesicular appearance, surrounded by inflammation; and even now, I believe, many practitioners would consider the specious irregular vesicle, described page 39, as a sufficient guarantee against the smallpox; not being aware how frequently it denotes a temporary incapacity to be affected by either the variolous or vaccine virus. I have had reason, on minute inquiry, to conclude, that, in a very great majority of the cases which occurred near London, the vaccination was imperfect. There is, however, great difficulty in obtaining clear and distinct information on the subject,*’ &c. Willan, p. 73.—Brown, p. 317.

In the same manner, in quoting the admission of the London College, that cases of smallpox have occurred, after apparently perfect vaccination, he takes special care to leave out the word *apparently*; and, at last, makes that learned Body admit, that such failures had occurred where there was ‘sufficient proof of the most perfect vaccination.’ Dr Willan’s treatise will also be searched in vain for any thing like the description of chickenpox, which Mr Brown has pretended to extract from it. When a person thus ventures to falsify public records to serve a particular purpose, it really is not easy to give implicit credit to statements made on his own authority, in opposition to general experience.

The established efficacy of vaccination as a preventive of smallpox, has given rise to various legislative projects for the utter extermination from this kingdom of that destructive pestilence; and it must be confessed, that our insular situation seems to give some encouragement to such a project. Even prior to the discovery of vaccination, this had been strongly urged by Dr Haygarth in this country, Scuderi in Sicily, and a whole tribe of enthusiasts in Germany. Insurmountable difficulties, however, appeared on every side; and nothing was ever attempted. The idea has been again revived, and certainly with greater plausibility, since the antivariolous powers of cowpox have become known. Still, however, there are very strong, and perhaps insurmountable, objections to every thing hitherto devised, or which perhaps may be devised for carrying it into effect. But, before we enter upon the discussion of these, we must notice some opinions of Dr Adams, physician to the Smallpox Hospital, and a pretended friend to vaccination; for if his opinion be true, viz. that cowpox is identical with smallpox, or that they are but varieties of the same disease, it is plain that the diffusion of the one can be ascribed to the extirpation

pation of the other; since, if there be any foundation for the opinion, that smallpox may be converted into cowpox, it is impossible not to conclude, that cowpox will, in many circumstances, degenerate into smallpox. Dr Adams's arguments for their identity, are derived from the near resemblance of the most favourable kinds of smallpox to cowpox; and 'presumptive proofs deduced from the laws of all other morbid poisons, that the variolous and vaccine is the same.' And he proceeds positively to state, that by 'continuing, with great caution, to inoculate at the hospital from *pearl* smallpox, (the Doctor's hobbyhorse), we at last succeeded in procuring a succession of virus so nearly resembling the vaccine, that an universal suspicion prevailed among the parents, that they were deceived by the substitution of one for the other.' The facts stated by Dr Adams are certainly curious; but it appears that the practice said to have been followed by him was not necessary for their conversion, as has been satisfactorily proved by Mr Bryce, (App. p. 70.); and, indeed, the facts and observations stated by that gentleman irresistibly suggest to the mind the mistake committed, at the commencement of the practice of vaccination, in the very same hospital, by Dr Adams's celebrated predecessor. Dr Woodville inoculated with variolous virus, when he believed he was using vaccine; and Dr Adams seems to have reversed the matter.

His presumptive proofs proceed upon a notoriously erroneous assumption, that if a person be inoculated at the same time with the virus of two separate distempers, the one will remain unaltered till the other complete its progress, and will then take as many days to run its course as if it had not been inserted until the progress of the first was complete. The fact is, as stated by Mr Bryce, 'that both punctures will advance regularly, as if only one had been made during the period necessary for the local stage of these infections, and until the constitutional stage from one of them is excited, at which time, and not before, the progress of the other morbid poison, provided its local course be finished, will be arrested, until the first constitutional affection has disappeared.' In the same manner, Dr Adams mistakes the fact when he asserts, that 'if smallpox and cowpox are inserted at the same time, in different parts of the same person, we find no interruption whatever in the progress of either. Both begin and go through their several courses with the same regularity, as if only one of them had been inserted in two different places.' Now, Mr Bryce's experiments prove incontestably, that as soon as a constitutional affection is produced, by smallpox for example, the further progress of the vaccine affection, if its local course be finished, is arrested until the variolous action has exhausted itself on the constitution, or it is altogether superseded according to circumstances.

rum. Dr Adam is also wrong in his third position, that if a person be vaccinated for example, and in two or three days be inoculated in one place with variolous, and in another with cowpox matter, the same consequences will follow as if both infections had been of one matter. For the fact undoubtedly is, that, in such a case, the secondary vaccination will have its progress accelerated, and will arrive at maturity at the same time with the primary vaccination; while the smallpox pustule will *not* be accelerated, but proceed through its local stage in the usual manner. These facts prove, in the most decisive manner, that Dr Adams's opinion is erroneous, even upon his own principles; and that smallpox and cowpox are essentially different diseases, not convertible, in any circumstances, into each other.

Of all the plans for exterminating smallpox by means of cowpox, which we have seen, Mr Bryce's is the most detailed, and will serve us as a text for the observations we have to offer. This plan embraces three several objects. 1st, To induce parents and others to have all children vaccinated before a certain age; 2d, To get correct lists of all those who have not been vaccinated; and, 3d, To put it in the power, and indeed in the way of all persons, to get the operation performed with skill and safety, by distributing corps of vaccinators up and down the country.

We shall not go into the various details with which Mr Bryce has endeavoured to explain his project, and to obviate the objections he has anticipated. We shall only observe, with a view to the second branch of his plan, that however desirable such lists might be, we are afraid the procuring of them would be attended with greater difficulties than Mr Bryce has foreseen. When we consider how inaccurately the registers of births and marriages and the bill of mortality are kept, and how many inconveniences, both personal and political, have arisen from this inaccuracy, we can only express our wishes, that vaccination may furnish a motive, sufficiently powerful, to lead to their simplification and correction; but we must confess, that we have no hopes of seeing any reform in this respect carried into effect. His corps of vaccinators, too, would never be tolerated, either by the public or by the profession; and would, at all events, soon degenerate into a scene of jobbing and intrigue.

It is the first part of Mr Bryce's plan, however, which requires most attention, and about which there is likely to be the greatest difference of opinion. With regard to the aid which he seems to expect from the private patronage and exertions of men of influence and reputation, there cannot be a doubt, that it is the duty of every such man to instruct and enlighten the public with regard to the advantages to be derived from vaccination; and to remove the pre-  
judices

judices excited against it by those interested in the continuance of variolation. These however have hitherto had but a very inconsiderable effect; and it is well remarked by the College of Physicians,

‘The lower orders of society can hardly be induced to adopt precautions against evils which may be at a distance; nor can it be expected from them, if these precautions are attended with expense. Unless, therefore, from the immediate dread of epidemic smallpox, neither vaccination nor inoculation appear at any time to have been general; and when the cause of terror has passed by, the public have relapsed again into a state of indifference and apathy, and the salutary practice has come to a stand. *It is not easy to suggest a remedy for an evil so deeply imprinted in human nature.*’ Bryce, App. p. 37.

It is this apathy or indifference which is the most powerful obstacle to the progress of vaccination; and we have considered its effects as the most serious objection to the practice. Should we, by means of it, succeed in banishing smallpox altogether from this island, or from large districts of it, there is some danger that vaccination would soon be very generally neglected, and that, so large a proportion of the people would be left susceptible of smallpox, that its effects, whenever it should chance to be imported, would be truly calamitous. It is on this account that we have heard very judicious persons dread the partial extinction of the smallpox. They would have it preserved, for the same reason that the clergyman would not have the Devil killed, or that insurance offices rejoice in occasional fires. But the possible dangers of exterminating the smallpox are much too visionary to cause us to relax a moment in our efforts for that purpose; and, if we were to succeed in extirpating it in any one country, the danger of importing it would probably be much diminished, by the diminution of its source in other regions, and the encouragement which such an event would hold out to proceed against it with still greater vigour.

Are we, however, to use any other means than mere advice and example? Are we to resort to any measures of compulsion or restraint? Are we to have recourse to legislative measures? These are great political questions, in regard to which the present and late rulers of the State have expressed very different opinions; Mr Perceval conceiving that more evil than good would result from any measure of coercion; and Lord H. Petty taking a different, and, we are inclined to think, a more correct view of the subject.

‘Though I would not interfere,’ said his Lordship, ‘with the freedom of an individual with regard to the mode of preserving his own health, yet I have no difficulty in saying that no individual has a right to conduct himself, even in the pursuit of preserving his own health according to the best of his judgment, so as to endanger the health of a great portion of the community by spreading an infection, which is the case when individuals go abroad while they are

under the process of inoculation under the old mode. This practice I understand to be increasing, and may be attended with dangerous effects. I know that in a country like this, where the inhabitants have been so accustomed to liberty in almost every thing, and in this practice among the rest, it must be difficult, and, without some infringement of liberty, perhaps impossible, to put an end altogether to this inconvenience. This, I am afraid, can hardly be done without some sort of compulsion;—and that is odious to the people of this country. But although compulsion be odious, while it calls on mankind to be active against their will, yet while it goes no farther than to forbid their doing that which is hurtful to others, I think that a state has, not only a right, but that it is its duty to enforce it. I would therefore say, that if persons will persist in following the old system of inoculation, they should be compelled to confine their practice within their own houses, and shall not be allowed to spread these ravages and this pest over the community at large. Debates, p. 74, 75.

The professional arguments for the restriction of smallpox inoculation, are indeed very strong. Every person variolated becomes a centre of contagion, spreading disease and death around him. In addition to this obvious fact, and the instances quoted in various publications, we may state what took place in Weimar, both on account of its authenticity, and because, from its date, it cannot be suspected of exaggeration or colouring. The smallpox had not been seen in that city for about five years, when it became prevalent in the neighbouring villages. The Duke, anxious for the safety of his children, wished to protect them by inoculation, but did not think himself entitled to take a step, however interesting to himself, which might endanger the lives of his subjects, without strongly warning them by advertisement, and inviting them to follow his example. Notwithstanding these laudable and truly paternal precautions, an epidemic was the consequence, which was distinctly traced to the ducal residence, and proved fatal to above fifty individuals in that small city. Even prior to the discovery of vaccination, in many countries smallpox inoculation was not permitted except during the prevalence of an epidemic. But if such a restriction was at all tolerable then, it is surely much more so now, when it is in the power of every person to protect himself, and those under his care, without endangering the safety of others.

Mr Highmore and Dr Adams, *both of the Smallpox Hospital*, have argued in favour of smallpox inoculation on very absurd and untenable grounds. Mr Highmore, for instance, is afraid, that if variolation be prevented, we shall not be able to test our vaccinated patients; and that the progress of vaccination will be impeded, if it be encouraged, as 'the flower which is forced into

into a too early maturity has neither strength nor fragrance comparable with that which blooms by fair and regular cultivation.' Dr Adams's arguments are still more insidious, and equally futile. This gentleman apologizes to the public, for having so long delayed to offer, in print, his opinion on a subject so immediately connected with his engagements, and on which the public, he conceives, had a right to demand the result of his inquiries. But he was afraid of having his motives impeached; and there was a difficulty of finding any thing to oppose. At last, the letter to Mr Perceval, in which Sir Edmund Carrington, late chief justice of Ceylon, shows, from our statute books, the legality of restraining every infectious disease, even smallpox, appeared to the physician of the Smallpox Hospital worthy of refutation; and a most singular attempt at refutation he has produced. As, on a former occasion, under the mask of a popular inquiry into vaccination, he had endeavoured to palm his *pearlpox* upon the credulity of the people; so now, he endeavours to obscure the question relative to restricting inoculation, under the pretence of a general inquiry into the laws of epidemics. 'To defend smallpox inoculation,' says he, 'is only to repeat all that was said fifty years ago, and has been repeated ever since, till the last ten years. To admit that vaccination is a most important improvement, is equally superfluous. To say that this second improvement ought not by force to supersede the first, would only lead to those arguments by which smallpox inoculation was first defended; and to answer clamour and invective, requires a mind organized like those who use them.' To this we can only answer, that the case is totally altered within these ten years. Till then, we had only a choice of evils, and we were not restricted in the only means offered to us of defending ourselves, lest in so doing we should injure our neighbours. But now that we possess a means of defence, equally useful to ourselves, and perfectly harmless to all around us, we are no longer entitled, either by reason or justice, to have recourse to the former. When Dr Adams talks of a law restricting variolation, operating against the conscientious, without restraining the unprincipled or unfeeling, we must confess that we do not understand him. That none but the unfeeling would now have recourse to variolation, we might perhaps be disposed to allow; but that any such restriction would operate against the conscientious, so long as they have vaccination in their power, is what we will not admit. The great difficulty is, to prevail upon the mass of the people to use *any* preventive. With those, who have sufficient judgment to have recourse to one, the transition to a better is easy and natural. This was strongly exemplified in a fishing village in this vicinity. The first person in Newhaven, who had the



courage and prudence to have his children inoculated with smallpox, was obliged to fly, as a monster, from the fury of his ignorant neighbours; and yet it was in that very village that vaccination first became general in Scotland,—and in that very man's family was it begun. Dr Adams's whole chapter upon the recent plans for exterminating smallpox, is one of the most extraordinary pieces of reasoning we ever met with. We cannot exterminate smallpox, it seems, because constant and indestructible sources of contagion may be bought from every old-clothesman in Monmouth-Street, and may be dug up in every grave! While these exist, the restriction of inoculation will not narrow its operations! We must not attempt to exterminate smallpox, because we do not know how to exterminate measles and scarlet fever; and because our ancestors never attempted any thing of the kind! And, lastly, restricting smallpox inoculation, and even forbidding the inoculation of outpatients at the hospitals, is compelling vaccination!

'The discovery of vaccination is certainly a most invaluable acquisition; and those who are satisfied with it, do right to recommend it to the world. Happy for themselves and others, if they had been contented to recommend it by their example, and by the facility which the practice itself offers. If they go further than this, there is only one step more they can conscientiously take, that is, the forcing vaccination on *all*, under certain penalties. I know there are many men, whose intentions are perfect purity and benevolence, and who would start at such an imputation; but what else are we doing in prohibiting inoculation of smallpox, or even in refusing it to those who are unable to make a pecuniary return, or temporary seclusion? If they do not submit to vaccination, are they not without the chance of escaping six years; at most, many of them less than a month in the metropolis? Of escaping what? A disease which is said to destroy one sixth of the sufferers, besides maiming, blinding, and disfiguring many more. Do we know of any penalty heavier than an almost double decimation, and these additional tortures?

How far it would be prudent to forbid smallpox inoculation altogether, may admit of some doubt; but that the managers of the Smallpox Hospital acted rightly when they, at last, prohibited Dr Adams from converting it into a source of pestilence, we conceive to be undeniably established by the statement made, without contradiction, in the House of Commons, with regard to the effect of inoculating outpatients.

'There is,' said Mr S. Bourne, 'a very laudable institution in this country established for the inoculation of the smallpox. I understand it is the practice now to inoculate outpatients there, to the

amount of 2000 a year ; and that it is usual for these outpatients to resort twice a week to be inspected at this hospital by the surgeon. Now, it must be quite obvious, that this is a practice of the most dangerous nature ; and that if we were to prescribe a mode of spreading the contagion, it would be difficult for human ingenuity to devise any thing better adapted for that purpose. No one would be more unwilling than myself to compel individuals to adopt any particular mode for the preservation of their health, because it is not in itself a proper subject of compulsion ; but still I must say, that however reluctant I may be to use any restraint upon such a subject, some means should be taken to prevent the dissemination of this contagious malady. I think that the Legislature would be as much justified in taking measures to prevent this evil, by restraint, as a man would be in snatching a fire-brand out of the hands of a maniac, just as he was going to set fire to a city.' Debates, p. 79.

ART. VI. *Les Trois Regnes de la Nature.* Par Jacques Delille ; avec des Notes par M. Cuvier, de l'Institut, et autres Savants. 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1803.

UPWARDS of forty years have now elapsed, since Voltaire pronounced the Abbé de Lille to be, among all their contemporary poets (himself no doubt excepted), the only legitimate son of Apollo. At that period, we believe, his *Jardins*, and his translation of the *Georgics*, were alone known to the public ; and those productions formed an era in the history of French literature. Racine, indeed, had been able to sing *Phillis, les bergers, et les bois* ; and some unhappy imitations of the *Eclagues* of Virgil had been attempted : but the charms of descriptive poetry, and of rural scenery were little known to the French. Our Addison has somewhere said, that Virgil tumbles about the very dung with dignity and grace. The fine writers of the age of Louis the Fourteenth would have been strangely distressed by such an occupation. They knew how to strike the lyre to almost all its tones ; while they remained unacquainted with the simple music of the reed. He who refuses admiration to Corneille, Racine, Boileau and Moliere, must be allowed to indulge his own notions of what is splendid, pathetic, correct and witty in poetry ; but still it ought to be observed, that these authors seem only to have written for town readers. They exhibit to us the interior of palaces and temples, of private families and domestic circles ;—they show us a thousand pictures of life, from the court and the senate, to the *boudoir* and the dressingroom ;—they do

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desty that prevented the translator of the *Ænéid* and of *Paradise Lost*, from undertaking an original work, of his own. It is difficult to conceive, where excellence must be admitted to both—a greater contrast than exists between the characters of Virgil and Milton as epic poets. The first is indubitably, the most correct and the most elegant writer of any period or country. His language is matchless in majesty and beauty; his manner is unequalled in grace; his plan is constructed with an accuracy which proves, that correct judgment is scarcely less essential to a poet than a fine invention. If he have less originality than Homer—less of the *mens divinius*—he has fewer inequalities, and preserves more constantly the dignity which becomes his subject. Then, who can be compared with Virgil, when he speaks in the language of the passions, or unfolds the secret workings of an agonized or distracted spirit?

The taste, the genius, the character of Milton, have little in common with those which we have attributed to Virgil. That his conceptions are magnificent, that his ideas are sublime, that his descriptions are occasionally beautiful, who can deny? But that his subject is happy, or his taste correct, who will assert? But there is nothing, we conceive, which should have rendered translations of the *Æneid* and of *Paradise Lost*, more difficult for the same writer to execute, than the very different structure of the poetic language employed, and in a great measure created, by both these great writers, in Latin and in English. The peculiar majesty, felicity, and harmony of the Virgilian measures are known to all Europe; and through a long lapse of ages have invited imitation, and defied comparison. How then could he, who flattered himself with having caught something of the elegance of Virgil, imagine that his versatile muse could acquire the lofty and powerful, but often abrupt and inharmonious tones of Milton? Yet Milton has periods that exhibit a melody to which there is nothing at all comparable in our language; and which strike the more, perhaps, in his great poem, from the contrast which it so frequently presents of harshness and repulsive austerity. In Milton we find all that is sublime, and terrific; much that is beautiful; and sometimes, though rarely, something that is soft and delicate: but, with this, there are inelegancies which cannot fail to offend, and deformities that go near to disgust. Who then that had presumed to emulate the correctness, or to copy the graces of Virgil, could hope, in daring greatly, to forget with Milton, what correctness requires, and in what grace consists? or who, that had imbibed the stern and lofty spirit of the English bard, could fancy that it was given to him also to speak with the suavity, the purity, and the mild

mild and unvarying majesty, which so peculiarly mark the language of the Mantuan Muse?

The Abbé De Lille seems to have fancied this; and two vast bundles of verse, each divided into twelve *fasciculi*, have been published in France, as poetical versions of the *Æneid*, and of *Paradise Lost*. We mean not to deny that there are brilliant lines in both these publications. We will even admit, that the versification, generally speaking, is above mediocrity; and we will readily confess that we would rather choose (should the dire alternative be imposed on us) to read either of these translations completely through, than any one of the *Iliads* that have been lately published in England by the numerous and flourishing representatives of the *Accu* in that country. There is really a great deal of pretty poetry in De Lille's translation of the *Æneid*; much neat description, and many smart antitheses. But how, after the *ci-devant* Abbé had stripped the Roman poet of his *toga*, and dressed him according to the last Parisian fashion, could he think of forcing just such another coat on the back of the reluctant Milton? There is, generally speaking, a stateliness, a gravity, and a grandeur, in the language of the *Paradise Lost*, with which we, on this side of the channel, are peculiarly struck; and whether it be bad taste, or not, we avow ourselves to be better pleased with the grave eloquence of the original, than with all the pretty little corruscations of wit which flash through the translation.

Two poems, *yclept* original, which have been published by De Lille, have had many admirers in France. We mean *La Pitié*, and *L'Imagination*. With the former, even though it be the most celebrated *Jeremiade* of the day, we were less pleased than with the latter; while in this we did not fail to detect the unacknowledged and numerous plagiarisms from Darwin, Goldsmith, Akenside and other English authors. Upon this subject we should be more severe, if we did not suspect, that there is an innate propensity to pilfering in the whole race that dwells upon Mount Parnassus. We know of no poets older than Homer, and Hesiod; and therefore, we cannot tell whether they did, or did not steal: but, that this has been the practice of all their successors, impartiality forbids us to deny. Still, there is a measure and a manner in all things. *Æschylus* stole from Homer; *Sophocles* from both; and *Virgil* from every body. But then these robbers burnt up their ill gotten gold with so much art, and gave new forms to the old materials with so much skill, that even when we detect their thefts, we can scarcely refrain from admiring, more than before, their industry and ingenuity. When such poetical larcenies come before the critic, what can he

do but smile, and wink at the deceit? But the case is very different when manifest plagiarisms, or rather bald translations, are palmed upon us for original-compositions. This is a poetical crime of great magnitude, and should be severely punished in every literary Court of Justice. Now we lament to say, that the Abbé De Lille is an old offender in this way; and we are afraid, that in the work which we are about to examine, we shall be obliged to condemn him as the boldest poetical thief, who ever offered stolen goods as his own to the public.

When we read the title-page of the book before us, we confess we did not augur very favourably of its contents. *The three Kingdoms of Nature!*—The animal, the vegetable, and the mineral!—This is an extensive subject. But when we opened the last volume, we found the four elements were in the first place to be disposed of. Now, that *fire, earth, air, and water*, should occupy important places in a *Dictionnaire Physique* appeared to us extremely natural; but we were a little alarmed at finding that each of these elements was to be the subject of a separate canto in a philosophical and didactic poem. Such indeed was our dread of reading a *Dictionnaire Physique* in heroic verse, that we were seized with a kind of nausea, quite unpardonable in critics by profession. A little reflection however brought us to ourselves; and our unconquerable sense of duty carried us safe through the whole performance. At the same time, we begin to doubt whether any of our readers will follow our heroic example. The Abbé Delille was once a poet. In his translation of the *Georgics* he had followed faithfully, though at a respectful distance, the footsteps of Virgil. In the poem before us, his object seems to have been to emulate Lucretius. Now, in order to accomplish this design, two things were necessary to the author;—first, that he should be a poet: and, secondly, that he should be versant in physics. To help his poetry, what could be more natural than to lay every other poet within his reach under contribution; and, to aid his philosophy, what could be more expedient than to have recourse to the *Dictionnaire Physique*? In his better days, and when his muse was young, the Abbé Delille, as we have already observed, was a pilferer; and what could now be expected from this hackneyed mechanist of verses? The *Trois Regnes* certainly exhibits the most curious medley of plagiarisms which we ever beheld in a poem professedly serious. First, we have an exordium, intended to be after the manner of Lucretius; then we have a description, copied from the author's own *Jardins*; next, we have a metaphor, purloined from Virgil; now, a long episode, translated from Thomson; and now a yet longer *tragedy* from the *Dictionnaire Physique*, converted into verse.

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The first canto, of which *fire* is the subject, begins prettily enough; but we really cannot in conscience compare it with the exordium of Lucretius. M. Delille had taken a long walk; and, being fatigued, drops very naturally fast asleep; but his sleep is accompanied by a delightful dream.

• Je crus voir, dans l'éclat de sa riche parure,

Apparoître à mes yeux le Dieu de la Nature.

Now, without being excessively rigid ourselves, we must really object to a poet's telling us, that he has seen and conversed with the *God of Nature* in a vision. The God of Nature is no poetical personage. Hobbes has somewhere observed, that he who says he has seen God in a dream, only says he has dreamt that he saw God: but whether the logic of Hobbes be just or not, we are quite sure that no man, with a professed fiction in his mouth, should tell us that he has had a visit in a vision from the God of Nature. This seems to us to be bad religion; and we are quite sure it is bad taste.

The God of Nature, however, according to the account of the author, incites him to undertake his work; which he immediately commences. After having declared himself the enemy of system, he takes experience for his guide; and proceeds, in some pretty lines, to describe the effects of light. Finding, however, that his own stock of poetry and knowledge is soon exhausted, he invokes the aid of Apollo and Delambre; thereby, no doubt, giving a broad hint of the succours which he afterwards expected to obtain from Latin and English poetry, and from the dog-eared pages of the *Dictionnaire Physique*. But when he calls upon Apollo to tell him the various prodigies produced by light, we cannot think him quite so happy as the poet who began *Aeneidum gentrix*. Our learned readers will remember the remainder of this beautiful invocation; and then let them judge of the address preferred to Apollo by the French rival of Lucretius.

• Viens Apollon, dis moi ses prodiges divers;

Et, comme des beaux jours, sois le Dieu des beaux vers.

What would Boileau have said to the pretty quibble in the last line? It is a *conçetto*, than which nothing duller could be found in a whole volume of Italian sonnets, and than which nothing could be much less appropriate to the gravity of a didactic poem. This being passed over, we find some brilliant passages; and, while he describes the effects of light, the author reminds us of the poet of the Gardens; but it is when he returns to the *coin du feu*, that we forget his ambitious and unsuccessful emulation of Lucretius, and that we again listen with pleasure to the verses of De Lisle.

• Le printemps nous disperse et l'hiver nous rallie;

Après de nos foyers notre âme recueillie;

Goute ce doux commerce à tous les cœurs si cher ;  
 Oui l'instinct social est enfant de l'hiver. •  
 En cercle un même attrait rassemble autour de l'âtre,  
 La vieillesse conteuse, et l'enfance folâtre.  
 Là, courent à la ronde et les propos joyeux,  
 Et la vieille romance, et les aimables jeux ;  
 Là, se dédommageant de ses longues absences,  
 Chacun vient retrouver ses chères connoissances.  
 Là, s'épanche le cœur : le plus pénible aveu,  
 Longtemps captif ailleurs, échappe au coin de feu. •

*Si sic omnia !* The subject of the next canto is *Air* ;—and here, again, we were obliged to toil through many a page of the *Dictionnaire Physique*, very indifferently versified. • On donne (says M. Cuvier, or the *Dictionnaire Physique* in prose) le nom de gaz oxygene (*oxygene* whispers a *Graculus* at our ear) à l'un des deux fluides qui composent l'air de l'atmosphère, celui de gaz azote à l'autre ; et le fluide atmosphérique a conservé exclusivement le nom d'air, &c. Now, we declare we think this prose is as good as the rhymed prose which follows.

• Sur nous, autour de nous, de deux airs differents,  
 L'Eternel repandit les fluides errants ;  
 L'un, en courant moins pur, dans l'immense atmosphère  
 Regne plus abondant ; l'autre plus salulaire,  
 A la plus foible part dans les champs de l'Ether ;  
 De leurs flots reunis la Nature a fait l'air. •

There is a great deal more in the same strain : but let us do justice, at least, to the mimic talents of De Lille. Who, that had been accustomed to the correctness of Boileau—to the elegance of Racine—or to the brilliancy and spirit of Voltaire,—would have imagined, that their disciple could have found the means, if he had fallen into the bad taste, of imitating Darwin? Yet, while De Lille talks of the air, we were recalled to the recollection of the affected style, which had sickened us in the Loves of the Plants.

• Par l'air nous respirons l'œillet, la marjolaine ;  
 D'une pousse adorée il nous porte l'haleine, &c.  
 Messrs Ellis and Frere have produced nothing more *Darwinian*, in the Loves of the Triangles. Whether Darwin, or Little, may have tutored our author in the following verses, we shall leave to the decision of judges, whose ears are more easily tickled than their own.

• Le poids de l'air enfin, par un plus doux bienfait,  
 Dans le sein maternel fait arriver le lait,  
 Et le guide à travers les veines qu'il arrose,  
 De deux globes d'albâtre à deux lèvres de rose. •

Lucretius has given a theory of the winds ; and his French rival could

could not do less. If the splendid passage in Lucretius, which begins,

*Principia venti vis verberat incita pentum,*

should be found to have infinitely more poetry than the article in the rhymed version of the *Dictionnaire Physique*, still, it must be admitted, that the philosophy of the French poet is more exact than that of the Roman. But there may be critics who will think differently from us concerning the relative poetical merits of the passages in question. M. De Lille has told us, how Cambyses and all his army were buried in the sands which had been raised by a whirlwind;—an example of the destructive effects of air, which had been omitted by Lucretius. It is true, that our author has borrowed, or stole, the whole story from Darwin. But what is that to the purpose? It ought to belong to him who can make the best use of it;—and M. De Lille justly observes, that it comes with a better grace from him, who was talking of the winds, than from Dr Darwin, who was singing of the Loves of the Plants. Our author, in speaking of the burning winds in the tropical climates, has expressed some of the ideas of Thomson with pretty effect, and with no acknowledgment. There is also a passage in the *Jerusalemme libérato*; from which, it was to be expected, a skilful hand would pilfer something.

Two great masters have described, in Greek, and in Italian, the plagues of Athens and Florence. Lucretius has also given an account of the cause and progress of this most terrible of human maladies in the sixth book; and De Lille, likewise ascribing it to a *mal-aria*, presents us with a free translation from the passage in Lucretius, but without any acknowledgment. We really are not sorry when our author lays down the *Dictionnaire Physique* for the Roman poet; and, therefore, we shall not quarrel with him for stating, that the contagion is communicated by the air; and that, besides men, wolves, lions, and tigers, die of the plague.

Since Noah's deluge, we never heard so much of *Water* as in the third canto. Often did we exclaim with Hamlet, "Too much of water!"—and, after following the Abbé's muse over oceans, seas, and lakes; across rivers navigable, and not navigable—rivulets, streams, and brooks; through mire, fen, bog, and marsh;—we could not help fervently praying that she might soon get upon *terra firma* again, to wring her locks, and dry her petticoats.

But, to amuse us by the way, she entertained us with two long episodes, translated faithfully enough from Thomson's Seasons. From the hurry we were all in, either she forgot to acknowledge the plagiarism; or the avowal of the theft escaped our ears.

We



We shall pass over, unnoticed, most of the arguments of the fourth book;—such as—*Les différentes espèces de terre découvertes et analysées par les savans—Expériences de Lavoisier sur l'eau—Les analyses de la chymie, &c. &c.* We rather wish, for the sake of our readers, and of ourselves, to transcribe the following passage, which is one of the few that we have found worthy of the Abbé De Lille.

O terre! enfant du ciel! —  
 Oh! que j'aime ta grace, et ta magnificence!  
 Et quel riche appareil entoura ta naissance!  
 Agréables ruisseaux, fleuves majestueux,  
 Solennelles forêts, bosquets voluptueux,  
 Le ciel pour pavillon, pour tapis la verdure,  
 Les bois pour diadème, et les mers pour ceinture,  
 Le doux flambeau des nuits, l'astre éclatant du jour;  
 Quelle pompe manquoit à ton riche séjour?  
 Mais depuis ton berceau, jusqu'à tes derniers ages,  
 Par quels heureux travaux, par quels affreux ravages,  
 L'homme, le feu et l'onde ont du globe habité  
 Rajuni la vieillesse, ou fêtré la beauté!

There is likewise much spirit in this description of a volcanic eruption.

Tel, et plus furieux, le volcan effréné  
 Lutte contre le mont qui le tient enchaîné:  
 Plus il fut captivé, plus il sera terrible.  
 L'instinct a pressenti l'explosion horrible;  
 Les troupeaux consternés quittent ce sol brûlant,  
 L'oiseau part effrayé, le chien fuit en hurlant.  
 Enfin il rompt sa voute; il brise ses murailles;  
 De ses flancs déchirés il vomit ses entrailles;  
 Mélange de fumée, et de cendre, et d'éclairs;  
 En colonne rougeâtre il monte dans les airs;  
 Du noir abîme aux cieux il fait voler la pierre,  
 De ses sillons brûlants laboure au loin la terre,  
 Et des rochers dissous, et des métaux fondus,  
 Roule en flots enflammés les torrents confondus.  
 Adieu les fleurs, les fruits et la moisson naissante;  
 Tout semble, tout fremit; la terre mugissante  
 Se tord avec fureur ses abîmes profonds,  
 Et les tours des cités, et les forêts des monts. &c.

A man who, when he takes pains, can write such poetry as this, is not to be excused for spinning verses as fast and as ill as Lord Fanny himself.

It is not until he has finished his fourth canto, and his first volume, that our author enters upon his subject. We think there should have been two separate poems; and the one might have been

been called the Four Elements, with as much propriety as the other would have been termed the Three Kingdoms. At present, the latter title belongs only to the second volume.

The fifth canto is dedicated to the consideration of the mineral kingdom. As a poetical composition, we think it a very inferior production; and as a piece of philosophy, we sincerely hope (as lovers of science), that it will never preclude the study of the *Dictionnaire Physique* in prose. The ingenious teachers of the *Porte Royale*, indeed, turned the Greek grammar into French verse; and our Latinists have tortured longs and shorts, to the great advantage of those who, with shining morning faces, begin to lip *propria quæ maribus*. But these were unambitious versifiers, who never thought of invoking Apollo and the Muses. We insist upon it, that the *Dieu des beaux vers* will never permit a legitimate son to put the laws of chemical affinities into heroic verse. His ears will be grated by a mineralogical nomenclature; and he will never recognise, as his own inspiration, such anapæstics as the following.

- Le tung-stene grisâtre; et l'arsenic rongeur,  
Qui du cuivre blanchi deguise la rougeur.' &c.
- Ailleurs c'est le nickel; le douteux molybdene  
Dont nul ne connoissoit la substance incertaine.' &c.

The canto concludes with a long and tedious episode, which by great good fortune has nothing to do with the subject.

The vegetable kingdom affords a fine subject for poetry; and the introduction of the sixth canto, reminded us of the poetical feeling which we were accustomed to admire in the *Jardins*.

- Ils sont passés ces tems des rêves poétiques,  
Ou l'homme interrogeoit des forêts prophétiques;  
Ou la fable, créant des faits prodigieux,  
Peuploit d'êtres vivants des bois religieux.
- Dodone inconsultée a perdu ses oracles;  
Nos vergers sont sans Dieux, nos forêts sans miracles;  
Au sang du beau chasseur adoré de Cypris,  
La rose ne doit plus son brillant coloris;  
L'eau ne repete plus le beau front de Nargisse,  
Ce vert cyprès n'est plus le jeune Cyparisse.' &c.

As might be expected, M. de Lille has sung the loves of the plants. The following passage possesses considerable beauty; but it must be allowed, that the description is warmer than the chaste *Sisters of Helicon* might have been expected to inspire.

- —L'Aurore matinale  
Vient frapper de ses feux la couche nuptiale;  
Le couple est éveillé, l'amant brule, et soudain  
Les esprits créateurs s'échappent de son sein.

Dans

Dans l'organe secret dont l'ardeur les seconde  
 Son amante attendoit cette vapeur féconde ;  
 Elle entre, et le pistil avec avidité  
 Ouvre sa trompe humide à la fécondité.  
 La graine en se gonflant boit le suc qui l'arrose ;  
 C'est un œillet naissant, c'est un lis, une rose ;  
 Et l'organe qui verse, ou reçoit ce trésor,  
 D'un doux tressaillement fremit long-tems encor.  
 Cependant autour d'eux s'embellit la nature ;  
 Le papillon folâtre, et le ruisseau murmure ;  
 Les essaims bourdonnant voltige à l'entour,  
 Et les oiseaux en chœur chantent l'hymne d'amour.

In the two last cantos, M. de Lille has undertaken to describe the animal reign. We confess, that a Zoology in verse is almost as little to our taste as a *Dictionnaire Physique* ; and we have as little curiosity to see Buffon put into rhyme, as Messieurs Cuvier and Libes. Buffon, with all his faults, is certainly one of the most eminent naturalists that the world ever produced. His knowledge must be always valued by the scientific ; and his eloquence has rendered his knowledge interesting to almost every class of readers. Many of his portraits of animals are painted with a masterly hand. His descriptions of the dog, the horse, the elephant, and the swan, are equally distinguished by truth and beauty. If, then, the contest had only been for fine writing, we should have cautioned M. de Lille not to have been too precipitate in attempting to versify the works of Buffon ; but if an abridgement of them were necessary, we confess, we should be induced to recommend that it might be edited in plain prose.

We have dwelt at great length upon the volumes before us ; and to some of our good-natured readers, our strictures will appear to be too severe, when it is considered that they have fallen on a blind and unfortunate man, who, if not now the only legitimate, is certainly the oldest living son of Apollo. But at a period when bad taste in writing is becoming every day more general ; when new, and barbarous, and monstrous models are held up for admiration ; and when the classics of our own, and of every other country, are in danger of being forced into the shade ; every lover of real literature must feel indignant, when an author of acknowledged merit writes himself down to the common level of rhymers and poetasters. This is the time for men of taste and genius to make their last stand. If Virgil had lived to old age, and had written a thousand verses *stans pede in uno*, Tacitus, or whoever was the author of the treatise on the corruption of Roman eloquence, would have had no difficulty in pointing out one of its principal sources. When the herd of bad poets and of bad critics can point at a poet of eminence, who, by writing too much,

much, and too hastily, exposes himself to just censure, they obtain more for their cause, than his former example had ever done against it. They who could not reach to his excellence, will eagerly avail themselves of his defects; and, under the authority of his name, will claim indulgence for faults, which the public had imprudently pardoned to a favourite author. The Abbé de Lille was once best known as the successful translator and imitator of Virgil; and he should have remembered, that the poem, second only to the Iliad, was ordered to be burnt by its author, because it had not received the last polish from his hands. If M. de Lille had duly pondered upon this anecdote, we think he would not have given the category of quantity so great a preference over that of quality, in his acts of publication.

ART. VII. *Voyage aux Indes Orientales.* Par le P. Paulin de S. Barthélemy, Missionnaire; traduit de l'Italien par M\*\*\*; avec les Observations de MM. Anquetil Du Perron, J. R. Forster, et Silvestre de Saey; et une Dissertation de M. Anquetil sur la Propriété individuelle et Foncière dans l'Inde et en Egypte. 3 vol. 8vo. à Paris, 1808.

THERE are few objects of greater curiosity than the actual state of society among the Hindus. When full light is let in upon this point, the darkness in which the history of society throughout Asia has so long been involved, begins to dispel. By living with the Hindus of the present day, we are living with the Hindus of the days of Alexander. Nor is this by any means the most important part of the advantage. It is now fully ascertained, that the more improved nations of Asia have at all times resembled each other in manners, in arts, in government and in knowledge. Few and faint as the sparks of light are which history has preserved to us respecting the ancient Persians, the Chaldeans and the Babylonians, they suffice to prove an unquestionable coincidence in the great characteristic lines between their state of society, and the state which is found to have been fixed for so many ages in the land of Bharata. By living, therefore, with the Hindus of the present day, we are living, as it were, with the Persians of the time of Xerxes—with the Babylonians of the time of Cyrus—and the Egyptians of the times of both. It would seem as if, by a singular felicity, one nation had been arrested for so many ages in its primitive condition, as to carry us back into

the recesses of antiquity. We are gratified as if by a personal acquaintance with nations once so famous—the objects of so natural and eager a curiosity—but of whom all satisfactory indications seemed to be lost in the depths of distant time. Of all antiquities, as they are usually called, that is, of all the monuments of antiquity, Hindu society is, beyond all comparison, the most stupendous, the most wonderful, and, excluding the literature of Greece and Rome, the most interesting and the most instructive.

The descriptions of intelligent travellers, who delineate to us with fidelity the present phenomena, intellectual, moral and political, presented by this people, and the information furnished by those who lay open to us the literary and ancient monuments of Hindustan, are, in this view, of peculiar importance.

Our eagerness to lay hold of any fresh contribution of this sort, and the dexterity of French booksellers in metamorphosing titles, led us, on the present occasion, into a little disappointment. *Voyage aux Indes Orientales, par le P. Paulin, traduit de l'Italien*, struck us as indicating a production from which we were likely to derive some materials for reflection, and something which we might aggregate to the previous stock of our information. Upon opening the book, we discovered, in a new dress, and under a new name, our old acquaintance, *the Travels of Bartolomeo*, some years ago converted into English from a German translation. The disappointment, however, was not complete. Of the three new volumes, the notes, almost wholly composed by Anquetil du Perron, formed one, the matter of which was new; and that from the pen of one of the most celebrated orientalists in the world. It was, too, the dying gift (Anquetil du Perron expired at a very advanced age, while the work was yet under his eye) of a man who had devoted, more exclusively and ardently than any individual perhaps who had ever lived, a whole life to oriental researches. It was a work from the hand of a Frenchman,—of a man whose opinions must have had great weight with his countrymen on a subject in which British interests are considered as so deeply involved;—on which the eyes of the French government, we know, have been so long and so eagerly fixed;—and with regard to which we have so many motives for desiring to know the true nature and extent of the views and policy of our enemy. These considerations induced us to think that the work (we speak, of course, only of the new part) might not be unworthy of some reflections. We cannot, indeed, on such an occasion, enter into that comprehensive and connected view of the subject which it would have gratified us to take, if the nature of the work had admitted of it; but shall rather follow the author in

the desultory discussions which a volume, composed of notes, necessarily supplies. Some of them, it appears to us, are of no mean importance.

Of the work to which the notes are appended, we have occasion to say nothing. The book is already known nearly as much as it is worthy of being known. The author has certainly communicated information; but it is a shame to him, considering his opportunities, not to have communicated more. Though a monk, and a missionary, the man is not ill instructed. The literature of Europe is apparently familiar to him; and seems not to have been without its salutary effects upon his mind. On many trying and decisive occasions, he is guided by the enlarged sentiments of philosophy; and his bigotry shows itself, for the most part, in a form rather ludicrous than offensive. His judgment, however,—his power of discrimination between what is of great and what is of little importance, is not his happiest faculty; and, in accuracy, which depends so much upon judgment, he is still more defective.

One reflection, however, we may make, on Father Paulini and his brother missionaries. They are much more intimately, practically, and personally acquainted with Hindu manners and feelings, as they at present display themselves in actual life, than any other description of European observers. The houses of the Hindus are shut upon all but those who are of their own sect. The presence of a European would be pollution. All that most Europeans know of the Hindus among whom they live, is what they see of them as they walk in the streets or roads, or work in the fields. They very rarely converse, and scarcely ever associate with them. Those who are the most desirous of information, hire a Pundit or professed instructor. Him they question; and from him they receive such answers as he pleases to afford,—answers having always as close a relation as possible to the man's views and interests; and to truth, only such relation as is not deemed inconsistent with those more prevailing motives. As far as this information is perfected by learning the rules according to which servants govern themselves, in discharging their divided and subdivided functions in his family, so far the practical knowledge of the ordinary European extends. But it is the very business of the missionary to associate with the natives. He travels about among them, not with horses, palankeens, and tribes of followers, but on foot, and alone. He approaches them and their houses, whenever he can do so without offence. He even renders himself dependent upon their charity,—the most powerful of all introductions to their intimacy. He labours to gain their confidence. The consequence is, that he contemplates them a great many degrees nearer than any other body;

body; and his information respecting the living people has (that is to say, when he is a man of sense) a particularity, a minuteness, a satisfactoriness, which that of no other contributor to our stock of knowledge on this subject displays.

Among the first of the points on which M. Anquetil thinks proper to offer his observations, is the privilege of a traveller,—on which the learned missionary gives himself some lofty airs. That any men who have not been in India, and who know not the languages of India, should dare to speak of India, appears to him in the light of an indecency. At all events, if any thing which he has to advance finds itself opposed by any thing which they have advanced, be they who they may, there is no contumely which is too great for them. ‘*Je m’étonne,*’ says he, (vol. I. p. 43.) ‘*que M. M. d’Anville, Delille, de la Tour, Cellarius, Robertson, aient pu écrire sur la géographie, la topographie, la navigation et le commerce de l’Inde, sans les secours indispensables que je viens d’indiquer.*’ Anquetil, though a traveller himself, and a man who rested the principal part of the consideration to which he laid claim, on his knowledge of the languages of the East, thinks proper to chastise, and with some severity, the petulance of this travelled vanity. He quotes the successful and important labours of d’Anville and Reinell in Grecian geography, neither of whom either knew the language of Greece, or had in person explored the countries.

The pretensions of the missionary, however, are not singular. They are almost uniformly adopted, and very willingly brought forward by our own travellers and linguists from the East. The spirit of exclusion and monopoly is a very predominant one in human nature.\* The lawyer cannot easily find words for his indignation, when any one but a brother pretends to know any thing of his mystery. How contemptuously does the deep read divine eye the presumptuous laic, when he ventures, in his presence, to touch a thorny point in theology? The statesman, during many ages, held it a crime, demanding punishment, if any one ventured or pretended to disclose the mysteries of his art. It is well known that our own James I. claimed a monopoly of king-craft, into which it was indecent and wicked even for parliament itself to pry. Of these several monopolies, no one, we believe, is more completely broken up than those of the king and the statesman; and none, perhaps, continues so little impaired as that of the lawyer.

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\* Anquetil says very well on another occasion, ‘*Chacun prêche pour son saint, et râye, s’il le faut, les autres du calendrier. Le desir d’être, de paraître seul, de rabaisser, anéantir tout ce qui n’est pas soi, mène plus loin qu’on ne pense.*’

lawyer. As the monopoly of the Oriental linguists and travellers, or at least their pretty frequent and peremptory claims of monopoly, are but too apt to be urged against the untraveller inquirer, and to retard, as we apprehend, the progress of knowledge, the present seems an apposite occasion to endeavour to show what these claims are really and intrinsically worth.

The man who has not been in India, and who has not spoken the languages, can know nothing about India, says the learned traveller. What, not even that which you have told him?—You must, then, have told it very ill. You have told, all of you who have published your observations, what you regarded as of most importance in all that presented itself to your observation in India. The intelligent European, who has never been in India, may know the facts you have related. With these facts, inferences without number are connected; and, for the sake of these inferences, it chiefly is, that the knowledge of the facts themselves is valuable. These inferences the untraveller European may draw as well as you; and, if he has accustomed his mind to the drawing of inferences much more than you, a great deal better.

Ah, but the being an eye and ear witness! that is an advantage for which nothing else can compensate. That it is an advantage, in some respects, cannot indeed be denied: but that it is a disadvantage in other respects, we conceive to be no less incontrovertible. The vivid impressions of the senses are a cause of darkness, as well as of light. They are the cause of partial, and of confused apprehensions. The range of the senses, the possible extent of personal observation, is in every man extremely limited. In regard to a whole country, and a whole people, especially such a country as India, and such a people as the Hindus, how short a way can the actual ocular observation of any individual extend? But where we must pick up our knowledge of an infinitely extensive, and infinitely various system of facts, from a great variety of witnesses, our having seen one part with our own eyes is very apt to make us undervalue what has been seen by others; and the man who can combine and compare, with the soundest judgment, all those varying testimonies, is the man who will have the most complete and valuable knowledge of the subject to which the testimonies refer. To this high intellectual function, the actual observer, the man whose time is spent in looking on, is seldom the most competent. The two operations seem, if we may judge from experience, to require two different kinds of intellect. They form a natural and useful division of intellectual labour;—both highly useful—and each essential to the utility of the other;—the one set the quarriers, who bring the stones from their native seat.



—the other the architects, who work them into the regular building.

When a judge, in the exercise of his great and important functions, takes cognizance of some extensive and complicated affair, and receives the accounts of it rendered by a number of witnesses, —when, by carefully interrogating, first one and then another, he has sifted it to the bottom, —is not his conception of the truth infinitely more to be relied on, than that of any one of the witnesses whose testimonies he has been comparing? In extensive and complicated affairs, a case can scarcely be conceived in which it would be otherwise. Yet the witnesses are in the situation of our supposed observers; and the judge is in that of the untraveller European, who, by the exercise of his intellect upon the testimony and records before him, endeavours, like the judge, to conceive accurately that which has been observed inaccurately.

Whatever be the situation in which men are placed, there are certain biases arising from it which attach upon them in that situation, and which always ought to be taken into account, in judging of their words and actions. The situation of a traveller has its biases as well as others. To have something very valuable or very wonderful to report, and to have as much as possible of one or the other description, is naturally one great object with every one who travels with a view to give an account of his travels; and it is a trite and familiar observation, that what a man wishes very much to see and believe, he seldom fails to see and believe,—provided only the subject is sufficiently indefinite to give any play to the imagination. It is on this ground that the reports of spies are always to be received with so much caution, even where their honesty is not at all suspected. Of the two classes of things which form the objects of the traveller's search—the useful and the wonderful, many more have a taste for the former than for the latter, as well among those for whom the report is designed, as among those who pursue the means of making it. Above all things, if the country which is the object of curiosity has, by any cause, adequate or inadequate, been for a long time regarded as containing wonderful things, and more particularly if, along with all this, the country be very distant, *ex longinquo reverentia*, the passion for the wonderful may then be expected to be seen at its height. It is this which accounts for the extreme credulity with which European, and especially British visitors, have been accustomed to make their inquiries in India. The extravagant pretensions of the Bramins, though among the most infallible signs of an ignorant and rude people, were long listened to with wondering acceptance; and all the stories in support of their pretensions, which men versed in the

the arts of fraud, the very children and professors of imposture, chose to advance, were received as the most important disclosures. Of this style of inquiring and believing, Sir William Jones, on whose susceptible imagination the idea of Eastern wonders seems very early to have taken a strong hold, appears to have set the example; and it has hitherto been pretty well kept up by his successors.

Among the topics suggested by the work of the learned missionary, which have attracted more or less of the reflections of Anquetil du Perron, there are two favourite ones. On these he has expended the principal part of his force. He recurs to them again and again; and, on one of them, has favoured us with a separate dissertation. The one is, the practicability, and even the facility and policy, of the invasion of India by the French, or by the Russians, or by the French and Russians conjoined. The other is, the long agitated and important question, respecting the tenure of property, or, more strictly and properly speaking, of landed property in India, according to the laws and customs of the country. On these topics, it will be proper for us to offer a few reflections.

1. *On the invasion of India.*—There are two modes, according to M. Anquetil, by either of which this splendid enterprise, an enterprise pregnant with so many important consequences, may be achieved. The first is a plan of moderation. By this, it is only proposed to reduce the sovereign power of England over India, but by no means to extinguish her commercial establishments.

‘Une seconde expedition,’ says he, ‘sans vues d’établissement en Egypte, réussira comme la première, et 12 à 15,000 hommes transportés à Suez, de là dans l’Inde par la Mer Rouge, suffisent pour occasionner dans cette vaste contrée une révolution qui rende aux naturels, des pays qui leur appartiennent; aux Européens, la possession sûre et tranquille de leurs comptoirs et de leur commerce; et qui, en resserrant dans de vastes bornes l’Inde Britannique, sans commotion, sans cet appareil énorme d’attaque et de défense qui consume le vainqueur et le vaincu, garantisse aux Anglais un revenu, un gain que l’humanité, que la probité puisse avouer.’ p. 55.

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\* The author had already expressed his sentiments on this point, in a place so little congruous to them, as to prove that his anxiety not to omit them must have been unusually strong,—in his notes on the translation of the *Oupnek’hat*, one of the ancient religious books of the Hindus. See the passage, pp. 726 to 729. tom. I. of that work, which is written in Latin, and was published at Paris in 1801, in two large quarto volumes. Till we become more amply supplied with Hindi monuments, by the industry of our Indian scholars, it is a document of considerable importance.

But beside this plan of invading India by the isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea, with a small number of men, for the purpose merely of exciting insurrection in India, and, by the recoiling energy of the people, driving back the English within the limits of their commercial establishments, the author has a more complete and forcible scheme, which appears at last to have supplanted the former in his affections.

'On compte,' says he, p. 70, '450 lieues environ de Balk, capital du Corasan, ou les Russes ont un poste, ou ils font passer des soldats, au Bengale. Qui empêchera vingt-cinq mille Français joints à vingt-cinq mille Russes, de descendre de Balk, par le haut du Penjab, dans l'Indoustan? . . . L'empire Russe a des points de contact avec le nord de l'Europe et de l'Asie, de Petersbourg à la Chine, et la route ne serait ni si longue ni si difficile pour les troupes, de Petersbourg à Calcutta, que de la première ville aux frontières Chinoises, que ses armées ont visitées plus d'une fois;—d'une autre côte, les Anglais doivent tout craindre d'un peuple révolutionné de trente-deux millions d'ames, pour qui les routes les plus longues, les plus difficiles, les hazards de toute espèce sont un jeu, qui va au feu comme au bal, que le repos n'a pas encore amolli quoiqu'il en ait besoin comme le reste de l'Europe; et dont la seule réponse aux diatribes politiques des deux chambres du parlement Britannique est une marine,—et nous l'aurons.'

As the importance of the French schemes upon India is commensurate with the value of the British tenure in those envied and coveted regions, it is of some moment not to lose any of the real information on this subject which may be extracted from the zeal of our commentator. For this reason, there are two or three more among the various hints he discloses, which we should deem it improper not to transcribe. The march from France itself is thus sketched out.

'Une armée de 30 à 40,000 hommes, par la Turquie, la Mer Noire, la Mer d'Asoph, la Mer Caspienne, et Balk, se rendrait dans l'Indoustan, à Kahoul, Lahor, Elahabad, le long du Gange à Calcutta, voyage d'un an à partir de France.' (p. 470.)—'Des Français bien conduits (par exemple, par un Dessaix) parcourraient ces vastes pays, aussi aisément qu'ils ont remonté le Nil, et pénétré dans la haute Egypte, qu'ils se sont portés à Suez, traversant partout les déserts, qu'ils ont rabattu au sud-est dans la Syrie. L'air et les vivres sont meilleurs dans cette partie de l'Asie qu'en Afrique; point de déserts ni de journées de sables brûlans. Le caractère Français, franc, loyal, désintéressé autant que brave, sympathisera avec le Persan, celui des plaines comme celui des montagnes: un négociateur habile envoyé chez les Aghvans (Afgans) de Candahar, préparera les voies déjà frayées par les courses annuelles des Patanes dans l'Indoustan.' p. 57.

While these grand operations are in progress toward their execution,

cution, it is part of the plan, that England should be at the same moment harassed in all possible quarters, and in all possible ways, —for the purpose of wasting, and, if that be attainable, of exhausting her resources,—at any rate, of preventing the transmission of those vast supplies to India, which a well-concerted attack would render indispensable for its preservation.—‘Savoir l’embarrasser dans la Baltique par les puissances du Nord;—l’inquiéter chez elle (elle le craint réellement) par une descente préparée dans nos ports;—l’obliger par *Porto Trayo* et par la marine Turque, et s’il se peut, par l’Espagne, à disperser une partie de ses forces dans la Méditerranée;—la forcer même, par le Cap de Bonne Esperance et l’Isle de France, à les doubler dans l’Inde, la mine qui fournit à ses dépenses en Europe.’—By these, and similar means, England, it is calculated, may be compelled to undergo an expense much more than double of that which it will cost France to employ them. For example, it is asserted that 60 ships of the line, skilfully managed by France, will create employment for 200 ships of the line by England; because England has so many points to defend, and has (to use Anquetil’s own expression) ‘pas d’autres forteresses.’ p. 56.

On this great question, respecting the practicability, on the part of the French and Russians, of a descent upon Hindustan, and the dangers of such an attempt with respect to their own country, the conceptions of Englishmen in general are exceedingly vague. They are not without their fears; and, now and then, such fears appear to exert considerable force: but, as with regard to all dangers that present themselves as not very near, their general habit is to despise the hostilities with which they are threatened in India. They are hostilities, however, which it is not impossible, either physically or politically speaking, that they should be called upon to meet: and, though such a danger is not one against which we should deem it expedient to take any very costly precautions, it is worthy of any thing rather than contempt.

In making up the grand bill of national assets,—in entering upon the first page of our political ledger the inventory of British goods and valuables,—the dominion of India counts probably, with us, for a good deal less than with a great proportion of our countrymen. We are far from agreeing with M. Anquetil in two points. The *first* is, that India is ‘la mine qui fournit aux dépenses de l’Angleterre en Europe;’—an opinion, which it is curious to find so universally occupying the *sensorium* of Frenchmen. The *second* is, that it would be a blessing to the natives to be delivered from the yoke of England. If we wish for the prolongation of an English government in India, which we do most sincerely, it is for the sake of the natives, not of England. India has never been

any thing but a burden ; and any thing but a burden, we are afraid, it never can be rendered. But the English government in India, with all its vices, is a blessing of unspeakable magnitude to the population of Hindustan. Even the utmost abuse of European power, is better, we are persuaded, than the most tempered exercise of Oriental despotism. The grounds of this opinion, we hope to have some future opportunity of laying before the public. In the mean time, we shall only observe, that, judging of the future from the past history of this country, when left to its own exertions, we cannot entertain a doubt, that, if it were again parcelled out into a number of petty despotisms, the result would be a mere repetition of the same bloody and ferocious invasions, which we know to have formed the sad circle of its past adventures. All the sufferings inflicted by European war, in which the houses and fields of the great body of the people are usually spared, is a state of prosperity and enjoyment, compared with that of their own destructive and merciless ravages ; in which, from unskilfulness in the means of defence, each country was penetrated at will by its enemy, with troops whose merit consisted in the magnitude of the mischief they could perpetrate,—in the completeness and extent of the ruin and desolation which they left behind them. The wider the circumference of the British dominion, the more extensive the reign of peace. Did it embrace the whole of the Peninsula, and were it supported with any tolerable degree of wisdom, a very considerable period of peace would probably be ensured, during which an incalculable progress might be made in happiness and civilization.

This much we thought it necessary to state, with regard to the real grounds on which we deprecate a war with Bonaparte for Hindustan. There is no occasion to enter into an estimate of what the natives would lose, or what they might gain, by exchanging a British for a French dominion. We humbly conceive, that there can be no question upon this subject. There are causes, both physical and moral, which render the dominion of France over any considerable part of India, impossible. No European country but England is in circumstances to maintain that dominion ; and, if India loses her English government, she loses the benefit of an European government entirely.

What, then, are the chances that India will sustain the calamity of a visit from the armies of Napoleon ?

If, when the affairs of the Continent are settled, war with England should still continue, the great object of the enemy's deliberation will undoubtedly be, in what points we may be most easily and deeply wounded. Two very readily present themselves—*the East*, and *India* ;—and there are no other. The range of election, we have seen, is not very wide ; for, the passive and theoretical kind

kind of warfare meditated against our commerce, is altogether of a different character. If Bonaparté means any where to pursue active hostilities against us, it is to Ireland or India—to one or other, or to both, that his armies must be transported. Of the former, however, this is not the place to say any thing;—as to the latter, there are several things to be considered.

In transporting an army from France to India there is difficulty;—difficulty such as M. Anquetil du Perron seems very unfit to appreciate;—difficulty, in fact, such as has very seldom indeed been overcome. But there is no impossibility. Nay, the means are so obvious, that, in the choice of them, there is hardly room for mistake. What is wanted, is, to secure the means or subsistence to an army of 50,000 men, while marching half round the globe, and through countries, in a great part of which the means of subsistence will not probably be found. This question, however formidable at first appearance, is, after all, only a question of expense. That these means may, with the utmost certainty, be provided, we are well assured. The expense will be enormous. But expense, with adequate skill in the employment of it, will infallibly accomplish the purpose.

It will not probably be very difficult for Napoleon, commanding, as he does, the compliance of the Turkish government, and enjoying the cooperation of the Russians, to transport an army to the Black Sea, and from the Black Sea to the southern shores of the Caspian. It is at this point where the struggles and trials, we may suppose, will begin. Let us endeavour to see what may be their amount. At that point, whatever it may be, on the shores of the Caspian Sea, from whence the best road commences to Balk, a dépôt must be established, and ready, before the arrival of the troops;—a dépôt, of such magnitude, as will suffice to carry the army to Balk. This dépôt it will be the business of the Russian government to form and to guard, at least with the assistance of French agents, and France furnishing the expense. At Balk, in the same manner, where the Russians have at present an establishment, it will be in their power to have another dépôt ready prepared, which will suffice to carry the army through a great part of the territory which lies between Balk and the province of Delhi. That these distances are enormous—that the dépôts must be immense—that the expense must be prodigious—a considerable part of the supplies, even at Balk, probably requiring to be brought from Europe—is all true. But all this, it is plain, is but the work of expense. That these dépôts *may* be formed, and may, by the Russians, very easily be guarded, no one can hesitate to admit. The country belongs entirely to the Usbeek Tartars, who have abundant motives for keeping on good terms with the Russian government.

From Balkh, or rather from the borders of Candahar, which is at no great distance, and where the confines of the Afgan government commence, the troops of Bonaparte may possibly have to fight their way; for, though this predatory government, which borders with the English territories on its opposite frontier, views the English power with eyes sufficiently hostile, it may not be easy or possible for an army to make its way through the dominions of such a people, without occasioning hostility. Such, however, are the caprices of a people like the Afgans, that it is possible too—though not, we think, so probable—that they would receive assistance from them in their transit. Of the degree of opposition, in case of opposition, which the Afgan power might present, no certain estimate can be formed. Among rude nations, the Afgan empire, now including all the eastern provinces of Persia, and some of the noblest provinces in Upper India, is far from inconsiderable. But the efficacy of this power against the French would depend almost wholly upon the way of employing it; and the chances are many to one, that it would not be employed in the right way. In making war upon the line of operations, and the means of supply, it would be extremely formidable: but, meeting the French army in front, as it most probably would, it would only meet, and with little trouble to the enemy, its destruction. The fortified places on the line of march certainly would not give a French army a great deal of trouble. As the country too is fertile, and several of the principal towns, among the rest the capital Cabul lying upon the route, provisions to a certain amount, probably to a sufficient amount, could scarcely escape the grasp of an active and intelligent enemy.

Such being the nature of the march to India, such its practicability, but such, in the shape of enormous expense, its difficulty; is Bonaparte—is France, in a condition to overcome that difficulty? A difficulty, in the shape of enormous expense, is certainly that which they are least in a condition to overcome. It is perfectly evident that no point is more essential with Bonaparte, than to spare the purses of Frenchmen. He seems to be more afraid of the discontent which the smart of taxation produces, than of the alienation excited by any other form of oppression. Amid the many great expeditions in which he has been engaged, it has been his annual boast, that they should cost his subjects nothing.

If, such be the reluctance of Bonaparte to tax the French for wars carried on with their neighbours, and in which the national safety or the national glory is concerned, what must it be to tax them for an expedition, which must so naturally appear to them wild and extravagant, and with which one does not easily see how even that pliable tool, a nation's credulity, can be made to believe the nation's interest connected?

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That Bonaparte is aware of these difficulties, we entertain no manner of doubt. But then, on the other side, are to be considered the difficulties with which he has to compare them. Between the invasion of Ireland, and the invasion of India, lies the choice.\* But the dangers attached to the invasion of Ireland can scarcely present themselves to the mind of Bonaparte, as importing to him less serious ground of alarm, than those attending the expedition to India. If the expense is less, the chance of miscarriage is infinitely greater. What might be the effects of a grand disaster upon the throne of Bonaparte,—a throne, which success, and recent success alone has set up, it is not very easy to tell; and it is one of the last experiments, we believe, which he would wish to try. How intense soever his desire of invading Ireland, his fear of seeing his expedition encounter a British fleet in its passage, operates upon his mind with nearly equivalent force. But, beside one or other of these invasions, there seems to be no choice but that of absolute inactivity;—an election perhaps more hazardous than either. The conqueror of the Continent cannot long be at war with England alone, and yet do nothing against England. He must invade either Ireland or India, if war continues with England, and peace on the Continent. On this the people of England ought to reckon with a certainty as great as can attach to any events of so contingent a nature. And though, of the two, we deem the invasion of Ireland the more probable event, it is, with all our deprecation of a war in India, far from the most desirable.

But if such be the chances and the means of Bonaparte for reaching India, what are his chances and means with respect to the conflict he has after that to sustain with the British power in India? This is an additional question, the answer to which must be drawn from the view of another train of considerations. It is a question to which the British people cannot too seriously direct their attention. But it is a question with which, for various reasons, we cannot engage on the present occasion.

2. The second subject of our author's reflections, which is of sufficient importance to claim our attention, is the question, who is the proprietor, or who are the proprietors, of land in India? This is a question of considerable curiosity, both on account of the light it throws on the state of society, and of its connexion with certain celebrated regulations of our Indian government—the practical value of which, however, will not be much affected by their having proceeded on an erroneous theory.

As the subject may be new to some of our readers, a few words are requisite in the way of explanation. The immediate tenants and cultivators of the ground in India are called *ryots*. These compose



compose the body of husbandmen or peasants. They are poor in general, and their possessions small. Throughout a considerable part of the country, especially in those parts where the texture of Hindu society has been least broken by the overbearing influence of strangers, the inhabitants of a village possess the lands belonging to the village in common. The crop is raised by those of the class of cultivators, and, after it is cut down, and the grain collected in heaps upon the field, it is divided according to certain fixed proportions; so much to the priest, so much to the carpenter, so much to the smith, the shoemaker, &c.—according to the nature and number of the occupations which have established themselves in the village. The smith, the carpenter, on the other hand, with the professors of all the other occupations, pay their services to the cultivators, and to one another, according to certain rules, and as they are required; and their recompense is the share allotted them in the general distribution of the produce of the land.

Beside this class of persons connected with the soil, there is another, and a higher order, denominated *Zemindars*. Among these, either as public functionaries or as owners of the soil, the country is divided in large but unequal shares, sometimes comprehending whole districts or provinces. These men exercise a superintendence and even jurisdiction over the ryots, &c. on their respective allotments; and receive from their hands a considerable proportion of the produce of the soil, in the shape either of rent or of taxes.

The question is, whether these zemindars, by the laws of the country, are the proprietors of the soil. M. Anquetil du Perron, and many others, have maintained that they are. On the other hand, it has been contended, that the sovereign alone is in Hindustan the proprietor of the soil, and that the zemindars are but the superintendants and collectors of his land revenue.

The question may seem, at first sight, to admit of an easy solution. Do these zemindars account to the sovereign for what they collect from the ryots, and pay it to his order, or do they retain it as their own, and account to nobody? The facts which determine the answer are notorious. The zemindars do account to the sovereign, and pay to him what they receive, under deduction of a certain allowed per centage, and the still more valuable fruits of peculation and extortion. These facts, however, are open to interpretation; and the interpretation offered by those who maintain that the land is the property of the zemindars, is, that what these zemindars receive from the ryots is their own rents; what they pay to the sovereign is the land-tax.

The British government, and the author before us, have both adopted this view of the question, which the latter has supported by

by arguments which do not appear to us by any means conclusive. In the heat of his argument, he confounds the most remarkable distinctions of property; and gravely brings documents to prove that there was such a thing recognised as property in India—from which he thinks himself entitled to assume, that there was property in land. Now, with regard to all other subjects, there never was any doubt. In these, the laws constituted property; and to that property, as far as laws in India were capable of protecting, they afforded protection.

M. Anquetil's next averment is, that the tenure of the zemindar is hereditary; and therefore, it is to be inferred that he has a property in the soil. But the tenure of the ryots, by whom that soil is more immediately occupied, is hereditary too; therefore, by the same argument, the ryots are the proprietors of the soil. Again, says M. Anquetil, the zemindar can alienate his tenure; therefore, he has the property of the soil. But the ryot can alienate his tenure also; therefore, again, he has the property of the same soil. This argument, if it proves any thing, proving with equal force things inconsistent with one another, is self-destructive. But, independent of this logical inference, might not an office, if what is held by a zemindar were nothing but an office, be hereditary; and might not the interest, whatever it might be, of any individual in that office, be sold, provided no objection was offered on the part of those who had power to forbid its being sold?

Questions like this are too often decided, without that enlarged and accurate acquaintance with the history of society, on which all enlightened views of them so intimately depend. It seems to have been entirely unknown, or overlooked, by the combatants in this controversy, that the phenomenon of a sovereign the sole proprietor of land in his dominions, is by no means a miracle,—a supposition, from its extravagance, incredible. There is, on the contrary, a state of society to which it seems naturally to belong, and in which it will be found to have almost universally existed. It is well known to those who have studied the condition of such nations, that property in moveables is firmly established among them, before property in land has any existence. It is known, too, that when men first begin to cultivate the soil, he who has dug and sowed a field is regarded as having a title to the possession of the field, till he has reaped the crop for which he has laboured, and no longer: to dig or sow it for a succeeding crop, is equally the right of any other individual.\*

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\* Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. . . . Privati et separati agri apud eos nihil est; neque  
leguntur

A short experience of the obstructions which this transitory possession opposes to the multiplication of the fruits of the earth, must excite the desire—a desire gathering strength by time—of a more convenient arrangement. In a rude state of society, there is but one way of settling disputed pretensions. He who has authority speaks, and all the rest are silent. The territory of the nation, belonging in common to the nation, belongs, in this general sense, to the king, as the head and representative of the nation. It belongs to him, in this his capacity of proprietor, peaceably to determine the conflicting pretensions of individuals, and assign to each his permanent possession. As far, accordingly, as we have sufficient documents respecting rude nations, we find their kings, without perhaps a single exception, recognised as the sole proprietors of the soil.

Travellers represent this as a general fact among the agricultural nations of Africa. \* Mr Park, who probably never heard that there had been a controversy on the subject, says, ‘Concerning property in the soil;—it appeared to me, that the lands and native woods were considered as belonging to the king, or (where the government was not monarchical) to the state. When any individual, of free condition, had the means of cultivating more land than he actually possessed, he applied to the chief man of the district, who allowed him an extension of territory, on condition of forfeiture if the lands were not brought into cultivation by a given period.’ † By the laws of the Welsh, in the ninth century, all the land of the kingdom was declared to belong to the king; and we may safely, says Mr Turner, believe, that the same law prevailed while the Britons occupied the whole island. ‡ If this fact is ascertained with respect to the antient Britons, it is equally ascertained with respect to the people from whom they were derived, the antient Gauls, and all those tribes of people of the same stock and character which overspread the southern regions of Europe. We have ample testimony that the same arrangement existed among the antient Peruvians. One  
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*longius anno remanere uno in loco, incolendi causa licet.*—*Cæsar, de Bel. Gal. l. iv. c. 1.* Among some tribes of negroes on the coast of Africa, each individual must obtain the consent of the chief, before he has liberty to cultivate a field; and is only protected in its possession till he has reaped the crop for which he has toiled.—*Hist. Gen. des Voyages, t. v. ch. 7. §. 5.*

\* *Hist. Gen. des Voyages, t. iv. ch. 13.* *Mod. Univ. History, v. 1, p. 322.*

† *Park's Travels in Africa, p. 260.*

‡ *Leges Wallia, c. 337.* *Turner's Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, v. ii. ch. 3.*

third part of the land was, by the Inca, set apart for the gods; one third part he reserved to himself, for the maintenance of his court and armies; the remaining third, by portions to each family, he distributed among the people. 'But no particular man,' says Acosta, § 'possessed any thing proper to himself of this third portion; neither did the Indians ever possess any, if it were not by special grace from the Inca.'

These instances are adduced, as affording instructive matter of comparison and inference on the subject of Hindu society, of which a fact, so full of meaning, forms one of the remarkable features. That it does so, is now, by an authority from which there is no appeal, placed altogether beyond the reach of controversy. The question was, indeed, very completely, though indirectly, determined by the publication of the laws of Menu, in which not one article, except by forced inference, could be made to appear to have any relation to private property in land.\* In the Digest, however, of Hindu laws, published by Mr Colebrooke, which was drawn up, at the instance of the British government, from their own most approved and sacred books of law by the most eminent Brahmens, is an article directly to the purpose. 'Thrice seven times exterminating the military tribe, PARASA RÂMA gave the earth to CASYAPA, as a gratuity for the sacrifice of a horse.' Such is the inspired and holy text. The Brahmenical commentary is as follows. 'By conquest, the earth became the conquest of the holy PARASA RÂMA; by gift, the property of the sage CASYAPA; and, committed by him to Cshatriyas for the sake of protection, became their protective property, successively held by powerful conquerors, and not by subjects cultivating the soil. But annual property is acquired by subjects on payment of annual revenue: and the king cannot lawfully give, sell or dispose of the land to another for that year: But if the agreement be in this form, "You shall enjoy it for years,"—for so many years as the property is granted, during so many years the king should never give, sell or dispose of it to another. Yet, if the subject pay not the revenue, the grant, being conditional, is annulled by the breach of the condition. But if no special agreement be made, and another person, desirous of obtaining the land, stipu-

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§ Acosta, Nat. and Mor. Hist. of the Indies B. vi. ch. 15. See, too, Garcilasso de la Vega, P. i. B. v. ch. 1.; and Carli, Lettres sur l'Amerique, Let. 15. For great services to the public, portions of land were sometimes given in perpetuity by the Inca, as matter of distinguished reward to individuals, (Acosta, B. vi. ch. 18.); and this is another remarkable coincidence with what existed in Hindustan.

‘late a greater revenue, it may be granted to him on his application.’ \*

Such being, and thus incontestably, the fact, it will no doubt surprise some of our readers to find Sir William Jones ranged on the opposite side of the question. In the preface to his translation of Al Sirajiyah he says—‘Unless I am greatly deceived, the work, now presented to the public, decides the question which has been started, whether, by the Mogul constitution, the sovereign be not the sole proprietor of all the land in his empire, which he or his predecessors have not granted to a subject and his heirs; for nothing can be more certain, than that land, rents and goods are, in the language of all Mohammedan lawyers, property alike alienable and inheritable; and so far is the sovereign from having any right of *property* in the goods or lands of his people, that even escheats are never appropriated to his use, but fall into a fund for the relief of the poor.’ †

When these expressions, however, are referred to their authorities in the code itself, it appears that the learned author has been deceived by the existence of a sort of hereditary right, and a power of alienation in the *tenure* or office, which he seems to have mistaken for an absolute title of property in the land itself. Under the Hindu sovereigns, to the whole of whose rights the Mogul emperors succeeded, though by the laws, as we have just seen, there could be no private tenure of property in the soil for more than a year, except by express stipulation with the sovereign; yet when a ryot had once got possession of a farm, so long as he continued to pay the established revenue or tax, it was not usual to dispossess him. On the contrary, in an early stage of society, a sovereign whose income rises and falls with the produce of the soil, has a very visible and immediate interest in encouraging his tenants to remain, rather than remove. ‘When one removes, at least if into the dominions of the neighbouring petty prince, another may not be ready to occupy his place. The land remains uncultivated; and the amount of that part of the produce which was paid to the prince as his share, is diminished. It being, in this manner, the interest of both parties, of both the prince and the tenant, that the tenant should continue year after year to cultivate his farm and to pay his rent, and that he should be succeeded in these functions by his son, when he himself is cut off from them by death, it is in this channel, by necessary consequence, that affairs actually run. In the same manner, when a ryot, with-

\* Digest of Hindu Law, translated from the original Sanscrit by Sir J. Colebrooke esq., vol. I. pp. 460, 461.

† Sir W. Jones’s Works, vol. III. p. 511.

ing to leave the spot which he has hitherto cultivated, finds another ryot who is willing to pay something to be received in his place; the prince, in all this, sees only one cultivator of his ground, who, before he goes away, performs the meritorious service of providing another cultivator to occupy his place. Had he quitted the tenure without selling it, that is, had he left the farm without an occupant, the prince would have considered himself as having just ground to complain, if not to punish, the deserter.\* In return, the possession of the ryot came, of course, to be considered as a pretty secure one; and to remove him without a reasonable and satisfactory cause, as (what, in such circumstances, it could hardly ever fail to be) an act of oppression or of mischievous caprice.

There is great reason, too, to suspect, that the moral feelings of the learned Judge to whom we have alluded, have been directed, in this instance, to a wrong object. The Zemindars are proverbially the oppressors and scourges of their fellow-citizens. By no single circumstance was a good prince more usually characterized, in the discourses of the Hindus, than by the vigilance with which he controuled the Zemindars, and the severity with which he punished their transgressions. Whoever wishes for ample information on this subject, has but to read the *Sair Mutakhareen*, the author of which enumerates, as one of the worst defects in the English system of government, that it has relaxed the severity of the controul to which the conduct of the Zemindars was subject. In the translations, respecting the history of Bengal, which are annexed by Mr Jonathan Scott to his translation of Ferishta's history of Deccan, are the two following passages, which we transcribe because they are short, and because, though short, they contain evidence that is decisive. 'He prepared' (it is Meer Causim Khan, that is spoken of) 'to reduce the power of the refractory Zemindars. In fact, this description of men are in general faithless, and ready, upon the smallest commotion, to forget the indulgence of their governors; on which account, former emperors never relied upon them, but always managed the pergunnahs by their own officers. On this account, in their days, the provinces were flourishing, and men of all ranks satisfied and secure; but since the Zemindars have been left uncontrouled in the government of their districts, confusion has prevailed, and the country is decaying.' †

\* 'If land is injured by the fault of the farmer himself—as, if he fails to sow it in due time—he shall be fined ten times as much as the king's share of the crop that might otherwise have been raised.'—*Laws of Menu*, ch. viii. ar. 213.

† Ferishta's History of Dekkan, &c by Jonathan Scott, v. 11. p. 405.

In short, though, with regard to several parts of Asia, we have too little information to know any thing on this curious point from positive testimony, there is every reason, from what we do know, to suppose that, throughout that whole continent, wherever the culture of the soil is established, property in land subsists upon the same basis on which we have seen it placed, as far as our knowledge extends. Whoever has duly considered the effects of the distribution of property, and its great and constant operation on the state of human kind, cannot fail to be struck with the importance of this fact, in the description of the moral and political state of so vast a portion of the inhabitants of the globe.

ART. VIII. *A Second Journey in Spain, in the Spring of 1809, from Lisbon through the Western Skirts of the Sierra Morena, to Seville Cordoba, Granada, Malaga and Gibraltar, and thence to Tetuan and Tangiers. With Plates, containing 24 Figures, illustrative of the Costume and Manners of the Inhabitants of several of the Spanish Provinces.* By Robert Semple. Author of *Observations on a Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples, and thence to Smyrna and Constantinople, in 1805, &c. &c.* 8vo. pp. 312. London. Baldwins. 1809.

THIS title page recalls to our minds the favourable impression under which we parted with Mr Semple two years ago. His former tour stood very high among the productions of modern travellers; and we are not without hopes, that our commendations may have had some share in encouraging him to this new effort. Of these our praises, it is true, the author, with becoming dignity, took no sort of notice; and might indeed be thought wholly ignorant of their existence, were it not for the quotation of them in his newspaper advertisements. We allude to the topic, in order to take this opportunity of reprobating the use which certain authors, or their booksellers, very frequently make of the name of the Edinburgh Review. Upon one occasion, we recollect, a solitary sentence of approbation, which stood among twelve pages of pretty severe censure, was advertised in all the newspapers as our judgment of the work then under review; and the instances

is, though vague, a description perfectly applicable of its distribution among the Hindus. He assigned it out in portions among the people, who paid to him a part of the produce, in the shape of rent or revenue. *ἡ ἀπο τῆς τῆς προτοδῆς ποιησάδει, ἐπιταξάντα ἀποφορῇ πῖ-  
τλαιν αὐτὸν ἐνικ. τοῖ.* Herodot. l. ii. c. 109. Both Strabo and Diodo-  
rus furnish evidence to the same purpose.

instances are numberless, where, both by partial quotations, and even by altering the very words used, our authority has been perverted for similar purposes. This proceeding is so unfair towards the public—so unworthy of honest tradesmen—so much more resembling the dealings of certain political characters of the present day, than those of respectable English merchants, that we shall feel ourselves called upon to expose the names of such as may continue to offend after this warning. We return to the work of Mr Semple.

It is by no means equal in value to his former volumes. It is much less interesting; affords less both of amusement and instruction; and we beg that he may cause this first sentence of our criticism upon it to be advertised along with whatever extracts he may make from our commendations. The inferiority of this work, is partly owing to the more limited nature of the subject. Mr Semple's tour was confined chiefly to the part of the peninsula which he had before visited, and could scarcely touch upon, without the risk of repetitions. He travelled with great rapidity on both occasions, and could glean little on the second journey which had escaped him on the first. The change which had happened in Spain during the interval of his two excursions, no doubt rendered it possible to convey some additional information; and accordingly, it is from this circumstance that whatever interest the present work possesses, is derived. Had our author been less rapid in his movements, and less enthusiastic in his feelings about the patriots, we should have received more details than he has been able to communicate, and been more disposed to trust those which he has given.

This journey was undertaken with the intention of observing the effects produced upon Spain by the revolution. No mention is made of any projects of trade, or any plan of making a book. This, we presume, was quite an after thought. Mr Semple proceeded from Falmouth to Lisbon, in the packet, in January 1809, and arrived in that capital after a boisterous voyage. He found it dull and cheerless; the society, of course, broken up, and alarm every where prevalent, to at least as great a degree as patriotism. The description which he gives of the Portuguese levies, is sufficiently ludicrous to be quite credible; and some parts of the passage are calculated to excite more serious emotions.

The streets, the squares, the quays, were lined with ranks of volunteers, whose arms, equipment and movements were most various and whimsical. The greater proportion carried pikes; some were armed with fowling-pieces, some with bayonets screwed on poles, some with small-swords, with daggers, with pistols, or with a single pistol. Here and there in the ranks were seen halberds and pikes of curious and antient workmanship, which had probably been



wielded in the wars of the fifteenth century, and, after long lying in dust and darkness, were now dragged forth to light. The assortment of the men was as various as their arms. The tall and the short, the lean and the corpulent, the old man and the stripling, stood side by side. At the word of command, some turned to the right and others to the left, some parts of the line advanced, whilst others remained stationary. In short, every thing was ridiculous, except their cause, and that was most sacred.

‘ It is only necessary once to see these or similar levies, to be impressed with the folly of attempting to defend a country with them against a regular force. In a town or a pass they may be of great service; but in the present state of military science, a state which trusts to them in any great degree for her safety, when the hour of danger approaches, will inevitably be lost. The sure and hard test of good troops is the bayonet: How, then, can it be expected that new levies of citizens should stand this test, at the very first time of their seeing an enemy?—and stand it they must, seeing that they have no other arms but those of hand to hand, a pike, or a halberd, or a sword.

‘ But the mob of Lisbon was armed, and determined to show that it was so. Every night at least one Frenchman, or one suspected to be so, was discovered, and dragged to prison, where generally his dead body alone arrived. I myself was witness to an Englishman being murdered in this manner, and strove in vain to save his life. An Englishman! you exclaim. Yes, reader, an Englishman. It was on a Sunday evening, and I was proceeding up the principal street, when, having advanced a little beyond the headquarters of the English general, I heard the shoutings of a great mob. They drew nearer, and I presently found myself enveloped in a furious crowd, dragging along a poor wretch in the English dress; his countenance disfigured with blood, and hardly able to stagger along, from the blows which he had received. I demanded his crime. They told me he was a Frenchman: but an English officer who was in the crowd exclaimed, that it was his servant; and endeavoured to reason with some who appeared as leaders of the mob. At this intelligence I made my utmost efforts to get near the unfortunate man, and just arrived in time to seize with both my hands a pike, which some brave Portuguese from behind was endeavouring to thrust into his back. I called out to the officer to assist me. He replied, it was the positive order of the general, that in all such cases no Englishman should interfere; and advised me to take care of my own life. I was in the midst of pikes, swords and daggers, which seemed to be thrust about in all directions, as if through madness or intoxication. In spite of all my struggles, I was thrown down, and nearly trampled upon by the mob; and at length with difficulty escaped from amongst them. Next morning, I was informed that the poor wretch had been murdered in the course of the night. And this passed within one hundred yards of the English headquarters!

‘ Because

‘ Because they were armed, and the enemy was not at their gates, the Portuguese already began to utter rhodomontades. Every man finding a weapon in his hands, perhaps for the first time, performed with it a thousand deeds of heroism. But not merely what they were going to do,—what they had already done against the common enemies of Europe, was the topic of their discourses. They had gained (in conjunction with their English allies) the battle of Vimeira. It was a Portuguese soldier who made General Bernier prisoner; and they had beaten the French at Oporto. Lest there should be any doubt of these facts, an engraving of the battle of Vimeira, to be found in every shop, represented the dreadful Portuguese dragoons charging the enemy, and bearing away at least one half of the palm of victory. I know not which was the greater hardship upon the brave army which gained that battle, to be stopped in the career of victory, or to be caricatured by such associates!’ p. 6—10.

All this, if it proves nothing more, shows, at least, that there was some kind of enthusiasm among the people; and we deeply lament to think, that the impolicy of their own councils, and those of their ally, was calculated to damp it by every means, long before an opportunity was afforded of turning it to account. The spirit above described arose in Portugal, as in Spain, not so much from any claims to respect on the part of the dynasties overthrown by the French invasion,—not so much from any affection towards their old rulers, or any general wish for the restoration of the government, founded on a belief of its superior excellence;—but from a deep-rooted national antipathy—a violent hatred of the French, long established in the minds of the people in the peninsula, especially of the lower orders, and inflamed by the recent conduct of that nation. This feeling, confined chiefly to the populace, was sure to wear away; and, after producing some transient bursts of indignation, to yield before the politic measures of those who were its objects. Nothing, therefore, was more imperiously called for than such conduct, on the part of the patriotic government, as might fix the antipathy towards France, and the love of their own rulers, upon more firm and lasting foundations. It was the most obvious duty, and the clearest policy of England and her allies, to improve the condition of the people, so as to give them real cause of hating the French, and of cheerfully aiding their own government to repulse them. Such *ought* to have been our conduct. What *has* it been? In Spain, we have quietly suffered the most feeble and inefficient of all governments—a cabinet, if possible, more wretched than our own—to proceed in the old course of abuses and oppressions, nor ever made one attempt in favour of the people. In Portugal, we have had the government in our own hands. We reconquered the country;—we affected to make an appeal to the people;—we talked, for a season, about French op-

pressions, — mouthed somewhat touching liberation, tyranny, exactions, freedom, abuses, and so forth;—and straightway reestablished the antient government, with all its corruptions, in its whole absurdity—in even more than its pristine imbecility; and appeared before the people only as abettors of its oppressions, and partakers in its debility!

Hear what an eyewitness, far from being prejudiced against the government, says on this melancholy subject. ‘The English,’ says Mr Semple, ‘have supported a regency odious to the people; and have lost more by that, and the convention of Cintra, than they gained at Vimiera. The French are attacking, in all directions, old and corrupted establishments, ready to fall by their own weight. We fly to prop them up with the whole of England’s strength. The natural consequence is, that the people of most countries execrate the French, but find it hard to condemn many of their measures; while, on the contrary, the English are very generally beloved, and their measures execrated. The former government of Portugal, of which the present regency is the representative, was a very bad one. Its oppressions and its ignorance were alike notorious. Yet we have linked ourselves to this government, and not to the people. We make no appeals, as it were, directly from nation to nation. All that we say comes to the people through the medium of magistrates, not beloved, nor respected, further than they hold an arbitrary power in their hands.’ Our author adds an anecdote to the same purpose. With all their exactions, it seems, the French, while at Lisbon, introduced a strict police. They had cleared the streets of the whole flocks of dogs which infested them, and used to constitute one of the greatest nuisances of that most uncomfortable town. They had also obliged the inhabitants to remove the mountains of filth which accumulated from age to age in every street, and poisoned the air, while they rendered many places of the city impassable. Mr Semple however found, that those wholesome regulations had departed with the French army. With the English ascendancy returned the antient abuses and disorders. The dogs were upon the increase; the filth was every where collecting again; and the abominable showers, which, from dusk till a late hour, used to render a walk in Lisbon a service of still greater danger than one in Edinburgh, were once more beginning to descend, in their wonted fragrance, to the congenial earth.

Another fact mentioned by our author is of a piece with the former, and indicates alike the inactivity of the Portuguese government, and the mismanagement of their allies. The fate of General Moore was not known at Lisbon for weeks after the battle in which he fell. No intelligence could be conveyed across the country. There was no chain of posts established; not even the common means of procuring

curing information had been adopted; and, after much uncertainty and suspense, a sloop of war was sent to Coruna, to learn what had happened. It was the beginning of February before the news arrived; and Mr Semple himself carried the news into Spanish Extremadura. So it was managed all over the peninsula. We have, on former occasions, alluded to the scarcely credible fact, that the capture of Madrid was only known at Lisbon one kalendar month after it happened. Alas! 'they manage these things better in France.'

From Lisbon our author proceeded to Seville, or, as he calls it, '*Sevilla*,' which might have some consistency, if he called Lisbon *Lisboa*, or Spain *España*. He took the usual road by Elvas and Badajos; and, having travelled this way before, he proceeded very rapidly to 'atone for time lost at Lisbon,' that is to say, *one week*. On his arrival in Spain, he meets frequent bodies of armed men going to join the armies; and, being known for an Englishman, he is generally well treated, and saluted with cries of

*Viva l'Inglaterra!* to which he of course replies, '*Viva l'España!*' We have already shown, by our extract, that he left Lisbon without any kind of enthusiasm, or any great belief in the enthusiasm of the natives; but, so catching is that principle—so readily are the avenues to men's hearts opened by a little personal civility, and a gratification of their self-importance, and so short and direct is the communication between the heart and the head—the feelings and the faith of ordinary men, that our author speedily falls a prey to the same disease which infected the military emissaries of our ministers, the whole mob of this country, and those statesmen who most faithfully represent that mob in our cabinet. The following passage is replete with instruction on this subject,—it illustrates admirably the origin of all the mistakes, and which this well-meaning nation have been led by their rulers,—and clearly affords a parallel to the reports of our Carrolls, our Dyces, and the rest of the swarm sent into the peninsula for the purposes of—*observation*. \*

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\* See Mr Ward's admirable remarks on this topic in his very eloquent speech the first day of the session. It is with great satisfaction, that we find the appointment and the proceedings of these missionaries thus openly canvassed in so respectable a quarter. Every thing relating to foreign missions has been too constantly veiled in a sort of mystery, as if this was ground enjoying some peculiar privilege. It is gratifying, therefore, to observe, that while the higher classes of our envoys were freely censured, those mock ministers—those would-be-ambassadors, with whom our sage rulers peopled the peninsula—did not escape a degree of criticism due, not certainly to their

‘ About mid-day I reached Los Santos de Maimona, by a road which, before entering, winds nearly round it. The population of this place may be computed at about twelve hundred souls; and the general appearance of the inhabitants is superior to that in any of the villages on the high road between it and Badajoz. The post-house was remarkably good, and a degree of cleanliness prevailed in its interior that might have been noticed even in England. Being announced as an Englishman, the door was soon surrounded by wondering peasants, while some of the better sort of the inhabitants, under various pretences, entered the house, and, having greeted me very courteously, began to ask a variety of questions. As the French had never yet penetrated into these mountains, the anxiety of the women was very great, to know whether there was any probability of their coming to Maimona. They were not ignorant of the excesses committed in Cordoba and Andujar by the army of Dupont; and fancy painted these excesses even in worse colours, if possible, than they had existed. When I assured them that England would never forsake their cause so long as they remained true to themselves, and gave them at the same time encouraging hopes for the future, their joy was hardly to be expressed. A general exclamation of ‘ *Viva los Ingleses!* ’ burst from the assembly, while their eagerness to befriend me was redoubled. I was pressed to take a portion of the family pucheiro; one took my hat, another my cloak, a third handed me a chair, while a fourth stretched my wet gloves on his hands, and held them over the fire. After an hour’s rest, I set off, accompanied by many good wishes. — ‘ The curiosity of the inhabitants of Fuente seemed even stronger if possible than what I had witnessed at Maimona; and the lively and handsome appearance of the women was particularly striking. Here I found little to detain me. ’ — ‘ We make a descent to arrive at Montesterio. I arrived there about an hour after sun-set, and, for the first time since leaving Badajoz, was challenged by the guard of the place, and asked for my passport. In this, however, they were easily satisfied; and I was speedily conducted to the post-house, where I again met in every individual the same eagerness to oblige an Englishman, which I had uniformly observed from the first moment of my crossing the Guadiana. It was not a mercenary attention, which flies to execute your orders with a prospect to to-morrow’s gain; but a grateful eagerness, which convinced me more and more how deeply the services which England had rendered to Spain were here imprinted upon every bosom. Such are the advantages which nations derive from acting on great and generous principles. The feelings, not only of these peasants, but of the great mass of Spanish peasantry, will survive many a political storm, and remain true to England,

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their individual importance, nor even to the station which their employers meant they should fill, but to the functions they were pleased to assume, and the mischief their follies produced.

land, at a period too distant for us yet to form hypotheses upon. The peasantry of all countries form the true basis of their strength. Their prejudices are strong, generous, and obstinate; and amid the fall of thrones, and the puerile vacillations of Emperors and Kings, it is at least grateful to reflect, that the peasantry of the Peninsula are, in these respects, decidedly English. It may, perhaps, be said with truth, that England alone can destroy these favourable prejudices.'—

'The family at Monasterio, as usual, supped after me; and I observed with pleasure the children repeating their prayers, and kissing their hands to their parents before retiring to bed. This was not the first time that I was struck with the many points of resemblance between the generality of the Scottish peasants and those in many parts of Spain. The dark caps of the peasants of Sierra Morena, the uniformity of their dress, many of their dishes, the interior arrangement of their houses, the domestic manners of their women, their looks, their air, their gravity mixed with a dry humour, and an unfeigned spirit of piety, all tend to remind us of many of the most prominent features in the character of the Scottish peasantry. I once made the same remark to a well-informed Spaniard, at Madrid, on some of the peasants whom I observed to arrive there from various provinces. "Undoubtedly," he replied, in all the spirit of a true Spaniard, "do you not know that we have formerly sent colonies to Scotland?"—A French emigrant of the Revolution, married in Spain, and an officer of some rank in the Spanish army, visited me, and was now for the first time informed of these important events. The miserable system of keeping the people in a state of ignorance, as much as possible, is still as strongly persisted in by the Government of Spain, as in former periods. This officer informed me, that he had commanded the cavalry of the rear-guard of the Duke de Infantado's army, when it had been obliged to retreat, and had lost all its artillery. "My men fought desperately," said he, "and twice drove back the enemy; but there was a great fault somewhere; for the whole of the guard under my command, appointed to cover the retreat of the artillery, did not exceed five hundred men."—"You are a Frenchman," said I, "and have some means of judging, tell me candidly what is your opinion of the probable issue of the present contest?"—"I am certainly of opinion," replied he, "that if the Spaniards are supported by England, they can never be conquered." Knowing how difficult it is ever to eradicate from the mind of a Frenchman the idea of the glory of his country, I felt inclined to attach some weight to this opinion.' p. 28—35.

Here we are forcibly reminded of his excellency Captain Carroll, *Col. Span. Ser.* This gentleman, and the rest of the same description, our Dyers, Roches, Doyles, &c. &c. having a very inferior rank in the British army, no sooner arrived among the well meaning patriots, than they received the most ridiculous ho-

hours.

nours. We do not quite believe the stories sedulously propagated in the English newspapers, under the influence of the ministry, for the base and stupid purpose of deceiving the people during a few short months, that those men were welcomed by the Spaniards with *divine honours*.<sup>\*</sup> But we find, from Sir John Moore's correspondence, and from their own letters, that they had attentions paid them which speedily turned their heads. They were created Colonels, Generals, Marshals, and what not. The Juntas waited on them as envoys, and viewed them as representing their country. They began to consider themselves in the same light, and to ape the great man—to play at ministers on all occasions. Forgetting that they were sent merely to see, and hear, and report; to answer certain queries; to act the part of scouts—in their instance a very creditable and most useful mission certainly, though an humble one—and one which called for a quiet and retiring deportment;—forgetting, too, that they were persons of a very low rank, and short standing in the service—they all of a sudden began to feel themselves great commanders, because the pompous Spanish functionaries, their equals, perhaps their inferiors, conferred an unmeaning rank on them—and to fancy themselves transmogrified into diplomatic characters, because they found a few upstart parish corporations disposed to gratify their common vanity, by treating them as ambassadors from England. What was the consequence? Gratitude for these pleasing attentions—a little enthusiasm communicated by infection—above all, the conviction that their own newfangled importance must stand or fall with the Spanish cause; that while England acknowledged the Juntas, and maintained a correspondence with them, they themselves were generals and ministers—but, as soon as the concern looked bad, they would be ordered, in their pristine quality of captains and lieutenants, to join certain marching regiments, and occupy their noble souls with the humble cares of the parade, and the more homely ceremonial of a mess-room:—these were motives more than sufficient, both to blind them and to colour their descriptions—to make them the worst of possible observers, and, perhaps, not the most impartial narrators of the scenes which they were deputed rigorously to examine. The consequence was, such productions as have been laid before Parliament, and printed in gazettes, as despatches from Captain Carrol and Major Roche,—documents to which, because more agreeable than the truth, our sagacious rulers paid the attention which they refused to the manly, clear-sighted

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<sup>\*</sup> This is the expression used by those miserable vehicles of official falsehoods.

sighted, unimpeachable communications of Sir David Baird and Sir John Moore.

These considerations alone are perhaps sufficient to teach us the true value of Mr Semple's testimony as to the patriotic enthusiasm which is still to be found among the Spaniards. But it is proper to remember also, that he saw them only in places of safety, and in those hours of peaceful hospitality, when the mention of national contest is so apt to lead to a certain degree of boasting. It is also most worthy to be remarked, that Mr Semple has himself stated, that 'every Spaniard will credit the most extravagant actions, when they redound to the honour of his country, but will scarcely listen to the most serious truths that tell of its disgrace.' How inevitably such dispositions lead to improvidence, consternation and disaster, it is needless to point out to any one who has either studied human nature, or attended to the history of the last twenty years; and we will confess, that we augur almost as ill from the Andalusian boast recorded by Mr Semple, 'that their province would set the enemy at defiance, although he should possess himself of all the rest of the kingdom,' as we did from another comfortable remark, which we have understood to be current among the patriots, viz. that the tardiness of their proceedings against the enemy afforded no ground for despondence,—since their ancestors took three hundred years to overcome the Moors, and yet got rid of them effectually at last!

But, it is really idle to think of ascertaining, by argument, a question which is already but too clearly settled, we fear, by experience. We admit, with Mr Semple, that the Spanish peasantry are, for the most part, brave and hardy—that they hate the French—and that their country is strong and difficult. But still, the fact is, that out of a population of twelve millions, they have never yet had much more than one hundred thousand men embodied;—that with all the inducements that ever incited a nation to great exertion, and with more opportunities than were ever afforded along with such inducements, they have done nothing to take advantage of their union, their numbers, and their supposed zeal in the cause;—that, after three years war, they are still without discipline, without officers, and without the means of regular supplies;—and, finally, that the pressure of invasion, and the excitement of an actual revolution, has not yet created, or called forward, one man of commanding talents, or one in arms or in politics—nor moulded the people in large into such an organization as to dispense with the constant animation of such a presiding genius. In these circumstances, when the North of Europe is conquered, and the whole force of France is set free for the conquest of Spain, is it allowed us to hope that Spain may yet be delivered;



delivered, or that any cooperation of ours can do more than aggravate her subjugation?

Mr Semple is, no doubt, a great deal more sanguine, and entertains many hopes, and many opinions, in which we cannot agree with him. He thinks the convocation of the Cortes will do no good—that the Spaniards are zealously monarchical—and that the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, degraded and enthralled as he is, is sufficient to secure their attachment to all who act under his authority; and to cover all the errors and vices of his representatives. He thinks, however, that England, instead of acting as an auxiliary merely, should resolutely take upon herself the character of principal in the war; and puts it to his readers to say, whether 80,000 British soldiers, with a host of irregular Spaniards subordinate to them, would not do more good than the same irregular Spaniards, supported by 25,000 British?—We need not enter now upon the discussion of this project; but we are happy to quote, from one who sympathizes so little with our general views and impressions, the decided testimony which Mr Semple bears, as to the atrocious misconduct, and unpardonable errors, of those who have hitherto had the planning of our military operations.

‘To assist Spain, to uphold Europe, we sent twenty-six thousand men to Galicia. Nearly twenty thousand troops were put in motion to subdue Martinique. Sicily and Malta are occupied by twenty-five thousand more. The conclusion is obvious:—to take Martinique,—to hold Sicily and Malta,—and to deliver Europe,—are objects of equal importance! I say nothing of the manner in which these twenty-six thousand men were conducted;—peace be to the ashes of those who bravely fell. I say nothing of the Expedition to Walcheren; it is merely a continuation of the same miserable system. Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed to support Spain with twenty thousand men, while fifty thousand are sent to subdue Walcheren, and look into the mouth of the Scheldt!—This requires no comment.’ p. 274, 275.

Such is the language in which a professed advocate for the policy of expeditions, and continental diversions, feels himself constrained to speak: a little further on, he takes a tone still more decided.

‘The Spaniards have committed many errors; but the English, who blame them so harshly, have committed more. The Spaniards, deprived of their former government, invaded by a powerful enemy, divided into provinces, differing in customs, and even in language, and bowed down by the accumulated errors of ages, and a fatal superstition, have at least some excuses to offer for their misconduct. But Britain, Queen of the Seas, secure from invasion, with an immense disposable force, and enabled deliberately and maturely to consider in what part of the globe the attack may be made to most advantage,

advantage, and to fix, as it were, her own field of battle, puts in motion nearly a hundred thousand men, and sends them over to Walcheren! I say nothing of the other diversions of her force. This is the absurdity which combines, and exemplifies, and swallows up all the rest. The Spaniards are miserable,—they are ignorant,—they are blinded. Be it so:—but what have they yet done so miserable, so ignorant, so blind, as to be compared with this? Their defects are excuses for their errors: but Britain, great, enlightened, and free,—where shall we seek for her apology? So well, however, are the parts of our political machine adjusted,—so admirably are its secret springs and movements understood,—that the most disgraceful of all failures will produce no baneful effect upon the Government. We shall have some speeches, some invectives, some investigations: but the power of the planners of this miserable expedition will not even be shaken by its failure. Let us then talk of the Spaniards with a little more respect, or of ourselves with somewhat less. Let us correct our own glaring errors, before we indulge in such violent invectives against those of our Allies.' p. 285—287.

'There is not an individual, we believe, in the nation, who does not feel the justice of this rebuke; and few, we hope, who do not feel also the shame and indignation which ought to inspire all those who, in the day of their greatest need, have entrusted their affairs to counsellors, in comparison with whom the feeble and divided Juntas of Spain appear vigorous and respectable.—One more memento from Mr Semple, and we take our leave of him.

'Let it never be forgotten, that we began the last war with Spain by an act of unexampled and perfidious aggression. In the middle of peace, four English frigates, fully prepared for battle, were sent to attack an equal number of Spanish vessels of the same force, but laden with silver, and encumbered with women and children. One of these vessels blew up, and several hundreds of innocent victims were scattered into fragments in the air, or strewed along the waves. If a superior force had been sent, the Spaniards would have submitted without a blow; but, when a force exactly equal was opposed to them, Spanish honour demanded some resistance to be made. It appeared as if we were anxious that our booty should, of necessity, be stained with blood. Oh day of disgrace to the British name! Act of cruelty and horror! Meanwhile we slumber and doze over it, and think it already forgotten. But we deceive ourselves. Such a commencement of a war may well bear a comparison with the first treacheries of the French, against whom, however, our language cannot supply us with expressions sufficiently harsh. Thank Heaven, an opportunity has been afforded us, as far as possible, of wiping off the foul stain. As the cruel injury was perpetrated in blood, so at Corunna and Talavera has it been atoned for by the blood of England's sons. Let us be stern, and hardly weep for our brothers or our friends who fell there: they were the necessary victims to the honour

honour of our country—and let us hope that they may suffice! Our future battles in Spain may be for glory and conquest;—the past have been only for reparation. p. 287, 288.

Such are the sentiments of a man little connected with politics, and not at all attached to those politics which we have generally felt ourselves called on to support; and such, we have no doubt, must be the sentiments of every individual in the kingdom, who, even without Mr Semple's means of observation, would apply fairly to the conduct of public affairs, those maxims by which he judges of the character and actions of his neighbours.

Mr Semple's book is not made up of politics; but, at the present moment, it is difficult to think or to speak of Spain under any other aspect: and, at all events, we have not left ourselves room to consider it in any other light. There are some lively descriptions, and some bad eloquence:—no very new or precise information, but a general tone of reasonableness, and good-natured candour. The book, in short, is extremely creditable to one who is not a professed author: and it is presented to us in a form in which few professed authors now condescend to make their appearance. It is very modestly printed in one small duodecimo, and is illustrated with a number of very clear and well-executed engravings, thrown off upon common paper, and on a very reduced scale. Notwithstanding their unassuming appearance, they are very faithful and characteristic representations of the Spanish costume, and are finished with a spirit and elegance that do great credit to the taste of their author.

ART. IX. *The System \* of the World.* By P. S. Laplace, Member of the National Institute of France. Translated from the French by J. Pond, F. R. S. 2 vol. 8vo. London, Phillips. 1809.

THE time is not yet arrived which can enable us to appreciate the effects of the French Revolution, either in accelerating or retarding the progress of knowledge. It is, perhaps, in one quarter only that this can be done at present with tolerable certainty. In the departments of mathematical science, we can easily perceive that a larger proportion of talent and genius has been turned to the object of instruction, and to the composition of elementary or popular works, than probably was ever, at any one time,

\* The title in the original is, *Exposition du Systeme du Monde.* The word 'Exposition' is omitted altogether in the translation, and, as we conceive, without any good reason.

time, employed for those purposes. Academicians, who, before the Revolution, had devoted themselves almost exclusively to the discovery or invention of what was new, have since condescended to elucidate doctrines, or explain principles already known. From being continually engaged in extending the boundaries of science, they have passed to cultivate and improve the territories already acquired. The Elements of Geometry of Le Gendre; the treatise of La Grange on Analytical Functions; his *Leçons* on the same subject, drawn up for the Polytechnique School, and Laplace's Exposition of the System of the World, are all works of this kind, possessing the highest merit, and showing that genius and originality may be exerted even in the more beaten tracks of science. It would seem that, during the short period when public opinion had some influence on the affairs of France, those who cultivated the sciences saw clearly, that, in order to conciliate that opinion, it was necessary, as much as possible, to connect their favourite studies with objects of manifest utility. The establishment of a new system of public instruction pointed out the species of utility that was most likely to interest the public, and has produced the valuable treatises that have been just enumerated.

But though France, and indeed all Europe, have great obligations to the principle thus called into action, it is certain that an endeavour to keep up a constant and immediate connexion between the researches of science and the uses of life, is by no means likely to have at all times the same salutary effects that have now been ascribed to it. The sciences must often be cultivated from the mere feeling of their own excellence, and must be followed into recesses where their immediate connexion with objects of utility cannot be perceived. Had mathematicians never indulged themselves in any speculations but such as were certainly conducive to purposes of acknowledged utility, the instruments and methods by which the Lunar theory has been brought to perfection, would probably have still remained unknown; and, of course, the great practical question, concerning the longitude, would have yet received no solution. The applications of a particular discovery, and the useful conclusions to which it leads, in many instances remain unknown, till the future progress of science bring them to light. A series of new discoveries may be necessary to give value to those that have long since been made. Napier, when he invented Logarithms, proposed no other object to himself than that of facilitating arithmetical calculations; and this end he doubtless saw that he had fully accomplished. But, with all his sagacity and depth of thought, he little knew the richness of the vein he was working; he could not foresee that,

that, for the next two hundred years, when the mathematical sciences were to proceed with a rapidity yet unexampled in the history of knowledge, they were hardly to advance a step, without developing some further consequences of his discovery, and some new applications of it, in branches of science which, in his time, had no existence. To foretel, beforehand, the uses to which a discovery, whether mathematical or physical, may be applied, is not given to man; and we, who have seen the aspect of all chemical, and a great part of physical, science changed, in consequence of the convulsions excited in the limbs of a dead frog, will not easily be induced to reject any experiment, or any observation, as frivolous and unnecessary.

There is a great danger to science, therefore, from keeping utility too closely in view, and thus hampering a progress that should be free and unconfined. This, however, is an error, if we mistake not, to which free governments are more subject than those where the opinion of the people is of less consequence; at least this may be expected to be the case while the public is but little enlightened, and not aware of such facts in the history of science as have been just referred to.

In proof of this it may be observed, that the literary institution which has most completely produced its effect of any in modern times, and that has been most successful in promoting the interests of science, is that of the Royal Academy of Paris, where small pensions and great honours, bestowed on a few men for devoting themselves exclusively to works of invention and discovery, have been the means of advancing the mathematical sciences in France to a state of unexampled prosperity.

In England, where such an institution as that just mentioned was wanting, and where the public is perpetually prepared with the question of *cui bono*, to repress what seems the luxury of science, the same progress has not been made; and our mercantile prejudices have so far defeated their own purpose, that, if the matter had been left to us, the theory of the moon's motion would still have been extremely imperfect; and the great nautical problem of finding the longitude, could have received nothing like an accurate solution. We do not mean to plead the cause of those governments where the opinion of the people has no share in determining the conduct of their rulers. Such governments are essentially bad; and the fact we have stated only tends to prove, that there is no evil so pure as not to contain some alloy of what is good. Were the opinion of the public sufficiently enlightened, it would prove a nurse of science superior to every other.

Of the works referred to above, one of the most conspicuous,

no doubt, is that which we have now before us. It contains, first, a brief but clear and accurate account of the phenomena of the heavens; and, next, a philosophical exposition of the principles by which those phenomena have been explained. It is to Laplace himself, and to his great work of the *Mécanique Céleste*, that we are indebted for that perfect system of physical astronomy which has left no inequality in the planetary motions that is not fully accounted for, and which has derived from the principle of gravitation the measure of many smaller inequalities which observation had indicated, but which it never could have analyzed. To have an abridgement of this great work, made by the author himself, and impressed throughout with the strongest characters of genius and originality, is an advantage which philosophers and men of science can never sufficiently value. The detail into which the author enters, is sufficient to explain the great and general truths which flow from the doctrine of gravitation, and the mode of applying those truths to the explanation of particular phenomena. The book is accordingly of infinite value even to the most profound mathematician. In the vast apparatus of geometric demonstration and algebraic calculus which is necessary to a complete theory of the heavens, the most ardent and sagacious are sometimes apt to lose sight of the connection among parts necessarily placed at a vast distance from one another; and the microscopical examination that they must bestow on the particulars, prevents the comprehensive view that should be taken of the whole. In such cases, it is of great consequence to have the whole argument clearly and succinctly stated, with no more of the detail than is essential to the consistency of the reasoning. The work here translated effects this purpose completely, and is drawn up with so masterly a hand, that the reader will not complain that it is obscure, nor the author that it is superficial.

It is impossible to describe the object of it, better than the author has done, in a paragraph prefixed to the first Book.

Of all the natural sciences, Astronomy is that which presents the longest series of discoveries. There is no truer distance from the first view of the heavens, to that present view by which, at the present day, we comprehend the present state of the system of the world. To arrive at this view, it was necessary to observe the heavenly bodies during a long series of ages,—to deduce from their appearances the real motions of the Earth,—to discover the laws of the planetary motions, and from these laws to derive the principles of universal gravitation,—and to redescend from this principle to the complete investigation of all the celestial phenomena, even in their minutest details. This is what the human understanding has accomplished in astronomy. The exposition of these discoveries, and of

the most simple manner in which they may arise one from the other, would have the double advantage of presenting a great assemblage of important truths, and the true method which should be followed in investigating the laws of nature. This is the object I propose in the following work.' p. 1, 2.

In pursuing the object here pointed out, the author has neither made use of geometrical diagrams, nor of algebraic calculations, but has explained, in words, the principles on which such calculations are founded; and has stated accurately the conclusions deduced from them. The work is divided into five books. The first treats of the apparent motions of the celestial bodies;—the second of their real motions;—the third of the laws of motion common to all bodies;—the fourth of the principle of universal gravitation;—and the fifth contains an abridgment of the history of Astronomy.

The two first may be considered as introductory to the third and fourth, which no doubt contain what is of greatest importance. In the First book, where the apparent motions are treated, that is to say, the motions just as they appear, without considering the motion of the Earth as having any share in producing them, the arrangement is singularly judicious. Every one who has attended to the modes of describing the phenomena of the heavens, employed by different authors, must have remarked how difficult it is, so to arrange the parts, that you may not be obliged to go twice over the same ground; and that, at every step you take, you may have sufficient data to enable you to proceed, without any undue anticipation of what is to follow. The machine of the heavens, though in itself so beautiful and so simple, as it first appears to us, is so various and complex, that, to make the descriptions follow in their natural order, both relatively to themselves, and relatively to the mind of the student, is a work of no small difficulty. Laplace has executed this part very successfully. A treatise by Biot, his friend and disciple, has been written as a commentary on these two chapters, having for its title—*Introduction to Physical Astronomy*. The work has great merit; but, we think, if the order, observed in describing the phenomena, had been the same which Laplace himself has followed, he would have rendered his treatise still more valuable.

The Second book gives the evidence for the Copernican system, or for the earth's motion; describes the figures of the planets; their orbits; together with the orbits of comets, and of the secondary planets. As in all this, however, though there be great merit, there is no room afforded for the species of excellence that is characteristic of this work, we hasten to what relates to Physical

sical Astronomy. The view given of the laws of motion, which are reduced to two, and considered as derived only from observation, is different from that which is usually given. We shall therefore lay before our readers what is stated on this subject in the second chapter of the *Théorie*.

The direction of motion in a straight line follows necessarily from this, that there is no reason why the point should deviate to the right, rather than to the left of its present direction; but the uniformity of its motion is not equally evident. The nature of the moving force being unknown, it is impossible to know *a priori* if this force should preserve itself or not. It is true, that since a body is incapable of giving itself any motion, it seems equally impossible that it should be able to effect any change in that which it has received, so that the law of inertia is at least the most natural and most simple that can be imagined. It is likewise confirmed by experience; for, in fact, we observe on the Earth, that motions are perpetuated for a longer time, in proportion as the obstacles which oppose them are diminished; and this would lead us to suppose, that, without these obstacles, they would continue for ever. But the inertia of matter is principally remarkable in the motions of the heavenly bodies, which, for a great number of ages, have not experienced any sensible alteration. For these reasons, we shall consider inertia as a law of nature; and, when we observe any alteration in the motion of a body, we shall conclude that it arises from the action of some foreign cause.

Force being only known to us by the space which it causes to be described in a given time, it is natural to take this space for its measure; but this supposes, that several forces acting in the same direction, will cause to be described, in a body of time, a space equal to the sum of the spaces which each would have caused to be described separately; or, in other words, that the space is proportional to the velocity. This is what we cannot be assured of *a priori*, considering our ignorance of the nature of the moving force. Upon this subject we must have recourse to experience; for, whatever is not a necessary consequence of a few data we have given on the nature of things, is only to be the result of observation.

Force may be expressed by an infinity of functions of the velocity, without implying a contradiction. There is none in supposing it proportional to the square of the velocity. In this hypothesis, it is easy to determine the motion of a point solicited by any number of forces, whose velocities are known; for, if we take, upon the directions of these forces, straight lines representing their velocities, beginning at their point of concurrence, and if upon these directions, and from the same point, other lines be taken, which are to each other as the squares of the first, these lines will represent the forces themselves. By combining them according to the rules already



given, we shall obtain their resulting force, and also the straight line which represents it, and which will be to the square of the corresponding velocity, as the straight line representing one of the composing forces is to the square of its velocity. By this it appears how the motion of a point may be determined, whatever be the function of the velocity which expresses the force. Among all the functions mathematically possible, let us examine which is that of nature.

It is observed upon the Earth, that a body, solicited by any force, moves in the same manner, whatever be the angle which the direction of this force makes with the direction of the motion which is common to the body, and to the part of the terrestrial surface to which it corresponds. The same thing takes place in a vessel, whose motion is uniform. A moveable body, submitted to the action of a spring, or of gravity, or any other force, moves relatively to the parts of the ship, in the same manner, whatever be the velocity and direction of the vessel. It may then be established, as a general law of terrestrial motions, that if, in a system of bodies carried on by a common motion, any force be impressed on one of them, its apparent or relative motion will be the same, whatever be the general motion of the system, and the angle which its direction makes with the impelling force.

The proportionality of force to velocity, results from this law supposed rigorously exact; for, if we suppose two bodies moving upon one straight line with equal velocities, and that by impressing on one of them a force, which increases the primitive force, its relative velocity to the other body remains the same as if both of them had been primitively in a state of repose. It is evident, that the space described by the body, in consequence of its primitive force, and of that which is added to it, becomes equal to the sum of the spaces which each of them would have caused it to describe in the same time, which supposes the force proportional to the velocity. I. p. 295—301.

Thus, it is evident, that Laplace founds our knowledge of the laws of nature simply on experience, and not on reasoning *a priori*. The reasoning by which he here shows that force is proportional to velocity, deserves to be carefully considered; and it is remarkable, that among the various views which have been taken of this subject, the argument here brought forward, so far as we know, has not been attended to.

The Fourth book proceeds, by help of the laws of motion, to explain the phenomena of the heavens. The principle of universal gravitation is investigated, and its consequences traced in the motions of the planets. We have remarked, in a former Number of our Journal, the perfection that Laplace has given to the theory of the heavens, and have shown that he has left no consequence of the principle of gravitation, (that can possibly be applicable to our

our system), which is not completely ascertained. We have here the first instance that human knowledge has yet presented of a science complete on all its parts, and in which the boundary on all sides is perfectly ascertained. It has been eloquently and truly said of those who first introduced the mathematics, 'that they opened to genius that immense region in which to the end of time, it may exercise its strength, and as every step behold the boundary receding to a greater distance.' This is, doubtless, true of the pure mathematics; but the boundaries of physical astronomy are fixed, and the vast circumference seems capable of no farther extension. It forms a body of knowledge destined no longer to excite surprise and wonder, no longer to act on the mind by its novelty, but merely by the grandeur, the symmetry, and the intimate connection of its objects. It possesses only the charms essential to truth: those of greatness, order and proportion, such as we must conceive to happen in all cases with minds of a superior order; so that, in no part of his intellectual enjoyment, does man appear more as an emanation from the Divinity.

Laplace, after proving the existence of gravitation, according to which, the planets tend to the sun with forces inversely as the squares of the distances; and after proving, that the moon is retained in her orbit by the same force that produces the fall of bodies at the surface of the earth, supposing that force also to diminish as the squares of the distances increase, proceeds to consider the masses of the planets, and also their disturbing forces on one another.

Mr Smith, in his beautiful fragment on the History of Astronomy, has well observed, that of all the sciences of the Newtonian philosophy, that which would appear to be most above the reach of human reason and experiment, is the attempt to compute the weights and densities of the Sun and the several planets. This, however, was what Newton discovered the means of doing; and Laplace, following the same principle, and possessing more accurate data, has resolved the problem with more precision. He concludes, that Jupiter is not quite the thousandth part of the Sun; Saturn about one-third the mass of Jupiter; and Uranus about one-half. The Earth is less than the three hundred thousandth part of the Sun; Venus is not much less; Mars is about as great as the Earth; and Mercury about a seventh part. The masses of the planets which have satellites, are determined with considerable exactness; the periodic time of a satellite, measured with its distance, affording a measure of the magnitude with which it revolves toward its primary. The masses of those planets which have no satellites, cannot be known with the same certainty, and are computed from a hypothesis which, though it agrees with the Earth, Jupiter, and Sa-

turn, is nevertheless precarious; viz. that the densities of the planets are imperfectly as their distances from the Sun. When the mutual disturbances of the planets shall be more accurately ascertained by long observation, the masses of all of them will probably be determined.

On the subject of the Perturbation of the Elliptic Motion, Laplace makes the following remarks.

‘ If the planets only obeyed the action of the Sun, they would revolve round it in elliptic orbits; but they act mutually upon each other, and upon the Sun; and from these various attractions they result perturbations in their elliptic motions, which are, to a certain degree, perceived by observation, and which it is necessary to determine, to have exact tables of the planetary motions. The rigorous solution of this problem, surpasses at present the powers of analysis, and we are obliged to have recourse to approximations. Fortunately, the smallness of the masses compared to the Sun, and the smallness of their eccentricity, and of the inclination of their orbits, affords considerable facility to this object. —

‘ The perturbations of the elliptic motion of the planets, may be divided into two distinct classes. Those of the first class affect the elliptic motion of the planets; they increase with extreme slowness, and are called *secular inequalities*. The other class depends on the configurations of the planets, both with respect to each other, and to their nodes and perihelia; and, being reestablished every time these configurations become the same, they have been called *periodical inequalities*, to distinguish them from secular inequalities, which are equally periodic, but whose periods are much longer, and independent of the mutual configurations of the planets. —

‘ Let us first consider those *secular inequalities* which, by developing themselves in the course of ages, must change at length both the form and position of the planetary system. The most important of these inequalities, is that which must affect the mean motion of the planets. By comparing together the observations which have been made since the reestablishment of astronomy, the motion of Jupiter appears to be quicker, and that of Saturn slower, than by a comparison of the same observations with those of the ancient astronomers; from which it has been inferred, that the first of these motions has accelerated, while the second has retarded from one century to another. — According to Halley, the secular equation of Jupiter is  $2''$ , for the first century, reckoned from 1700; the corresponding equation of Saturn is  $50''$ . It was natural to look for the cause of these equations in the mutual actions of these two planets, the most considerable of our system. Euler, who first directed his attention to this problem, found a secular equation, equal for both the planets, and additive to their mean motions, which is inconsistent with observation. Lagrange obtained a result which accords more nearly with observation. Other geometers have obtained

obtained other equations. Struck with this difference, I examined again this subject, applying the greatest possible care to the investigation; and I arrived at the true analytical expression for the secular inequality of the mean motions of the planets. In substituting the numerical values, relative to Jupiter and Saturn, in this expression, I was surprised to find that it became equal to nothing. I suspected that this was not peculiar to these planets; and that, if this expression was taken in the most general form of which it was susceptible, (by referring to the least possible number the different quantities which it contains, by means of the relations which subsist between them) all its terms would destroy each other. Calculation confirmed this suspicion, and taught us that, in general, the mean motions of the planets, and their distances from the sun, are invariable; at least, when we neglect the fourth powers of the eccentricities and inclinations of the orbits, and the squares of the perturbing masses, which is more than sufficient for the actual purposes of astronomy. Lagrange has since confirmed this result, and shown, by a beautiful method, that it is accurate, when the powers and products of any order whatever of the eccentricities and inclinations are taken into the calculations. Thus the variations of the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn do not depend on their secular inequalities.' II. 37-42.

'If we knew exactly the masses of the planets, future observations might be anticipated, and the true values assigned to the secular inequalities of the planets; but we only know the masses of those planets which are accompanied by satellites; the masses of the others can only be determined when the progress of time shall have fully developed the quantity of their inequalities from whence their masses are to be computed. We may then, in imagination, look back to the successive changes which the planetary system has undergone, and foretell those which future ages will bring to astronomers; and the geometrical system comprehended in his formule both the past and future state of the world.'

'Many interesting questions here present themselves to our notice. Have the planetary ellipses always been, and will they always be nearly circular? Among the number of the planets, have any of them ever been round, whose orbits have gradually approached to the circular form by the mutual attractions of the other planets? Will the obliquity of the ecliptic constantly diminish, till at length it coincides with the equator, and the days and nights become equal on the earth, once in the year? Can you answer these questions in a most satisfactory manner? I have succeeded in demonstrating, that whatever be the masses of the planets, as far as they all move in the same direction, in orbits of small eccentricity, and little inclined to each other, their mutual attractions will be periodic, and contained within narrow limits, so that the planetary system will only oscillate about a mean state, from which it will deviate but by a very small quantity. The planetary ellipses, therefore, always have been, and

and always will be, nearly circular; from whence it follows that no planet has ever been a comet, at least if we only calculate upon the mutual actions of the planetary system. The ecliptic will never coincide with the equator, and the whole extent of its variations will not exceed  $2^{\circ} 42'$ .

'The planet Uranus, though lately discovered, offers already incontestable indications of the perturbations which it experiences from the action of Jupiter and Saturn. The laws of ellipsoidal motion do not exactly satisfy its observed positions; and, to represent them, its perturbations must be considered. Their theory, by a very remarkable coincidence, places it in the years 1769, 1756, and 1690, in the same points of the heavens, where Monnier, Mayer, and Flamsteed, had determined the position of three stars, which cannot be found at present: this leaves no doubt of the identity of these stars with the new planet.' p. 43—45, 58.

The inequalities produced on the Motion of Comets, by the Planets in the vicinity of which they pass, is next considered; and our author enters here into a very interesting detail about the return of the comet of 1682.

'Halley having remarked that the elements of the orbits of the comets observed in 1531, 1607, and 1682, were nearly the same, concluded that they belonged to the same comet, which, in the space of 151 years, had made two revolutions. It is true that the period of the first revolution is thirteen months longer than the second. But this great astronomer thought, and with reason, that the attraction of the planets, particularly of Jupiter and Saturn, might have occasioned this difference; and, after a vague estimation of this action for the course of the following period, he judged that it should retard the return of the comet, and he fixed it for the end of 1758, or the commencement of 1759. This prediction was too important in itself, and too intimately connected with the theory of universal gravitation, not to excite the curiosity of all those who were interested in the progress of the sciences; for, about this time, geometers were very much engaged in extending the application of this theory. During the whole year of 1757, astronomers looked for this comet; and Clairaut, who had been one of the first to solve the problem of the three bodies, plied his solution to the determination of the inequalities which the comet had sustained by the action of Jupiter and Saturn. The 14th Nov. 1758, he announced, in the academy of sciences, that the interval of the return of the comet to its perihelion, would be 618 days longer in the present actual period than in the former one, and that consequently the comet would pass its perihelion about the middle of April, 1759. He observed, at the same time, that the small quantities neglected in this approximate calculation, might advance or retard this term a month. That moreover, a body which passes into regions so remote, and which escapes our sight during such long intervals, may be subject to the action of forces entirely unknown, as the attraction of other comets, or even of some planet, whose distance

is too great to be ever visible to us. This philosopher had the satisfaction of seeing his prediction accomplished; the comet passed its perihelion the 12th March, 1759, within the limits of the errors of which he thought his results susceptible. After a new revision of his calculations, Clairaut fixed this passage at the 4th of April; and he would have brought it to the 28th March, if he had employed the mass of Saturn, such as is given in Chap. II.; that is, within thirteen days of the actual observation. This difference will appear very small, if we consider the great number of quantities neglected, and the influence which the planet Uranus might produce, whose existence was at that time unknown.

Let us remark, for the honour of the human understanding, that this comet, which in this century only excited the curiosity of astronomers and mathematicians, had been regarded in a very different manner, four revolutions before, when it appeared in 1456. Its long tail spread consternation over all Europe, already terrified by the rapid success of the Turkish arms, which had just destroyed the great empire. Pope Callistus, on this occasion, ordered a prayer, in which both the comet and the Turks were included in one anathema.' II. 59—62.

Of the collision of a comet with the earth, which, though improbable in a high degree for a given portion of time, may be regarded as having considerable probability, if we take in an unlimited succession of ages, he points out some of the more obvious consequences.

It is easy to represent the effect of such a shock upon the earth; the axis and motion of rotation changed; the waters abandoning their ancient position, to precipitate themselves towards the new equator; the greater part of men and animals drowned in a universal deluge, or destroyed by the violence of the shock given to the terrestrial globe; whole species destroyed; all the monuments of human industry reversed; such are the disasters which a shock of a comet would produce. \*

We see, then, why the ocean has abandoned the highest mountains, on which it has left incontestable marks of its former abode. We see why the animals and plants of the South may have existed in the climates of the north, where their relics and impressions are still to be found. Lastly, it explains the short period of the existence of the moral world, whose earliest monuments do not go much farther back than three thousand years. The human race, reduced to a small number of individuals, in the most deplorable state, occupied only with the immediate care for their subsistence, must necessarily have lost the remembrance of all sciences and of every art; and when the progress of civilization has again created new wants, everything was to be done again, as if mankind had been just placed upon the earth. But whatever may be the cause assigned by philosophers to these phenomena, we may be perfectly at ease with respect to such a catastrophe during the short period of human life.' II. p. 64, 65.

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We see here a suggestion thrown out with a view of explaining some of the singular facts in geology, that have been discovered by an attentive examination of the Earth's surface. Were the axis of the Earth's rotation to be changed, that is to say, if the Earth were to revolve on a different diameter from that on which it revolves at present, this would no doubt have the effect of displacing the ocean, and of producing many other great changes in the economy of the globe, similar to those of which we discover so many traces in the interior of the earth. Yet we must be permitted to say, that a change in the position of the Earth's axis, is wholly insufficient to account for a great proportion of the phenomena of geology. As an example, we may instance the vertical or highly inclined position of beds of rock, that have all the appearance of being deposited by water, and nevertheless now make angles of 70, and even 90 degrees with the horizon. No displacing of the Earth's axis affords any explanation of this fact, which is so general in primitive countries, and so often to be met with even in those that are considered as of secondary origin. Many other phenomena might be stated that are inconsistent with the preceding hypothesis, or which at least admit of no explanation from it, and evidently point to the action of a cause residing in the Earth itself, though of a nature not easy to be determined. Perhaps with this, whatever it may be, the action of some external causes, such as are here pointed at, must be combined, in order to explain the present condition of the Earth's surface.

The theory of the secondary planets comes next; and begins with that of the Moon.

The Sun acts unequally, and in different directions, on the Earth and Moon; and, from this diversity of action, inequalities must necessarily arise in the lunar motion, depending on the respective positions of the Moon and Sun. To determine these, we must at the same time consider the mutual actions and motions of these three bodies, the Sun, the Earth, and the Moon. This constitutes the famous problem of the three bodies, the exact solution of which surpasses the powers of analysis: but from the proximity of the Moon, compared with its distance from the Sun, and from the comparative smallness of its mass, an approximation may be obtained extremely near the truth. Nevertheless, the most delicate analysis is necessary to investigate all the terms, whose influence becomes sensible. Of this, the first steps that were made in this analysis afford sufficient proof.

Euler, Clairaut, and D'Alembert, who resolved this problem nearly about the same time, agreed in finding, by the theory of gravitation, the motion of the Moon, to agree only half as great as it appears to be from observation; from which Clairaut concluded, that the law of attraction was not quite so simple as had been imagined; and

and he supposed it to consist of two parts, one varying inversely as the squares of the distances, and sensible only at the great distance of the planets from the Sun; and that the other, increasing in a greater ratio as the distance diminished, became sensible at the distance of the Moon from the Earth. This conclusion was vehemently opposed by Buffon: he maintained, that since the primordial laws of nature should be the most simple possible, they could only depend on one *modulus*, and their expression, therefore, must consist of one single term. This consideration should no doubt lead us not to complicate the law of attraction, except in case of extreme necessity: at the same time, our ignorance respecting the nature of this force does not permit us to pronounce with certainty as to the simplicity of its expression.' II. 67—69.

We pass over the periodical inequalities of the Moon, which the theory of gravity has enabled our author to determine with great exactness; and we go on to consider the secular equation of the Moon, as the part of the theory of that planet, in which his investigations have been most particularly successful.

'Halley first remarked this equation, which Dunthorn and Mayer have confirmed by a profound discussion of the observations. These two learned astronomers have proved, that the mean motion of the Moon cannot be reconciled with modern observations, and with the eclipses observed by the Chaldeans and Arabians. They have attempted to represent them, by adding to the mean longitudes of this satellite a quantity proportional to the square of the number of centuries elapsed before or after the year 1700. According to Dunthorn, this quantity is 10" for the first century.'—'The Arabian observations which have been chiefly made use of, are two eclipses of the Sun and one of the Moon, observed by Ibn Junis, near Cairo, towards the end of the tenth century, and extracted some time ago from a manuscript of this astronomer, existing in the library at Leyden. Doubts have risen concerning the reality of these eclipses; but the translation which M. Caussin has lately made of the part of this valuable manuscript which contains the observations, has dissipated these doubts: it has, moreover, made us acquainted with twenty-five other eclipses observed by the Arabians, and which confirm the acceleration of the mean motion of the Moon.'—'The lunar motion is therefore accelerated since the time of the Chaldeans; and the Arabian observations being made in the interval that separates them, and confirming this supposition, it is impossible any longer to question the truth of it.

'Now, what is the cause of this phenomenon? Does the theory of universal gravitation, which has so well explained the numerous inequalities of the Moon, account likewise for its secular variations?'—'This object has greatly occupied the attention of geometers; but their researches, for a long time fruitless, having discovered nothing either in the action of the Sun or planets on the Moon, nor in the



the figures not exactly spherical of this satellite and the Earth, that could change the mean motion of the Moon, some rejected the secular equation altogether; others, to explain it, had recourse to different hypotheses, such as the action of comets, the resistance of an ether, and the successive transmission of gravities. Yet the correspondence of the other celestial phenomena with the theory of gravitation, is so perfect, that we could not observe, without great regret, that the secular variation of the Moon appeared to refuse to submit to it, and constituted the only exception to a general and simple law, whose discovery, by the grandeur and variety of the objects which it embraces, does so much honour to the human understanding. This reflection having determined me to reconsider this question, after several attempts, I was at last so fortunate as to discover its cause. *The secular equation of the Moon arises from the action of the Sun upon this satellite, combined with the variation of the eccentricity of the terrestrial orbit.* To form a just idea of this cause, we must recollect that the elements of the orbit of the Earth are subject to alteration from the action of the planets; its greater axis remains always the same; but its eccentricity, its inclination to a fixed plane, and the position of its nodes and of its perihelion, are incessantly changing. It must also be considered, that the action of the Sun upon the Moon diminishes by  $\frac{1}{r^2}$ , its angular velocity, and that this numerical coefficient varies reciprocally as the cube of the distance of the Earth from the Sun. Now, in expanding the inverse third power of the distance into a series arranged according to the sines and cosines of the mean motions of the Moon, and of their multiples, taking for unity the semi-major axis of the terrestrial orbit, it is found that this series contains a term equal to three times the half of the square of the eccentricity of this orbit. The expression of the diminution of the angular velocity of the Moon, contains therefore a term equal to the 179th part of this velocity multiplied by three times half the square of this eccentricity; or, what is equivalent, equal to the product of this square, by the angular velocity of the Moon, divided by 119.33. If the eccentricity of the terrestrial orbit was constant, this term would be confounded with the mean angular velocity of the Moon; but its variation, though very small, has nevertheless, in progress of time, a sensible influence on the motion of the Moon. It is evident that this motion will be accelerated when the eccentricity diminishes, which has been the case ever since the most ancient observations to the present time: this acceleration will be changed into a retardation, when the eccentricity, arrived at its maximum, will begin to decrease, and begin to augment? II. 102-103.

Thus, what was supposed an acceleration of the mean motion of the Moon that augmented continually, and of which no account whatever could be given, was discovered to be a secular equation of a very long period, which goes in the course of a great many ages, compensate itself, alternately increasing from nothing

nothing to its *perihelion*, and diminishing from thence to nothing again. It may be considered as the effect of the disturbing force of the planets diminishing the eccentricity of the Earth's orbit, and thus transmitted through the Earth to our Moon. The investigation of it is perhaps the most delicate research in physical astronomy, and a conclusion at which, without the assistance of the most profound calculus, it was quite impossible to arrive.

The explanation, therefore, of the Moon's acceleration, and the proof that it is not a constantly increasing, but merely a periodical inequality, is a great step in the philosophy of the heavens. The continual increase of the Moon's angular velocity, which this phenomenon seemed to indicate, argued a constant diminution of her distance from the Earth, and gave some countenance to the notion, that the planetary orbits were continually diminishing, and that there was, among the bodies of our system, a tendency to descend to the centre of gravity of the whole, where their union must finally terminate the present order of nature. To this catastrophe, an elegant and philosophic poet has beautifully alluded.

Roll on, ye stars, exult in youthful prime,  
Mark with bright curves the printless steps of time;  
Near and more near your beamy cars approach,  
And lessening orbs on lessening orbs encroach.  
Flowers of the sky! ye too to age must yield,  
Fragrant as your silken sisters of the field!  
Star after star from heaven's high arch shall rush,  
Suns sink on suns, and systems systems crush;  
Headlong, extinct, to one dark centre fall,  
And Death, and Night, and Chaos mingle all!  
Till o'er the wreck, emerging from the storm,  
Immortal Nature lifts her changeeful form;  
Mounts from her funeral pyre on wings of flame,  
And soars and shines another and the same!

*Botanic Garden*, cant. iv. p. 1.

The destiny of Nature is, however, more noble than that which this magnificent description holds up to the fancy; and the algebraist has extracted from his calculus a more sublime conclusion than the invention of the poet has been able to attain. The constancy of Nature, amid all the changes she undergoes, is upheld by the constitution of those changes, which prescribes to each its limits, and forces it to recur in a series, which at time reduces to nothing the sum of all the deviations from the mean. Thus, the amount of the whole is permanent, though the terms themselves are perpetually changing; and hence Nature is rendered immortal, not by emerging from the storm, but by being ever superior to its power; its order is not renovated, but preserved; and the wis-

dom

dom of its Author has provided an antidote to evil, that renders all remedies unnecessary.

We regret that we cannot follow our author through his discussions concerning the satellites of Jupiter. When these small planetary bodies were first discovered, and for long afterwards, it was thought sufficient if their periodic times and their mean motions could be determined, and the most sanguine theorist never dreamt that the calculus would go so far as to determine the inequalities in their motion produced by their mutual action on one another. This, however, is what Laplace has effected in a very satisfactory manner; and the agreement of theory with observation, is as complete here as in any other part of our planetary system. If it be considered that, in addition to all the theoretical difficulties which the complicated system of these secondary planets presents, there is one arising from our powers of observation which it requires great time and patience to overcome, the success of this investigation will be considered as no less creditable to the astronomer than the mathematician. The times of the eclipses of the satellites, the moments of their immersions into the shadow of Jupiter, or of their emergence from it, are the only instants at which the places of the satellites in their orbits can be accurately determined. We have not, therefore, the power of observing a satellite in all points of its orbit during the same revolution, as we have with regard to the other planets. We must wait, in order to have a complete series of its positions, till the succession of eclipses afford observations at all points in its orbit, and hence the great difficulty of finding a set of observations that admit of comparison with the conclusions of the calculus.

The ring of Saturn is one of the greatest anomalies in our system; and our author's remarks on it are highly curious and interesting.

The ring of Saturn, as has been shown in the first book, is formed of two concentric rings of very small thickness. By what mechanism do these rings sustain themselves round the planet? It is not probable that this should take place from the simple adhesion of their particles; since, were this the case, the parts nearest to Saturn, solicited by the constantly renewed action of gravity, would be at length detached from the rings, which would, by an insensible diminution, finally disappear, like all other works of nature which have not had sufficient force to resist the action of external causes. The rings support themselves then without effort, and only by the law of equilibrium. But for this it is requisite to suppose them possessed of a rotatory motion round an axis perpendicular to their plane, and passing through the centre of Saturn, so that their gravitation towards the planet may be balanced by the centrifugal force due to this motion.

Let

Let us imagine a homogeneous fluid spread round Saturn in the form of a ring, and let us see what ought to be its figure, for it to remain in equilibrium, in consequence of the mutual attraction of its particles, of their gravitation towards Saturn, and their centrifugal force. If, through the centre of the planet, a plane is imagined to pass, perpendicular to that of the ring, the section of the ring by this plane, is what I shall call the *generating curve*. Analysis proves that if the magnitude of the ring is small in proportion to its distance from the centre of Saturn, the equilibrium of the fluid is possible when the generating curve is an ellipse of which the greater axis is directed towards the centre of the planet. The duration of the rotation of the ring, is nearly the same as that of the revolution of a satellite, moved circularly at the distance of the centre of the generating ellipse. And this duration is about ( $10^5 32'$ ) four hours and a third, for the interior ring. Herschel has confirmed by observation this result, to which I had been conducted by the theory of gravitation. II. 139—141.

Without following our author in his very curious explanation of the tides, the figure of the Earth and planets, we shall only add from this book what is said in the last chapter on the subject of Universal Gravitation.

The motion of the Earth, which had obtained the assent of astronomers, from the simplicity with which it explained the celestial phenomena, has received, from the principle of gravitation, a new confirmation, which has carried it to the highest degree of evidence of which physical science is susceptible. We may increase the probability of a theory, either by diminishing the number of hypotheses on which it rests, or by augmenting the number of phenomena which it explains. The principle of gravity has procured these two advantages to the theory of the motion of the Earth. As it is a necessary consequence of it, it adds no new supposition to this theory; but, to explain the apparent motion of the stars, Copernicus admitted three distinct motions, one round the sun, another round itself, and a third motion of its poles round those of the ecliptic. The principle of gravitation makes them all depend on one motion impressed on the Earth, in a direction not passing through the centre of gravity. In consequence of this motion, it revolves round the Sun, and on its own axis. It at the same time takes a flattened form, compressed at the poles; and the action of the Sun and Moon upon this figure, produces a slow motion on its poles round the poles of the ecliptic. The discovery of this principle has, then, reduced to the least possible number the suppositions on which Copernicus founded his theory. It has, besides, the advantage of connecting this theory with all the celestial phenomena. Without it, the ellipticity of the planetary orbits,—the laws which the planets and comets follow in their revolution,—and the Sun,—their secular and periodic inequalities,—the numberless inequalities of the Moon, and of the satellites of Jupiter,—the precession of the equinoxes,—the nutation of the terrestrial

On this passage we have to observe, that though there be great weight in the argument which it contains, yet our opinion must not be determined but by comparing the evidence on both sides, and examining the various fragments of mathematical science, so unaccountably scattered over the peninsula of India. If, for example, we could admit the astronomy of that country to be derived from Greece or Arabia; yet, how can we account for the ratio of the circumference to the diameter of a circle being more accurately known to the Brahmenis than to the geometers of the western world? By the former, it was stated to be that of 3.1416 to 1, at a time when an expression, equally exact, was not known in Europe. Many other things might be mentioned that are very inconsistent with the opinion, that the science of India was derived from the West.

But to conclude these remarks—We see great reason to congratulate the English reader on having this excellent work translated into his native language. The translator is not one of those men who, ignorant of the subject of a book, and knowing only the language of it, are frequently employed in works of this kind. Mr Pond is a mathematician and an astronomer, and fully capable of understanding and valuing the discoveries of his author. We think, sometimes he has adhered too literally to the French, and has, in one or two instances, injured, by that means, the perspicuity of the reasoning. This, however, does but rarely occur. The translation, on the whole, is well executed; and it adds considerably to the comfort of the English reader, that the numbers in which angles and arches are expressed in the original, according to the new decimal form, are given at the bottom of the page in the old sexagesimal notation.

Fame never fails to excite envy, even when it is of so transcendent a kind as to set the possessor of it clearly above all his contemporaries. Laplace has few rivals; and Lagrange, so far as we know, is the only man now living, who may be fairly placed by his side. Yet there are strong symptoms of envy against this illustrious man, that have of late broke out among ourselves, and are clearly manifested by the excessive and indecent exultation, occasioned by the detection of a small, and, it may be, only an imaginary error, in a work where the objects of praise are so great and numerous. This reflection is suggested by a small pamphlet, which we have just seen, professing to be an examination of Laplace's theory of capillary action, as laid down in the 10th book of his *Mécanique Céleste*. We have not had leisure to make ourselves well acquainted with the argument of this examination; and, whether it be sound or unsound, is not what we are now to consider. What cannot for a moment

ment be concealed, and what must instantly strike every reader, is the bad taste, the petulance, and insolent tone with which it is drawn up. A coarse and unsuccessful attempt at the ludicrous, and a vulgar display of what the author mistakes for wit, must disgust every lover of calm and philosophical discussion, and will make us, we must confess, feel some regret, if we shall ultimately find sound argument and accurate reasoning holding familiar intercourse with such unworthy associates.

We have seen some other publications, in which the same illiberality prevails; and, we doubt not, that these authors consider every reproach directed at Laplace, as so much praise that must infallibly be applied to themselves. With respect, however, to the subject of capillary action, and Laplace's theory of it, we must observe, that the errors pointed out by the author of the examination, are rather in the language employed in describing the theory, than in the theory itself. The theory consists of two parts. 1. That the combination of the gravity of the water with the attraction of the glass, produces in the water, within the capillary tube, a surface that is not level, but that is concave upwards. This remark is due to Clairaut. 2. That the ring of water thus formed round the edges of the capillary tube, and sustained by the combined forces just mentioned, by its attraction on the water under it, lightens the column of that water, and inclines it to rise in the tube. This is the true statement of Laplace's theory; and there is certainly none of that contradiction between the two propositions, of which it consists, that the author of the examination would have us to believe. We acknowledge, indeed, that we are not of opinion that this theory is complete; and we are persuaded, that though the action supposed in it may be true, it is not the only action by which the suspension of the water is produced. Our reason for this opinion is derived from some facts that seem to have escaped Laplace himself, as well as his critic, but which we cannot enter on in this place. Another opportunity will probably occur, of considering this subject at more length. We promise our readers, that with whatever success our discussion may be accompanied, it shall at least be brought forward in the spirit and temper that we conceive to be essential to philosophical inquiry;—on the one hand, with the respect that is due to genius, —and on the other, with the freedom of thought which is due from every man to himself.

ART. X. • *Memoires de Physique et de Chimie, de la Societ  d'Arcueil.* Tome 2. 8vo. pp. 500. Paris, 1809.

WE resume, with much satisfaction, our account of the labours of this new and active association. The present volume appears to rise considerably in importance above the former. To the list of members is now joined the name of Malus, whose communications must be deemed peculiarly valuable. The society appears duly to appreciate this recent acquisition; and we are charmed with the dawning prospect of having the more recondite properties of light at last detected and satisfactorily explained.

In estimating the progress of scientific discovery, it is expedient, not only to mark the successive steps by which it is carried on, but to notice the doubts and imperfections which often affect even the most improved departments of knowledge. Our selections from this volume shall be confined to such papers as excite material interest, or will afford room for some discussion.

*Researches on the Respiration of Fishes.* By MM. Proven al and Humboldt.

In our last Number, we noticed some interesting observations which M. Bibt was led incidentally to make, respecting the nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder of fishes. The general results have been since confirmed by M. Laroche, an able naturalist, who was lately joined to the commission for extending the measurement of a degree of the meridian to the Bala ric Isles. It now seems fully ascertained, that those fishes which inhabit at great depths in the ocean, have a much larger share of oxygen lodged in their air-bladder. Yet the small portion of air obtained from the water drawn from such depths, is found to be scarcely so pure as the common standard of the atmosphere.

The steep shores of Yviza and Formentera presented these philosophers with an opportunity of determining, whether extreme mechanical compression be capable of effecting combinations among the elementary gases, similar to those which the energy of electrical influence can produce. Oxygen and azote, in the proportions which compose the nitric acid—oxygen and hydrogen, in the proportion that forms water—and the mixture of hydrogen and azote that generates ammonia,—were all severally introduced into strong tubes, and confined by mercury; but, though let down in the sea to the depth of 150 fathoms, and therefore subjected to a pressure of thirty atmospheres, they showed no alteration whatever.

The experiments of Proven al and Humboldt, to which our attention is now directed, were undertaken for the express purpose of investigating the mode of the respiration of fishes, and were prosecuted

profecuted with scrupulous attention and elaborate care during the space of seven months. The first point was to determine the nature and proportion of the gas contained in river water. From repeated trials, it appeared, that, at the temperature of 10 degrees centigrade, or 50° of Fahrenheit, the water of the Seine yields, by ebullition, over mercury or through distilled water, about the thirty-sixth part of its bulk of a gas, which has nearly the same purity as atmospheric air, but alloyed with from 6 to 10 *per cent.* of carbonic acid. These facts served as the basis of the subsequent observations. Small river-fish, chiefly tench, were introduced into huge bell-glasses, filled with the water of the Seine, and placed over a surface of mercury. In the space of a few hours, the fishes thus confined became visibly languid, but were always withdrawn before they appeared quite exhausted and about to expire. A certain measure of this water, in which the respiration had taken place, being subjected to a process of boiling, the gas then extricated was examined and compared with the usual products.—Of the numerous experiments performed, we will cite only a single example. Seven tench were put into a balloon holding above 60 English pints of river water, and they remained alive eight hours and a half. Of this water, 2582 *centimetres*, or 816½ English cubic inches, gave, on boiling, a volume of gas equal to 453 *centimetres*, at 10 degrees of the centigrade scale; and these 453 parts were found to contain 290 of azote, 153 of carbonic acid, and only 10 of oxygen. But the same quantity of water drawn fresh from the Seine would have held 347 parts of azote, 21 of carbonic acid, and 156 of oxygen. Those small fishes must, therefore, have consumed 145 parts of oxygen, and 57 of azote, and produced 132 parts of carbonic acid.

It hence appears that, though extremely limited in its extent, the breathing of fishes is, with regard to its effects, on the whole, very similar to that of the warm-blooded animals. They can support life, even after the oxygen is so much attenuated, as not to exceed in bulk the five thousandth part of the containing fluid. A tench consumes, at an average, fifty thousand times less oxygen than a man.

Yet respiration is indispensable to the existence of fishes. Confined in a small body of water, which is excluded from the contact of the external air, they soon become faint and oppressed; and their sufferings evidently increase in proportion as the oxygen is abstracted and consumed. The gold-fish, *cyprinus auratus*, which is extremely vivacious, introduced under water that had been carefully purged of its air by distillation and recent boiling, was almost instantly affected; in ten minutes it was seized with violent convulsions, followed by utter prostration of strength; but



its functions were again speedily restored, on admitting into the receiver a portion of river water.

In the mammiferous animals, the whole oxygen inhaled by them is again expired in a state of combination with carbon. But the carbonic acid that fishes reject, never amounts to four-fifths of the quantity of oxygen which they had previously abstracted from the mass of water. What becomes, then, of this surplus oxygen? Is it absorbed into their system? And is it the cause of that superior irritability which they display?

It is another distinguishing circumstance, that fishes absorb a very large portion of azote, nearly equal sometimes to the oxygen itself. This phenomenon was proved, by subsequent experiments, to be in no respect accidental, but to depend on the regular principles of their organic assimilation. Some fishes were introduced under water which had been impregnated with azote, oxygen, and hydrogen, by exposing it newly boiled to a mixture of these gases, the hydrogen assisting, by the play of double affinities, the union of the oxygen: in the space of three hours, they were taken out almost dead; and the water being then distilled, yielded back only its share of hydrogen, the oxygen and azote having both disappeared.

Water, charged with carbonic acid, powerfully affects the nervous system, and acts on small fishes as a mortal poison. Tench, confined in it only for a few minutes, expire in convulsions. The oxygenated muriatic acid is scarcely more prompt in its effects.

It was of importance to determine, whether fishes extract air from water by the action of their gills only, or have, besides, a power of absorption diffused over the surface of their body. The most lively tench were selected for this trial. Their heads were cased in collars of cork lined with wax-cloth, which spread out into a covering fastened by means of sealing wax to the top of a cylindrical vessel containing river water. This cylinder was next inverted into a bucket filled likewise with river water; and the more effectually to prevent any communication between it and the water in which the body of the fish was immersed, a small layer of quicksilver covered the ring about the neck. A tench would live in that constrained position for the space of five hours, without experiencing much inconvenience. The water contained in the cylindrical vessel now furnished, on being distilled, nearly the same aerial products, as if respiration had actually been performed in it. The venous blood must therefore attract oxygen, and transmit carbon through the fine expansion of the skin, with an energy similar to what is exerted by the proper organs of the bronchials themselves. The skin, however, shows no action at all on the ambient air. But the bronchials are capable of performing a double

ble function; they not only separate oxygen from water, but can inhale it from the atmosphere. A fish, placed in a vessel containing a very small quantity of water, is soon obliged to rise to the surface, and project its head, for the sake of breathing. The water, which had been robbed of its oxygen, indeed, attracts this again from the atmosphere, and gradually communicates it to the lower strata; but the process of restoration is so extremely slow, that, if the fish be prevented from getting to the surface, languor and exhaustion will quickly supervene.

Various kinds of fishes were introduced into the several permanent gases. In common air and oxygen gas, they opened their gills very wide, but did not absorb that vital nutriment in a larger proportion, than if water had been the medium of communication. Under azote, they became languid, and apparently dead, in the space of four or five hours. The effects of hydrogen were still more deleterious. But carbonic acid acted with such envenomed force, that though the fishes hastened to shut their gills against its influence, they were yet absolutely killed by it in a few minutes.

Since the respiration of fishes is so very limited, we should scarcely expect any notable evolution of heat from that process. Accordingly, it was found, that the most delicate thermometers, inserted in their mouths, indicated no visible difference from the temperature of the ambient fluid.

With regard to the nature of the gas contained in the air-bladder, it was observed to vary exceedingly, even in the same species of river-fish. Though tench were kept in water charged with hydrogen, not a particle of the gas had penetrated into that vesicle. On extracting the air-bladder, by means of a lateral incision, the fish would live three days, though generally in a state of languor. But the separation of that organ seemed to affect the action of the bronchials; for they were observed to absorb more oxygen and azote than before, and to produce no carbonic acid.

The experiments now recited certainly throw considerable light on the physiology of fishes. We are only disposed to doubt a little, whether their accuracy can be entirely relied on. The analysis of the gaseous products was evidently imperfect; for water, which has been thoroughly boiled, will still continue to discharge a notable residuum of air, if placed under an exhausted receiver. But the indications of the eudiometer are, from a variety of causes, peculiarly liable to inaccuracy, and depend much on the skill and manipulation of the experimenter. The observations of Provençal and Humboldt, however, are decidedly more complete than any of a like nature; and, after making every deduction, we cannot hesitate to regard the general results as at

least near approximations to the truth. They are not incompatible, however, with those conclusions which Biot's experiments appeared to countenance. A fish that inhabits the depths of the sea, under such enormous compression, living in circumstances extremely different from one which plays near the surface, may be expected to exert a far superior energy. If a small river fish can, by the action of its gills, overcome the adhesion of air to the encompassing liquid, may we not suppose an inhabitant of the ocean to be capable of developing an organic force sufficient to dissolve that union of oxygen with hydrogen which constitutes water itself? On any other hypothesis, indeed, the minute portion of oxygen dispersed near the bottom of the sea, must have, in time, become exhausted; nor could it again be sensibly restored by the very slow absorption at the surface, and the still slower communication through such a lengthened series of incumbent strata.

*On the Motion of Light in Diaphanous Media.*

By M. Laplace.

The curious phenomena of double refraction is produced by various mineral substances. It was first observed in Iceland spar, or the rhomboidal crystals of the carbonate of lime, in which it appears very conspicuous; but several other crystals manifest a similar property, though differently modified. If a dot made on a sheet of paper be viewed through a piece of Iceland spar laid over it, two dots are constantly seen in the direction of a diagonal joining the obtuse angles of the rhomboid, and separated from each other by an interval generally proportioned to the thickness of the crystal. It is evident, therefore, that, in penetrating into rhomboidal spar, a ray of light must, besides the usual refraction, suffer an *extraordinary* one, bending it towards the obtuse solid angle of the crystal. When light traverses the substance, the opposite sides of the rhomboid being parallel, it must always escape at the same inclination with which it entered; but the part that suffered the extraordinary refraction, emerging at a different point, will, according to the length of its internal passage, occasion a small shifting or parallax, thus forming the secondary image, which likewise, for that reason, appears at a less depth.

The cause of this double refraction has long tortured the ingenuity of philosophers. Huygens, who, with the finest taste for geometry, and the most exquisite skill in conducting mechanical analysis, unfortunately blended some prejudices, derived from the Cartesian school, advanced an hypothesis, repugnant indeed to the sober principles of induction, but which seemed to furnish

an easy explanation of the leading facts. He supposed Light to consist in the undulations of an ethereal fluid, highly elastic, of extreme tenuity, and diffused through universal space. Those undulations, in ordinary cases, would, from their equable expansion, form spherical shells; but, in entering Icelandic spar, each incipient undulation would, he conceived, assume the shape of an oblate spheroid, whose centre is the point of incidence, and its axis parallel to the short diagonal of an equilateral piece of the crystal, and having, to the perpendicular diameter, the ratio of 9 to 10. As ordinary refraction depends on the sine of inclination or the ordinate of the circle, so extraordinary refraction was made to depend on the ordinate of the generating ellipse.—An hypothesis so fanciful and arbitrary, sunk, on the triumph of the Newtonian philosophy, into hopeless neglect, from which a concurrence of circumstances has again drawn it into notice.—This memorable instance may teach us, that, while in physical matters, we ought to proceed with the utmost caution, yet we should not hastily reject even the wildest hypothesis. To proscribe the workings of the fancy, would, in many cases, be to arrest the progress of science. If an hypothesis be not allowed to warp the understanding, it may serve at least usefully to connect certain insulated facts, until their true explication be discovered. The earliest attempts of Kepler were employed in tracing the relation between the periods and the distances of the planets. Struck with the mystical properties of numbers, he tried the multiplied combinations; and the result which he thus obtained, was the offspring of a teeming and restless imagination. But the speculations of that sublime though irregular genius, afterwards guided the steps of Newton, and finally merged in the great law of gravitation.—Our learned countryman Dr Woollaston, who has, on many occasions, shown such uncommon felicity in adapting to practice the known principles of science, lately invented a very simple apparatus, which enabled him to determine, with equal ease and accuracy, the refractive power of the smallest fragment of crystal, or of the minutest film, whether solid or liquid. He was hence led to examine narrowly the constitution of rhomboidal spar. He remarked, that the deviation of the extraordinary from the ordinary refraction, is not a constant angle, as Newton had inferred; and, pursuing his observations, he discovered, that the force which produces this extraordinary refraction, is itself variable, and depending on the position of the refracted ray. Thus, he found the refractive power to be greatest in a line bisecting the obtuse solid angle of the rhomboid, and least in the transverse direction, the index of the former being 1,571, and that of the latter only 1,488. In the intermediate positions, those measures

followed

followed a certain law; which Dr Woollaston could not unravel, till he was referred to the Huygenian hypothesis, with which they seemed perfectly accordant. This unexpected and singular coincidence has been since confirmed by some delicate experiments of M. Malus. However then we may value the hypothesis of luminous undulations, as an attempt at philosophical exposition, we cannot, with justice, refuse it the merit of connecting the chief phenomena, and of accurately marking the various results.

Impressed with that sentiment, M. Laplace has sought to arrive at the same legitimate conclusion, by combining the principles of dynamics with the higher calculus. His investigation is founded on the celebrated law of *least action*, first proposed by Fermat, next improved and extended by Maupertuis and Euler, and afterwards deduced by Lagrange from the primary conditions of motion. According to this law, a particle of light, in its passage between two given points, one without, and another within the crystal, must describe such a route, that the distance traced before it enters the crystal multiplied by its velocity, and the distance traced after its entrance multiplied by the corresponding velocity, shall, together, form a sum which is a *minimum*. M. Laplace hence derives two differential equations, in which the internal velocity is an indeterminate function of the angle which the refracted ray makes with the shorter axis of the rhomboid. He then examines two simple cases, in which these equations are modified. The first is, where the square of the velocity of light within the crystal is increased by a constant quantity, and which, it is well known, obtains generally in diaphanous media. The second case is, where the expression of the action of the crystal is of the same form as that of the square of the internal velocity; or where this square is further augmented by a term proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle made by the refracted ray with the shorter axis. The measure of deflection being the same on either side of the axis, it was obvious that the even powers only of the sines or cosines, and which are always positive, could be admitted into the expression for the effect.— Having thus restricted the equations of partial differences, M. Laplace subjects them to a variety of operations, and brings out, after the usual reductions and substitutions, certain integral formulae which comprise the phenomena of refraction, and are entirely consonant with the Huygenian hypothesis. He therefore concludes, that we may regard this result with confidence as an established law of nature.

We are disposed to give full credit to the penetration, the expanded views, and the rich and varied talents of Laplace. In the management of the calculus, he cannot indeed rival the clear-

ness

ness and elegance of Euler; but he surpasses that great master of analysis in the extent of his acquirements, and the general soundness of his physical ideas. The present memoir may be considered as a fine specimen of analytic art; but here we are inclined to think that its praise should stop. It is grounded on assumptions just as gratuitous and arbitrary as those involved in the hypothesis with which it is contrasted. If Huygens supposed his spherical undulation to flatten regularly into a spheroid, Laplace thinks himself entitled, by the theory of functions, to round the expression of the square of the internal velocity, by an additional term of the same form, which might coalesce into a shapely compound. But this is only a mode of conception, and surely not the genuine interpretation of Nature. Fancy will, according to the taste or prevailing habits of the individual, amuse itself alike in contemplating the properties of figure, or the relations of quantity. Huygens, as a geometer, looked to the transformation of curves; Laplace, as an analyst, has preferred the symmetry of functions. Much as we admire the lofty flight and commanding skill of the Continental mathematicians, we are not blind to their defects and errors. They have long overrated the real value of the art of analysis; and have in many cases applied it to objects which it is not capable of attaining. Forgetting that the most refined calculus can only facilitate the combinations of thought, and can educe no principle but what was previously infused into it, these inquirers appear sometimes to imagine themselves occupied with contemplating the connexion of actual existences. In marshalling their symbols, and performing the grand evolutions, they are apt to overlook those smaller occasional movements on which the final position really depends. Several of the most eminent mathematicians of the Continent seem almost to have persuaded themselves, that, without recurring to external observation, they could demonstrate the laws of motion, and the primary relations of space, and consequently establish the principles of physics and geometry, by a dexterous application of the methods of analysis! That all this is mere illusion, requires no proof; but we may remark how imperceptibly the more obvious truths steal upon us, and become blended with the structure of a laborious and intricate process of calculation.

We cannot help thinking, that the continental philosophers, in their physical researches, are by far too much disposed to generalize. The conditions of the problem, under its widest aspect, they instantly embody in symbols, and proceed, by various changes and contractions, to reduce the principal expression to a manageable form; and not until then does the serious attack commence. Such a procedure might remind us of the toil of Penelope. It would surely be wiser to moderate the pretensions of analysis, and avoid

avoid the glaring abuse of symbols. If, as at a former period, the necessary restrictions and abbreviations affecting the nature of a problem were previously introduced, the differential expression that results would always be much simpler, and less apt to bewilder.

We would not particularly object to the choice which M. Laplace has made of the law of *least action*. Yet, though it is now derived from a legitimate source, it is but too apt, we think, to betray the vagueness of its metaphysical origin. The subject of this memoir might, we presume, admit of a very simple investigation, from the fundamental principle of accelerating or retarding forces. Since the differential of the square of the velocity is equal to the product of the force into the differential of the space, it easily follows, that a ray of light which undergoes the ordinary refraction, has the square of its velocity increased by a constant quantity; and therefore, from the decomposition of motion, the sines of the angles of incidence and of refraction are proportional. But when a ray suffers the extraordinary refraction, it is moreover attracted in the direction of the short diagonal of an equilateral rhomboid. Now, the direct impression of that force is evidently diminished in the ratio of the cosine of the inclination of the ray to that diagonal; and the space of its action is also reduced in the same ratio: Wherefore, by this combined influence, the square of the velocity of a ray must receive, from extraordinary refraction, a further augmentation, proportioned to the square of the cosine of the angle which it makes with the short diagonal of the rhomboid. Hence the law of extraordinary refraction is at once deduced, without requiring any more aid of the integral calculus.

Does not such increased attraction in the line bisecting the obtuse solid angles of a rhomboidal spar, indicate a condensation of molecules in that direction? And may not the shortness of the axis, and the compression of the crystal, proceed likewise from the same cause? Of the particles of light which enter a transparent medium, part suffer internal reflection, and part are absorbed in their passage. These different effects must depend on the casual degree of approximation to the molecules of the crystal which lie adjacent to the track of the ray. But when those molecules range more closely in a particular direction, as probably in the case of Iceland spar, a particle of light that chances to come within the reach of their attraction, is deflected from its ordinary course. The nature and circumstances of this deflection, would require mature examination.

1. *On a Property of reflected Light.*

2. *On a Property of the repulsive Forces which act upon Light.*

By M. Malus.

These interesting papers announce some very curious and unexpected

pected properties of light. The facts are stated in a distinct, though concise manner, and without such accessory details as experiments so novel might require, especially from an observer who has not yet attained that character for accuracy which inspires entire confidence. The correctness of the general results we are not inclined to dispute; and should those important discoveries be afterwards fully confirmed, they will certainly constitute an epoch in the history of optical science. It will, therefore, be sufficient, for the present, to notice their leading features, reserving the bulk of our remarks till they come again before us in a more extended form.

We have already described the property of double refraction which belongs to Icelandic spar. But the effects produced by combination are equally singular. If a ray of light that has been split in its passage through the crystal, be received by another crystal of the same kind, placed in a similar and parallel position, the ray which had obeyed the ordinary refraction will then suffer the extraordinary, and reciprocally that which underwent the extraordinary refraction will sustain the ordinary; and hence the image will still be only doubled. If the second crystal be now turned gradually round in the same plane, each portion of the divided ray will again suffer extraordinary refraction, so as jointly to produce four images. But after the crystal has quartered its circuit, the bisection of the transmitted rays again stops, and only a double image appears. These phenomena rise in succession as the crystal turns round. Nor is it requisite that the two crystals should be of the same sort. The first may be carbonate of lead, or sulphate of barytes; the second rock crystal, or crystallized sulphur. The direct light thus always suffers a double refraction; but the effect produced on the transmitted light depends on the angle of its incidence with the axis of the integrant molecules, or the plane of its principal section.

These facts are rendered more prominent, by looking at the flame of a candle through two prisms of different substances possessing the power of double refraction, and applied to each other. Four images are generally seen; but on turning one of the prisms slowly about the visual ray, those images are reduced to two, whenever the principal sections of the contiguous surfaces are parallel, or at right angles. The one pair of images gradually decay, while the other pair become proportionally brighter.

But this power of modifying the rays of light is not confined to the double refracting substances. All bodies can, under certain circumstances, excite a similar impression. Thus, if the flame of a candle reflected at an angle of  $52^{\circ} 45'$  from the surface of water, be viewed through a double refracting prism, one of the  
images



images will vanish every time that the prism makes the fourth part of a revolution. It is therefore evident, that the ray which has suffered such reflection from water, must now possess the same quality, or disposition, as the extraordinary refracted ray, after its escape from a rhomboidal crystal. Other transparent substances, whether liquid or solid, manifest a like property, only at different angles according to the measures of their refractive powers. This also obtains with respect to the internal reflections which take place at the second surface. Light reflected at certain angles from opaque bodies, such as ebony or black marble, is found to have suffered the same modification as that which has been deflected in its passage through Iceland spar. The polished metals appear to form the only exception to this property. \*

If a ray of light be reflected from a surface of glass at an angle of  $54^{\circ} 35'$ , and strike another like plane at the same angle, it will experience no second reflection, but will enter the glass with undiminished strength. Direct light is the most copiously reflected as its incidence becomes oblique. The case is quite different with light that has been once reflected; for the intensity of the second reflection depends on a compound relation of the angles which the incident ray makes with the mirrors, and of the mutual inclination of the mirrors themselves.

These curious facts indicate clearly the operation of certain attractive and repulsive forces, and appear altogether incompatible with any supposition but that of the materiality and actual emission of light, which the noble discoveries of Newton have placed on so firm a foundation. In general, let a particle of light, considered as a solid however minute, have its three perpendicular axes expressed by  $a$ ,  $b$ , and  $c$ , the axis  $a$  being constantly in the direction of the ray, and the axis  $b$  or  $c$  deflected into the position of the repulsive forces in consequence of their action; and the phenomena of partial and total reflection, with the distinguishing circumstances of double refraction, are all reduced to a single law, which may be thus enunciated:—Considering, in the translation of luminous molecules, their motion about the three principal axes, the number of molecules of which the axis  $b$  or  $c$  will come into a direction perpendicular to that of the repulsive forces, will always be proportional to the square of the sine of the angle which these lines would have to describe about the

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Does not this exemption from the peculiar action of the refringent surface, imply a less intimate approach of the luminous particles? And is it not entirely correspondent with the theory which makes light and the hot or cold pulses of air to be repelled at a greater distance from a metallic than a vitreous surface?

the axis  $a$ , in order to acquire such a position, and reciprocally, the number of molecules of which the axis  $b$  or  $c$  will approach nearest to the direction of those repulsive forces, will be proportional to the square of the cosine of the angle of rotation about the axis  $a$ , which would bring them into a plane passing through the direction of those forces. In the case of two opposite crystals having the power of double refraction, the quantity of light from the ordinary refraction of the first, which again receives the ordinary refraction from the second, is as the square of the sine; and the quantity that suffers from the extraordinary refraction is as the square of the cosine, of an angle formed by two planes, the one passing through the ordinary ray and the axis of the first crystal, and the other passing through the extraordinary ray and the axis of the second crystal. With regard to the combined reflection of light, the quantity thrown from a second surface, is proportional to the square of the cosine of the inclination of two planes that pass through the first reflected ray, perpendicular to each of the surfaces. The phenomena of double reflection, at the posterior surface of transparent crystals, are analogous to those of the refraction in two crystals of which the principal sections are parallel and their axes perpendicular; combining likewise the property common to all diaphanous bodies, that, when the reflecting surface is parallel to the axis  $c$  of the luminous molecules, the reflection ceases at a given angle.

Such are the conclusions which M. Malus has drawn from his very delicate experiments. They evince great precision, and open a wide field for inquiry; but the ingenious author modestly contents himself with tracing out the phenomena, nor ventures to explore the system of forces by which those curious effects are produced. The particles of light are decidedly capable of undergoing certain changes of disposition, which influence or derange their subsequent action. If the globular form belong only to free collections of matter, those corpuscles may really have some determinate figure; and the conditions of the several facets would then occasion a property analogous to that which has been vaguely named *polarity*. But it appears much simpler to consider the particles of light in a state of ultimate tenuity, as atoms, or mere physical points.

The facts which M. Malus has so nicely observed, remount, we presume, to a higher source, and are intimately connected with the various phenomena of the deflection and inflection of light, and with the production of coloured spaces from thick or thin plates. These abstruse subjects occupy the third book of Newton's Optics, which was confessedly left very imperfect; and they still remain covered with obscurity, or deformed by inaccurate observation.

In the deflection of light, and its modification by thick plates, we know, from some precise experiments, that the luminous particles suffer an impression, from which, in their progress, they gradually recover. The most obvious effect of a lateral force, would be to augment, in a small degree, the velocity of the particles, and consequently to widen somewhat their mutual distance, supposing them to follow each other in a direct line; and from this deranged state they might again restore themselves, if these particles have any analogy to those of an elastic fluid.

We would also remark, that the exemption of polished metallic surfaces from the power of modifying the incident light, as it indicates a less intimate approach of the luminous particles, seems entirely correspondent with the theory which makes light and the hot or cold pulses of air to be repelled at a greater distance from the metals.

*Experiments on the Propagation of Sound in Vapours.*

By M. Biot.

That sound is propagated through elastic media, by a certain tremulous motion, has long been known to philosophers. The invention of the air-pump by Otto Guericke, near the middle of the seventeenth century, demonstrated, in a striking manner, the operation of the atmosphere, as the ordinary vehicle of transmission. But Newton, with his mighty grasp, subjected the phenomena of sound to the laws of dynamics. The patience of that transcendent genius could surmount every difficulty, and his incomparable sagacity often supplied the defects of his calculus. He showed that the propagation of sound is analogous to that of undulations, and is reducible to the same principle as the motion of the pendulum. The velocity with which sound travels along the air should, therefore, be equal to what a heavy body would acquire, by falling through half the height of a homogeneous and equiponderant atmosphere. But, at the mean temperature of our climate, this would amount only to 945 feet in a second, while the most recent and accurate observations on sound give about one fifth more, or a celerity not less than 1130 feet in a second. Such a discrepancy, so very unlike that nice harmony which invariably connects the results of calculation with the measures of the celestial phenomena, has long perplexed geometers. Newton was himself aware of this disagreement; but, laying aside his usual caution, he did not scruple to resort to certain hypotheses which are exceedingly clumsy, and altogether inadmissible. He supposed that each particle of air occupies a breadth equal to the eighth or ninth part of their interval; and that for every ten such particles, there is an admixture of one particle of a latent and in-

elastic vapour. The ingenious Lambert carried the assumption still further; and fancied that air contains, dispersed through its substance, about one-third of extraneous and intangible matter. The theory of aërial vibrations remained in this unsatisfactory state, until the year 1759; when the celebrated Lagrange, at the early age of twenty-three, shone forth like a luminary, and gave a rigorous and profound investigation of the problem in the first volume of the *Memoirs of Turin*. He pointed out some mistakes that even Newton had committed in the reasoning; but mistakes which, by a happy compensation of errors, did not affect essentially the results. Advancing from these discussions, he assigned the dynamical conditions of undulation, which, after the proper limitations, were reduced to an equation involving partial differences of the second order. But this refined branch of analysis, invented by D'Alembert and Euler, is still so imperfect, that, in order to integrate the final expression, it had become requisite to omit the higher powers of the differentials. Yet, after all this display of accurate research, and skilful adaptation of symbols, followed by a lax and incomplete calculus, the same conclusion was obtained, as that which Newton had derived chiefly from the force of analogy and sagacity of observation; and philosophers were thus obliged to submit, and to content themselves with recording the variance between fact and experiment in regard to the celerity of sound, or with referring that discrepancy to some extraneous influence.

Laplace has lately, from an application of the recent discoveries on heat, proposed a conjecture which would seem to obviate the principal difficulty. When a portion of air is compressed, its capacity for heat becomes diminished, and its temperature is therefore elevated. The changes are sometimes very considerable. Thus, air suddenly squeezed into the twentieth part of its bulk, by help of a small condensing syringe, will easily set fire to a bit of tinder, or even a few grains of gunpowder. M. Laplace hence inferred, that the particles of air suffering a successive compression from the rolling tide of sound, will evolve heat, and therefore acquire an augmented elasticity, which must likewise increase the velocity of propagation. But, by a contrary process, air, on being dilated, has its capacity for heat enlarged, and consequently its temperature depressed. Since, therefore, each pulse, which carries the impression of sound, consists of two opposite portions of air, alternately contracting and dilating, the heat extricated from the one, might at first appear to be counterbalanced by the cold proceeding from the other. But these antagonist energies, so far from mutually counteracting, must really conspire in producing the same effect. If the heat elicited by their contraction quickens the return of the aërial particles,

ticles, the cold occasioned by their dilatation likewise accelerates their collapse; and thus both causes equally concur in shortening the fit of pulsation, and consequently in giving additional swiftness to the transmission of sound.

M. Biot, the pupil and friend of Laplace, solicitous to confirm this hypothesis by the evidence of experiment, has, with that view, devised a plan, which seems very ingenious and novel in the conception. It is well known that the elasticity of vapour, left to itself, depends merely on its degree of temperature. Every change of elasticity, however partial or temporary, must hence indicate a corresponding alteration of heat. Biot, therefore, tried whether sound, which is only conveyed by the fluctuations of elasticity, can be transmitted through perfect vapour. His experiments were made at Arcueil, in the presence of Berthollet and Laplace. To the neck of a glass balloon, containing about nine English gallons, a stop-cock was nicely fitted; and a small bell having been suspended within the cavity, a little water was then introduced. The air was next carefully extracted, leaving only vapour behind. On agitating the bell, a feeble sound was heard,—the temperature being only about 66 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale. But, removing the balloon into a stove, at a heat of 115°, the vapour being now much denser, the sound became very audible and distinct. It was therefore decided, that vapour is susceptible of alternate compression and dilatation, and consequently that the vibration of sound is productive of corresponding changes of temperature.

Admitting, however, the justness of the principle thus established, we contend, that it is totally inadequate to the explication of the discrepancy which M. Laplace has sought to remove. For, since the celerity of pulsation is as the square of the elasticity, it would require each aerial wave to have its elasticity augmented in the proportion of two to three, and consequently to have its temperature raised 125 degrees of Fahrenheit's scale. But, to evolve this heat, the successive portions of air must have been condensed into the fifth of their usual space; and, to produce such violent compression, it would be necessary to suppose a rapidity of impact equal to 3350 feet in a second. Can we imagine, that the simple transmission of sound should rend the atmosphere with such tremendous concussion? The measure of impulsion which those effects would imply, utterly exceeds any thing ever witnessed upon earth. The utmost rapidity of a cannon ball is only 2000 feet in a second; and to impress a velocity of 3350 feet, even for a single instant, most assuredly surpasses the human faculties.—But the hypothesis of Laplace is exposed to another objection, which seems entirely conclusive. Since the intensity of

of pulsation, and therefore the degree of heat excited, must depend on the quickness of impact, it would thence follow, that the velocity of sound is materially affected by the mode of its production. Yet this inference is contradicted by observation. All sounds, whether acute or grave, are found to travel through the atmosphere with the same celerity.—Nor are these the only objections which may be urged. If the atmosphere suffered by the passage of sound such excessive commotion, as to vibrate in each successive pulse through a range of five times its density, the conditions of the problem would be totally changed, since the previous investigation was grounded on a supposition that the limits of oscillation are infinitely small. The hypothesis advanced, so far from correcting the result of calculation, would, therefore, occasion a complete derangement.

But though Lagrange rightly determined the equation of a rial pulses, he was unable to effect its complete integration. Might not the difference proceed from his omitting all the powers of the differentials beyond the second? In such delicate processes, the example of Clairaut should teach us caution. That able geometer, on revising his investigation of the precession of the equinoxes, and resuming some terms which he had before neglected, obtained a result conformable to nature, and exactly the double of what was at first assigned. Till the integral calculus has arrived at much greater perfection, it will often be requisite for the analyst, in the solution of dynamical questions, to descend from his elevation, and seek to simplify the differential expressions by a sober and judicious application of the principles of physics.

Imagine a string of particles or physical points A, B, C, D, E, F, &c. in a state of rest or mutual balance. If A were pushed nearer to B, and then suddenly abandoned, it would recoil with a motion exactly similar to the oscillation of a pendulum. The time of this relapse might easily be determined from a comparison of the force of gravity with that of elasticity, or from the number of particles contained in a column of equipoise. The minute interval between the adjacent particles, being now divided by the duration of each fit of contraction, will give the velocity with which the vibratory influence shoots along the chain of communication. This simple investigation leads still to the same result as before. But it proceeds on assumptions which are evidently incorrect; for it supposes the pulses to follow each other in accurate succession, every contraction terminating as the next begins. Since the particles, however, do not exist in a state of insulation, while B repels A, it must likewise press against C; and C, in its turn, must gradually affect D. Before the contraction of A and B is completed, that of B and C is therefore

partially performed; and this anticipated influence may even extend to the remoter particles. Nor is the system of mutual action at all materially disturbed by such anticipations. Each pulsation is performed in the same way as if it were quite detached; only the succeeding one is partly accomplished before the regular period of its commencement. The velocity of aerial undulation is in this way much accelerated. To estimate the quantity of correction due to that cause, does not require any great profusion of calculus; but it would lead us into a tedious digression, altogether foreign to the nature of this Journal.

We cannot, however, dismiss the conjecture proposed by M. Laplace, without remarking, that it serves at least to elucidate the explication which Professor Leslie has given of the curious phenomenon hypothetically and inaccurately termed the *radiation of heat*. Having established, by experiment, that such dispersion never takes place but in some species of gas, and that the impression is not conveyed by the actual transfer of the heated portions of the fluid, the conclusion hence appeared irresistible, that this communication of heat must be performed, by means of the only other motion of which an elastic medium is susceptible, or by its internal oscillations. The author has indeed stated the result of induction with excessive brevity; nor has he at all sought to varnish over a subject which is naturally difficult. To comprehend the process distinctly, would require some attention and reach of thought, not quite in the taste of the multitude of chemical amateurs. It is the present fashion to exclaim against theory, and yet indolently to admit the most vague and flimsy assumptions. The principle of the transmission of heat by the agency of aerial pulsation, has not, therefore, attracted that notice, which, from its extent and precision, it so justly deserves. But when it shall be fully developed and strengthened by the concurring analogies, we have no doubt of its being generally embraced as the true exposition of the mode which Nature employs for producing an important class of operations in the physical world.—Let AM, BN, CO, DP, &c. represent a series of atmospheric pulses, each pulse being composed of two distinct portions, which alternately contract and dilate. The part A, relapsing from a state of expansion, delivers its surplus heat to M, which now expands, and has consequently its capacity enlarged. This M, next contracting, abandons its heat to the absorption of B, which comes in turn to dilate. The charge of heat is therefore conveyed through the atmosphere, and with the rapidity of sound, by a successive transfer along the chain of undulating spaces. In like manner, an impression of cold might be communicated to distant objects by the system of internal vibrations, the primary contraction be-  
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ing followed by a corresponding expansion in regular sequence. It forms no solid objection, that the existence of those hot or cold pulses is not cognizable to the senses. If we had not recourse to analogical deduction, we should not have discovered that sound itself is propagated through the atmosphere by means of internal vibrations. But such aërial vibrations do not always produce sound. A certain quickness in the succession of pulses seems necessary to make an impression on our organ of hearing; and the peculiar influence of a hot or cold surface may disperse itself in gentle undulations, without exciting in the air that tremor which causes noise.

*Experiments on the Propagation of Sound through solid Bodies and through Air in very long Tubes.* By M. Biot.

It is well known, that air is not essential to the propagation of sound, which can be transmitted through any elastic medium, solid, liquid, or gaseous. The celerity of its flight is also much greater in the denser substances. This fact has been ascertained in Denmark and England, by direct experiments on the sound conducted through beams of wood and stretched wires,—through water and sheets of ice. It was very conspicuous in the observations made by Hassenfratz in the subterranean quarries extended under the site of Paris. The ingenious Chladni proposed to determine the relative swiftness of transmission through a solid body, merely from the note which a rod of the given materials yields when excited into a tremor by friction.

M. Biot, whose attention is ever alert, has seized the occasion of some considerable improvements now going forward in the capital of France, to repeat similar experiments with great precision. The pipes intended to convey water to that metropolis consist of cylinders of cast iron, each eight feet three inches in length; the joints are secured by a collar of lead nearly half an inch thick, covered with pitched cotton rag, and strongly compressed by screws. Into one end of the compound pipe, was inserted an iron-hoop, holding a bell with a clapper; and at the other end, the observer was stationed. In these observations, M. Biot was occasionally assisted by M. Bouvard or M. Malus, colonel of artillery, and by Martin, a chronometer-maker. On striking the clapper at once against the bell and the inside of the tube, two distinct sounds were heard at the remote extremity, the one sent through the iron, and the other conducted along the air. The interval between those sounds was measured by a chronometer that marked half-seconds. In the first experiment, the pipe consisted of 78 pieces; its length, exclusive of the lead rings was 647 feet; and the interval between the two sounds was



ascertained from a mean of fifty trials, to be .542". But the ordinary propagation of sound through the atmosphere would, at that temperature, have required .579"; and consequently the difference, .037", must give the time of transmission through the metallic tube. In another experiment, the assemblage of pipes, including the leaden joints, extended to 2550 feet, or nearly half a mile; and on a medium of 200 trials the two sounds were heard at the interval of 2.79 seconds. The time which sound would take, according to the calculation, to travel the same distance through the air, is 2.5 seconds; whence the difference .29" marks the time of conveyance along the combined tubes. But M. Biot was enabled, by ingeniously varying the experiment, to arrive directly at that conclusion, without employing any previous computation. He concludes, from numerous combined trials, that the true quantity was .26"; and therefore that sound is transmitted ten or twelve times faster through cast iron than through the atmosphere.

These experiments sufficiently confirm the results of abstract theory. Perhaps cast iron is more languid in its tremors than the purer malleable iron. Chladni had assigned the celerity of vibration through iron and glass at 17500 feet in a second; and Leslie had shown, in one of the curious notes annexed to his book on Heat, that through a fir board the velocity of impulsion, which he proved to be the same as that of vibration, is 17300 feet in a second. We wish that some experiments on a large scale were made on the time of the transmission of sound through water. They could not fail, we are sure, to lead to consequences highly instructive in the economy of nature.

Besides the paper which we have now analyzed, this volume contains several *chemical* dissertations of no ordinary value, though the length of our preceding observations will prevent us from going very fully into their examination. There are one or two, however, on which we shall subjoin a few remarks.

*On the relation between the Oxydation of Metals, and the capacity of Saturation of their Oxyds by Acids.* By M. Gay-Lussac. Read at the Institute, December 5th, 1808.

Mr Dalton, in his 'New System of Chemical Philosophy,' published in the beginning of 1808, maintains, that bodies combine only in certain definite proportions, and that all metallic oxyds of the same class possess the same quantity of oxygen, and differ from each other solely in the proportion of metallic matter they contain. According to his theory, one portion of metal, in its first state of oxydation, requires for its saturation one portion of acid. Now, it is well known that some metals, when highly oxydated, take more acid to dissolve them than when oxydated in an

an inferior degree. Of course it follows, that one portion of metal, in its second state of oxydation, ought, if it takes up more acid, to take up at least twice as much as it did in the first; or, to employ a more general form of expression, it should always be found, that the quantity of acid in metallic salts, so constituted, is directly proportional to the quantity of oxygen in the oxyd,—the very principle which M. Gay-Lussac endeavours to demonstrate in this memoir. We shall not pretend to determine the claims to originality which our author tacitly makes, or to risk a conjecture whether or not he is indebted to Mr Dalton. That the principle maintained by both is the same, we conceive to be undeniable; and it is certain that M. Gay-Lussac was in possession of the English work, if not before, at least within, twenty-four days after this memoir was read (and long before it was published), as he expressly refers to it, in another paper of that date, as a work with which he was familiar.

The facts advanced by our author, in support of the principle, consist chiefly in the phenomena which occur during the precipitation of one metal by another. Thus, when neutral solutions of acetate of lead, sulphate of copper, and nitrate of silver, are precipitated by zinc, iron and copper, respectively, it is inferred, as no gas appears to be extricated, that merely a transfer of the oxygen and acid is made from one metal to the other.

By similar facts and reasonings, the principle is extended to salts containing metals at their maximum of oxydation; and then it is applied to the sulphites by means of a calculation depending on two facts,—the change of sulphuric acid, by heat, into oxygen and sulphurous acid gas; and the curious circumstance that, during the conversion of sulphite into sulphate of lead, the neutral state of the salt undergoes no alteration. Our author, in an observation at the end of this memoir, attempts to prove, that the quantity of sulphur in sulphurets formed by the action of sulphureted hydrogen or the hydrosulphurets on metallic salts, is directly proportional to the quantity of oxygen previously combined with the metal.

We have not entered into a minute analysis of this memoir, nor pointed out the particular application of the author's conclusions, because the hypothesis which he endeavours to establish appears to us to stand in need of much additional confirmation. The series of facts on which it rests, strikes us, at first sight, as far too narrow and limited for the basis of so extensive an inference; and some of the experiments referred to in proof of its truth, seem to us contradictory to each other. Our author nowhere adverts to the nature of the sub and super acid salts, the very existence of either of which equally opposes the hypothesis that the quantity of acid is, in all cases, directly proportional

proportional to the quantity of oxygen in the oxyd. \* As a particular instance, let us take the subsulphate of iron, produced by exposing a solution of the green sulphate to the atmosphere. It is well known, that, during its formation, the liquid becomes sensibly acid;—but how is this phenomenon to be reconciled with the hypothesis, according to which, as the metal acquires more oxygen, it should possess a greater capacity for acid, and retain that with which it was combined, with additional force? To remove this objection, it would be necessary to prove, that the acid, in this case, exists only in mechanical mixture with the oxyd, and not in chemical union, which is highly improbable. Many other instances of a similar nature might be quoted.

The spirit of theory and generalization, in short, is evidently too much indulged throughout this memoir; and the ingenious author is so fully satisfied of the truth of his hypothesis, though countenanced but by a few insulated facts, that he does not scruple to set it up as the very standard and test of truth, by which the accuracy of the laborious experience of other philosophers is to be estimated and controuled. He has, in some other of his late inquiries (which we hope to be able to refer to on a future occasion), as well as in this, followed the path originally struck out by Mr Dalton, and pursued by him with much industry and talent. The idea of uniform proportions in all chemical combinations, has received support from some other chemists of high authority; but the fact, we conceive, is still very far from being established; nor can we investigate too rigorously, or receive with too much caution, general principles which are intended to be applied to correct the results of actual experiment and analysis. The quantities of elementary materials which form compound bodies, and the nature of their arrangements, are scarcely susceptible of rigorous demonstration. As yet, a few facts only have been compared in relation to these numerical doctrines; and any decision upon them will be premature. We hope soon to be enabled to resume this important subject, with better grounds of conclusion. In the mean time, we would earnestly recommend the most minute experimental inquiry, in all cases in which mathematics are applied to chemistry. To use the words of Boerhaave, “*egregia illius ancilla est,—non alia pejor domina.*”

1. *Of the Action of Vegetable Acids on Alcohol, both with and without the intervention of a Mineral Acid.* \*
2. *Of the Combination of Acids with Vegetable and Animal Substances.* By M. Thenard. Read at the Institute, November 23, 1807.

The new facts detailed in the first memoir are processes for forming compounds by distilling the oxalic, malic, citric, gallic and tartaric acids.

tartarous acids, respectively with alcohol and a mineral acid. The substances thus produced are all analogous to each other, and to the oil of benzoin discovered by Scheele; and, according to M. Thenard's experiments, they are entirely free from the mineral acid employed. These facts are both new and curious; and others are brought forward which are also curious, but not new. Such, for instance, are some of our author's experiments respecting acetic ether, particularly the process by which he succeeded in procuring it without the intervention of a mineral acid. Few chemists, we conceive, can be ignorant of this method, as it was known as long ago as 1759, when the Count de Lauragais made it public. His results, indeed, were considered as incorrect by Scheele; but their accuracy has since been well established by M. Pelletier and Dr Henry, as well as by the experiments of M. Thenard himself. Whether this neglect towards the inquiries of these gentlemen, was intentional or not, on the part of our author, is of very little consequence; for, whilst the records of chemical discovery exist, philosophers may rest assured that justice will be done to their labours sooner or later by the enlightened part of mankind.

Led by a train of reasoning like that which M. Thenard followed in concluding the experiments of Scheele on acetic ether and oil of benzoin to be inconclusive, we cannot but think the investigation here brought forward of the same description; and that much remains to be done, before the nature of the new substances will be fully understood. They are considered by our author as combinations merely of the vegetable acids and alcohol; and he asserts, that the mineral acid employed in the operation, acts no other part than that of condensing the vegetable acid and alcohol, and of inducing in each a state that disposes them to combine. This is possible, but it is not demonstrated by any experiments he has described. Independent of the failure of all his attempts to form the combination directly, there are many reasons which would induce a cautious inquirer to refuse his assent to the proposition. The powers, for instance, necessary to decompose these substances are apparently inconsistent with the difficulty of forming them. Our author found that a strong solution of potash required a considerable time to separate the acid from the alcohol. Their densities, too, as well as those of ethers which they so much resemble in their formation, are contrary to the chemical law, that compounds usually possess a specific gravity greater than the mean specific gravity of the bodies which enter into their composition. It may be said, and it appears more consistent with the phenomena, that the affinities which preserve the vegetable acids and alcohol in their perfect states, are broken by the mineral acid; and that, from a new arrangement of the elements of both bodies, the

the substances in question are formed. M. Thenard is evidently premature in his conclusions concerning these bodies, particularly as he endeavours to establish on them a general principle. The details, too, are not sufficiently ample to render his memoir complete and satisfactory; or to convince others of the justness of his opinions.

From the new facts, our author conceived it probable, that acids, in general, are capable of being combined with all animal and vegetable substances. The subject of his second memoir was to ascertain how far this idea might be correct. With this intention, he states, that he very carefully examined the compound formed by passing oxymuriatic acid gas through alcohol, and the substance known by the name of artificial camphor, produced by the absorption of muriatic acid gas by oil of turpentine. The most singular property noticed in these bodies, is the strength with which their elements are combined. The acid M. Thenard has ascertained, is not easily separated by the strongest alkalic solutions. From his experiments, and the striking analogy existing between artificial camphor and muriatic ether, he concludes, contrary to the opinions of Gehlen, and others who have studied the subject, and apparently with great propriety, that the artificial camphor is a compound merely of muriatic acid and oil of turpentine; and that the other substance is a similar compound of the same acid, and a body which he has not been able to obtain in an uncombined state. In support of his conjecture, he refers to the known combinations of acids with animal and vegetable substances. The facts are in his favour: yet the proofs which they afford only strengthen an analogy, but do not establish the truth of the opinion.

Our author's observations on the combinations of tannin, are not new. Mr. Davy has noticed those combinations in a paper on Tannin, published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1803; and they have since been described by Tromsdorf and Bouillon-Lagrange. M. Thenard's opinion on the artificial tannin of Mr Hatchett, is remarkable for its precipitancy and improbability; and is advanced with a flippancy very unworthy of the philosophical character. He considers it as a combination merely of nitric acid and vegetable matter. Even if, by vegetable matter, he means charcoal, we are of opinion that he has distorted the fact to make it suit his hypothesis; and, though he is supported by M. Chevreul, who, it is said, in a note annexed to the volume, will find it an easy matter to determine the question, we confess, that we shall prefer Mr Hatchett's views of the subject, till the notion of the French chemists is established by experiments and arguments of a different kind from any that we meet with in this paper.

We have already exceeded our limits; but we cannot resist the pleasure of noticing, though in the most cursory manner, a valuable paper by Thenard and Gay-Lussac on the subject of the new alkaline metals. It contains the substance of eight memoirs communicated to the National Institute of France, and which treated of the nature and relations of those singular products. Mr Davy's brilliant discovery of the metal of potash, was no sooner known in Paris, than the chemists of that capital eagerly hastened to explore a new track. The researches of Thenard and Gay-Lussac appear to have been conducted with uncommon ingenuity and success. By fusing with intense heat, in a clean gun-barrel, the caustic potash in contact with iron filings, and condensing the sublimate by the application of excessive cold at the other extremity of the barrel, they procured a quantity of the fluid metal at much less expense, and in far greater quantity, than that which is obtained by the ordinary galvanic process. They were hence enabled to examine the combinations of this new substance on a pretty large scale. In a similar way, the metal of soda was procured. The action of these metals, among other striking effects, occasions the decomposition of ammonia and of the acid of borax.

In combining their analyses, MM. Thenard and Gay-Lussac, if we may judge from this short abstract, display juster views and closer philosophical deduction, than are generally met with in the writings of the mere chemists. They have established, we think, most convincingly, that the new metals are not simple substances, but really compounds of the several bases with hydrogen. To the arguments here brought forward, we would add another consideration, grounded on analogy. Every compound must have the intermediate density of its distinct ingredients. But the specific gravity of the alkaline metals, one of which floats on water, is far less than that of the substances from which they are derived. Does not this clearly indicate the union of their bases with some attenuated species of matter, such as hydrogen, which, by its infusion, may widely distend the primary molecules, and thus reduce the compound to a much lower density? Should these metalloids be of the same nature with the ordinary metals, we can only conclude, that all metals are the compounds of certain bases with hydrogen. These bases may have not been yet exhibited, though we are familiarly acquainted with their oxids and alkaline hydrates, which would be considered as only opposite compounds. Such, indeed, is the present very loose and unsettled state of chemical principles, that we should not feel great surprise at seeing the old doctrine of *phlogiston*, with some modifications, again restored to its former credit.

ART. XI. *Travels in America, performed for the purpose of exploring the Western Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio and Mississippi, and ascertaining the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity.* By Thomas Ashe, Esq. 3 vol. Sir R. Phillips. London, 1809.

THE author of this work, we are told in the preface, has returned to America; but whether with the view of remaining there, or for the purpose of adding to the surprising discoveries which he has already made, we are not informed. But, whatever Mr Ashe may hereafter perform, it is quite certain, according to his editor, that he has already done enough to place him on a level with our most celebrated travellers. He has produced a book which cannot fail, we are assured, 'to instruct the statesman, delight the naturalist, and astonish the antiquary.' It would be quite inexcusable in us to pass over a work of such extraordinary pretensions, without a particular notice.

It was at Pittsburg that Mr Ashe entered on the survey of these vast countries which stretch along the Ohio and Mississippi; but, in the first part of his book, he favours the reader with a general view of the Atlantic states, and a detailed account of his journey from Philadelphia to the head of the Ohio. And here he begins to discover that unmeasured hatred of the Americans which pervades the whole of his narrative. His account of the Atlantic states, indeed, forms the most comprehensive piece of national abuse we ever recollect to have perused. Their inhabitants, it seems, are all abominably vicious; but in degrees very nicely distinguished;—the middle states being bad—the northern very bad—and the southern execrable.

That the Americans have great and peculiar faults, both in their manners and their morality, we take to be undeniable. They have the vices and the virtues that belong to their situation; and they will continue to have them until that situation is altered. Their manners, for the most part, are those of a scattered and migratory, but speculating people; and there will be no great amendment, until the population becomes more dense, and more settled in its habits. When wealth comes to be more generally inherited than acquired, there will be more refinement, both in vice and in manners: and as the population becomes concentrated, and the spirit of adventure is deprived of its objects, the sense of honour will improve with the importance of character. Mr Ashe, however, would have us believe, that the Americans are universally and irreclaimably vicious; and his sweeping anathemas are scarcely ever softened by any favourable exceptions, although the traveller in America,

merica, to use the words of a truly philosophical observer, 'passes through all degrees of civilization and manners, and sees, in the succession of space, what appears to belong only to the succession of time.' \*

Mr Ashe's journey to Pittsburg is surprisingly fertile in adventures. He, first of all, kills a stupendous bear, of whose death we have a most pathetic account,—the said bear conducting himself most unbecomingly *in articulo mortis*. We are next entertained with a fine incident at an obscure inn among the mountains, where our traveller falls in love with an elegant damsel, who performed the offices of cook and chambermaid, and presents her with a copy of Thomson's Seasons—a blank leaf being previously decorated with an appropriate poetic effusion. On the night after this interesting encounter, Mr Ashe, who had travelled all day in a state of profound reverie, was overtaken by darkness on the top of a mountain, and there obliged, in order to avoid greater dangers, to take post for the night. The marvels which he beheld from this lofty station, will be best described in his own language.

'The moon shone, but capriciously: for, though some places were adorned with her brightest beams, and exhibited various fantastic forms and colours, others were unaffected by her light, and awfully maintained an unvaried gloom—a "darkness visible"—conveying terror and dismay. Such apprehensions were gaining fast on my imagination, till an object of inexpressible sublimity gave a different direction to my thoughts, and seized the entire possession of my mind. The heavenly vault appeared to be all on fire, not exhibiting the stream or character of the aurora-borealis, but an immensity vivid and clear, through which the stars, detached from the firmament, traversed in eccentric directions, followed by trains of light of diversified magnitude and brightness. Many meteors rose majestically out of the horizon; and, having gradually attained an elevation of thirty degrees, suddenly burst, and descended to the earth in a shower of brilliant sparks, or glittering gems. This splendid phenomenon was succeeded by a multitude of shooting stars and balls, and columns of fire; which, after assuming a variety of forms, vanished in slight flashes of lightning, and left the sky in its usual appearance and serenity. Nature stood checked,' &c. Vol. I.

From this mountain-scene, Mr Ashe deduces this most natural conclusion—'that no one should dare to compose a history of nature without passing such a night on such a mountain.' \*

The letters from Pittsburg, (for the narrative is thrown into the epistolary form), amidst a great deal of similar rant, contain some details regarding that thriving place and its neighbourhood, which are well worth notice. Situated on the spot where the Alleghany and

\* M. Talleyrand's Observations on America.



and Monongahela unite to form the Ohio, Pittsburg is admirably adapted to the purposes of commerce. These two rivers connect it with an immense extent of country; and their banks, interspersed with farms, villages and towns, proclaim an increasing and industrious population. It contains above two thousand inhabitants, the most opulent of whom are Irish; and this, says our author, 'has hindered the vicious propensities of the genuine American character from establishing here the horrid dominion which they have assumed over the Atlantic states.' The manufactures are various and flourishing, particularly that of glass; and ship-building is practised to a considerable extent. In October 1806, there were several vessels of 350 tons on the stocks. Through Pittsburg is carried on an extensive trade between the distant ports of Philadelphia and New Orleans. Here are storekeepers who exchange the produce of the surrounding countries, of which they make two collections annually, for goods brought across the mountains from Philadelphia; these they convey by the Ohio and Mississippi to Kentucky and New Orleans; and with the proceeds in dollars, or bills of exchange on Philadelphia, their agents sail to that place to make new purchases, and traverse again the wide circle of their exchanges—a circle which embraces a space of not less than 5650 miles.

This immense sphere of activity, too, is the creation of yesterday. Even Mr Ashe, disposed as he is to decry every thing American, is obliged to admit, that she displays, in the wonders of her growing industry, a picture at once striking and exhilarating. It is impossible to contemplate such a scene without exulting in the triumphs of industry. This peaceful power is here subduing regions of growing forests, which conquering armies would fear to enter; and extending, with silent rapidity, the limits of civilized existence. We cannot help wishing that our countrymen, in general, were a little more alive to the feelings which we conceive such a spectacle is calculated to excite; and that they could be brought to sympathize a little more in the progress of a kindred people, destined to carry our language, our arts, and our interests too, over regions more vast than ever acknowledged the sway of the Cæsars of Rome. But the bitter feelings of the colonial war still rankle in too many bosoms on both sides of the Atlantic. The utter impossibility of any national gain in a contest with America, and the pernicious animosities which such a contest is sure to engender, are altogether overlooked by a certain class of politicians. It is enough for them, that we shall drive her ships from the seas, and blockade them in her ports; and that the great naval power of Britain may be employed to scatter the paltry flotillas of America—to pull the industry of our best customers in the new world—and

to burn a few towns, still more defenceless and unoffending than Copenhagen! We do not mean to say, that this temper has not been met, and even perhaps provoked, by a corresponding temper in America; but, where the interest of two countries calls so loudly for their conciliation, it is impossible that they should quarrel without gross faults upon both sides.

Brilliant as Mr Ashe is in description, this does not hinder him from aiming at glory as a political philosopher; and, accordingly, we are favoured with a long discourse upon emigration, in which he insists largely on the inevitable disasters that must attend such a step on the part of every British subject. His mode of reasoning on this point is sufficiently characteristic. He takes, in the first place, a single instance of failure as sufficient to prove that all must fail. In the next place, he carefully selects his instance from the only description of persons who have no sort of temptation to emigrate, and who, it is universally admitted, must suffer extremely by such a proceeding. Upon these principles, he looks round till he finds a *gentleman farmer* from the county of Sussex, who, being a little democratical in his politics, had sold his property, and sailed for America, to become a great farmer and statesman. The result was quite natural. This restless person very soon found out, 'that the high price of labour renders it impossible for a gentleman farmer to make any thing of land there;' and that political consequence depended in America, as well as in other countries, a good deal upon property. It is needless to say, that this example has no application at all to the ambitious mechanics of England, or the dislodged small farmers of the Highlands.

Mr Ashe also descants, at great length, upon the intellectual capacities and literature of the Americans; and indulges himself in one of the most presumptuous philippics we ever recollect to have perused. Now, though we are certainly of opinion, that the second-rate pamphleteers of that country write incomparably better than Mr Ashe, it is no doubt true, that America can produce nothing to bring her intellectual efforts into any sort of comparison with that of Europe. Liberty and competition have as yet done nothing to stimulate literary genius in these republican states. They have never passed the limits of humble mediocrity, either in thought or expression. Noah Webster, we are afraid, still occupies the first place in criticism, Timothy Dwight and Joel Barlow in poetry, and Mr Justice Marshall in history: and, as to the physical sciences, we shall merely observe, that a little elementary treatise of botany appeared in 1803; and that this paltry contribution to natural history is chronicled, by the latest American historians, among the 'remarkable occurrences since the Revolution!' In short, federal America has done nothing, either to extend, di-

verfify, or embellish the sphere of human knowledge. Though all she has written were obliterated from the records of learning, there would (if we except the works of Franklin) be no positive diminution, either of the useful or the agreeable. The destruction of her whole literature would not occasion so much regret as we feel for the loss of a few leaves from an antient classic.

But, notwithstanding all this, we really cannot agree with Mr Ashe in thinking the Americans absolutely incapable, or degenerate; and are rather inclined to think, that when their neighbourhood thickens, and their opulence ceases to depend on exertion, they will show something of the same talents to which it is a part of our duty to do justice among ourselves. And we are the more inclined to adopt this favourable opinion, from considering, that her history has already furnished occasions for the display of talents of a high order; and that, in the ordinary business of government, she displays no mean share of ability and eloquence. In opposition to all this, to be sure, we have the positive assertion of Mr Ashe, who will not allow that she has at any time attained mediocrity, either in statesmanship or war.

'I cannot help it,' says he, 'with the name of commanders, the men who overwhelmed a handful of British, and, after several years combat, obtained an unprofitable victory. In like manner,' (and the simile is really incomparable), 'I have known a school of herrings run down a whale on the coast of Cornwall; but it did not follow, that I was to attribute this accident to the individual prowess of any such contemptible animals, or to the absence of strength and capacity in the whale.' L. 137.

This eloquent person next took a survey of the legislature; and, after assuring us that 'he asserts nothing without positive proofs,' delivers himself as follows.

'There are in America no real politicians; the speeches you see in papers are made by Irish and Scotch journalists, who attend the congress and senate, merely to take the spirit of their proceedings, and clothe it with a language interesting to read. Attending the debates of congress, on a day when a subject of consequence was to be discussed, I left the house, full of contempt of its eloquence, and the paucity of talent employed for the support or condemnation of the question. Notwithstanding this, I read in next morning's Gazette, "that a debate took place in the house last night, of the most interesting nature, and was agitated by all the talent in the country." And here followed certain eloquent citations, a sentence of which never passed in the house.' L. 140.

Now, without presuming to deny that the Americans are still very far from perfection in oratory, we really cannot bring ourselves to doubt that they are actually the authors of the harangues which

which are imputed to them in the public prints. The *mind* of the country shines in every line of them; their fabric and ornaments are decisively transatlantic; and we could just as readily believe, that the *orations* of Sheridan are written by a Philadelphia man, as that the speeches of Mr Randolph, for example, are the work of a Scotch reporter.

Having thus despatched the Senate, Mr Ashe takes a view of the Bar, which he finds in a very lamentable state; for 'a Mr Emmet and a Mr Livingstone enjoy repute.' With regard to *Physic*, though two of its professors, Drs Rush and Wilson, 'have written themselves into *infallibility*,' still the country 'is shamefully destitute of able practitioners.' As to the Church, there is a Mr Smith who enjoys a high character as a clerical orator; and, indeed, he preaches very good sermons; but—they happen to be Dr Blair's, 'delivered in a strain of dull monotony.'

Having indulged himself for a long time in these disquisitions, our traveller at length enters upon a description of the Ohio, preparatory to the narrative of his voyage. The length of this fine river, from Pittsburg to its confluence with the Mississippi, is eleven hundred miles. It rises greatly in spring and autumn, when it is navigable by large vessels, but, when it subsides, can admit only of flat-bottomed boats. The space of twenty days is reckoned a good spring voyage to the Mississippi; but, in summer, when the waters are low, from six to ten weeks are required to perform it. Very little use is made of the oar;—the boat, which is of a square form, and guided by a huge oar at the stern, is committed to the stream; and all that is necessary is, to keep clear of the numerous islands, which greatly add to its beauty, while they embarrass its navigation.

We meet with nothing remarkable in the voyage, till Mr Ashe reaches Wheeling, a town about ninety miles below Pittsburg, on the Virginia side of the river. This is a considerable commercial station, and thriving marvellously, notwithstanding the nefarious character of its inhabitants. On coming here, it is very desirable to ascertain who have *ears*, and who want them; as a considerable part of the male population happen, according to Mr Ashe, to have left these appendages nailed to certain penitential crosses in other places of America. Quarrels are frequent: and, when two persons fight, it is generally 'according to the rule of *rough and tumble*,' a kind of combat in which it is lawful for the combatants to peel the skull, tear out the eyes, or smooth away 'the nose!' Our author gives a long account of a battle of this kind, between a Virginian and Kentuckeyan; but we must refer to the book itself such of our readers as delight in wild sports. The great western road from Philadelphia to Lexington, in Ken-

uckey, passes through this town; and there is a mail-coach, which performs the journey (700 miles) in fifteen days. Small inns, affording bacon, Indian bread, and whiskey, are to be found at convenient distances along this route;—and ‘let those,’ says our author, ‘who despise this bill of fare, remember, that seven years ago this road was called the *wilderness*; and travellers had to encamp, and find their own provisions, and with great difficulty secure their horses from panthers and wolves.’ What striking facts from a writer who endeavours, in other places, to make us believe that this very country is devoted, by the vices of its people and its climate, to barbarism and progressive degeneracy.

He gives a pretty favourable account of the inhabitants of Marietta, a town situated at the junction of the Great Muskingum with the Ohio. Here, as well as at Pittsburg, are built ships of considerable burden; and the people, besides being industrious and enterprising, are well educated, and moral; having schools and churches supported by fixed contributions. Still, however, Mr. Ashe cannot refrain from what he thinks wit, at their expense.

‘Yesterday, I was speaking rather harshly to a man who had not fulfilled an agreement with me to caulk my boat, when a gentleman came up, and accosted him with—“Ah! *General*, how do you do? I mean to dine with you:—What’s your hour?” I made sure of this opportunity to go on to the baker in pursuit of some biscuit. On seeing the bread, I began to comment on the price and quality, and might have betrayed some little dissatisfaction and incivility, had not a third person entered opportunely to say—“Colonel, I want a loaf of bread!” My next call was on a butcher, whose dirty-looking meat made me neglectful of my late experience, and I raved without any consideration of decorum, till brought to a sense of misconduct by a negro; who, taking me aside, very kindly warned me that the butcher was a *judge*, and would fine folks for cursing and swearing!’ I. p. 297.

The banks of the Great Muskingum opened to our traveller a scene of various and interesting occupations; for, not to mention his speculations on the habits of wild turkeys, and his terrible contest with a huge rattlesnake, it was here his longing eyes were first greeted with a view of those Indian remains—‘those venerable relics of once polished, but now degraded nations,’ upon which he has descanted through so many pages of maukish enthusiasm and inept speculation. It is to his discourses upon *tumuli* and *barrows* and *mud camps*, that his sage editor alludes, when he boasts of the ‘astonishment’ which his book must occasion to the antiquary. The truth is, that these antiquities, as they are called, have been described before by far more sober and competent observers. We shall not, therefore, disturb our readers with any of his tedious and frothy descriptions, far less with his manifold

manifold absurdities in regard to their origin. Suffice it to say, that he ascribes them to some remote period, when the ancestors of the present savages were powerful and polished,—an opinion which we should not deem worthy of notice, had it not the previous sanction of Dr Benjamin Barton, whose writings contain the best descriptions of these curious vestiges. But, notwithstanding this more respectable authority, we cannot hesitate for a moment, to reject as altogether visionary, the idea of a civilization which records itself in no language or tradition—in no monument of higher art than a mud wall—and in no instrument more perfect than a hatchet of stone. It is a rule in philosophy, not to admit unknown causes, when the phenomena may be accounted for by those which are known. Now, Dr Barton himself tells us, that some of the Indian nations had intercourse with the Mexicans. Why, therefore, might they not derive from them those vases and articles of pottery, upon which he builds so much? With regard to the mud encampments, again, we know from Oldmixon,\* and other writers, that the savages on the Atlantic coast erected works of that description when we first invaded them; and thus, all that remains to be accounted for is the greater magnitude of those beyond the Alleghany mountains; as to which it is quite enough to say, that it is now perfectly known that the tribes in that region were formerly much more numerous than they are at present. M. Volney,† after a careful inspection of these boasted monuments, gives it as his decided opinion, that they are exactly similar to those mentioned by Oldmixon; and certainly we ought to adopt his opinion, in preference to one which does so much violence to analogy, to reason, and to history.

On arriving at the Scioto, Mr Ashe made an excursion to Chillicothe, the capital of the Ohio state, and which is situated about sixty miles up that river.\* The place, he says, is so unhealthy, that the government has it in contemplation to remove to some more eligible situation. The whole country, indeed, like all the other parts not cleared of their woods and marshes, is, more or less, subject to periodical returns of fever and diarrhea; and this, according to Mr. Ashe, forms the main objection to the Ohio state, which is in considerable favour with him.—We shall here briefly collect a few other particulars regarding this flourishing member of the Union. It lies along the right bank of the river, from which it takes its name, extending at least five hundred miles in length and breadth. The soil in general is extremely rich, and that extensive portion of it which lies between the two rivers

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Miami,

\* History of British America. Vol. I. p. 54, &c.

† View of the Climate and Soil of America.

Miamis, is pronounced by our author to contain 'by much the finest land in the known world.' Here fifty or sixty bushels of wheat, and towards one hundred of Indian corn, may be raised on an acre. At Cincinnati there is an office for the sale of lands; and in 1806, no less than seventeen thousand contracts, at the rate of two dollars per acre, were entered there, bearing the names of persons from all quarters of Europe, as well as America. By merely keeping these lands ten years, they may, according to Mr Ashe, be rented at a profit of fifty dollars or more per acre; and this, he thinks, is the most eligible line for a speculator; as at present, the price of labour is so high, produce so cheap, and markets so distant, that little more than a subsistence is to be made by mere farming. This state is not more preeminent in fertility, than in industry and morals;—a superiority which Mr Ashe, with reason, ascribes to the great number of *Quakers* it contains, and to the abolition of slavery, which formed one of the first acts of its government. This state was admitted into the Union in 1803. Mr Ashe does not mention the amount of its population; but we find Dr Holmes states it to have been in that year upwards of seventy-six thousand.

South of this lies the state of Kentucky, of which we shall also collect a short account. It takes its name from the river Kentucky, which flows through it into the Ohio, and which is navigable a great way from its mouth. It is generally mountainous and uneven, and has, according to our author, been greatly embellished, in certain insidious accounts given of it in Europe. There are here millions of acres called *Barens*, altogether incapable of cultivation from want of water. There are other districts, however, particularly one in the middle, of sixty miles by thirty, to which, he admits, full justice has scarcely been done, even in the flowery narratives to which he alludes. The current of emigration which formerly flowed rapidly, and almost exclusively, into this state, has now spread into a variety of new channels; and part of its original settlers, allured by new prospects, have made a second migration. Its export trade, of which Louisville is the chief seat, is considerable. Ships are built at this place; and a canal was begun to carry vessels round the *rapids*, which too greatly obstruct the navigation of the Ohio. Frankfort, the seat of government, is situated about seventy miles up the Kentucky; but Lexington is the largest town of this, indeed of all the western states, and stands in that delightful tract already noticed. It contains three hundred houses, and is the seat of an university, where about a hundred students are taught English, Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. Of its inhabitants, and indeed the whole population of the state, Mr Ashe exhibits a very disagreeable

able picture, charging them with ferocity, boisterousness, and coarse debauchery. The following, he says, is a faithful picture of the general mode of living through the state.

' I rode about fifteen miles, when I stopped at the house of a cultivator whom I had fallen in with on the road, and took such refreshment as we found prepared. On entering the house, which was a log one, fitted up very well, the Kentuckyan never exchanged a word with his wife or his children, though he had been absent several days. No tender inquiry or sentiment; nothing but a contemptuous silence and a stern brutality, which block up all the avenues to the heart. The poor woman made a large bowl of drink, composed of sugar, water, whiskey and peach juice, and handed it to her husband with all the servility of a menial. The dinner consisted of a large piece of salt bacon, a dish of homslic, and a tureen of squirrel broth. I dined entirely on the latter, which I found incomparably good, and the meat equal to the most delicate chicken. The Kentuckyan ate nothing but bacon, which is the favourite diet of all the inhabitants of the state; and drank nothing but whiskey, which soon made him two thirds drunk. In this he is also supported by the general habit. In a country, then, where bacon and spirits form the favourite summer repast, it cannot be just to attribute entirely the causes of inferiority to the climate. No people on earth live with less regard to regimen; they eat salt meat three times a day; seldom have any vegetables; and drink ardent spirits from morning till night.' II. 281.

Mr Ashe gives a turgid account of his passage of the *rapids* at Louisville, which was attended with many awful circumstances. Thousands of dull traders, indeed, had passed them before; but when '*such a man as Mr Ashe*' (to use the words applied to him by the beauty at Cincinnati) was to make the transit, it was to be expected that Nature should be strangely disturbed, and fill the hearts of sordid pilots with serious alarms. The voyage after this achievement proceeded without incident, till Mr Ashe passed the mouth of the Wabash, when, on 'the Indiana shore,' he explored a cave more replete with terrors, than any such place we ever read of in romance. We cannot enter either upon its history or horrors; but must tell the curious reader, that Mr Ashe discovered, by means of certain figures on its sides, which he calls '*antient hieroglyphics*,' that it was a 'temple dedicated to the sun, and a sanctuary of his priests, in those remote times when the North American Indians were similar to the other nations of antiquity!' Mr Ashe is never in the smallest difficulty on these points. Thus, he discovers, with equal ease and certainty, that some Indian mummies, which are said to have been found at Lexington, are of far higher date than the mummy-making eras of Egypt; and further, that *iron*



eyes were positively used in the Ohio country long *before the flood!* But it would be endless to notice all his ravings on these subjects. He never begins to speculate, without plunging at once into the depths of absurdity. Like 'bold Arnall' in the Dunciad, he makes 'a furious dive,' and sinks far below all the other sons of dulness.

In this neighbourhood, our traveller paid a visit to a tribe of Indians, 'the true lords of the soil;' and his interview with them strongly reminds us of that between the 'friend of humanity' and the 'knife-grinder,' in the poetry of the *Anti-jacobin*. The Shawannees were quite as unconcerned about their *apostles* as the knife-grinder, and were far more solicitous for *ratibly* than for the condolence of our friend of humanity. Mr Ashe assures us, however, that they are a more polite people than is commonly imagined; and in particular, that 'they practise a very refined species of gallantry.' The married women are exceedingly correct. 'To a person,' he says, 'who met one in the woods, and implor'd her to love and look on him, she made the following beautiful reply—*Odalamar, who is fir ever before my eye, hinders me from seeing you, or any other person.*'

On reaching the Mississippi, Mr Ashe made an excursion to St. Louis, the capital of Upper Louisiana, a place containing near two thousand inhabitants, and, for its extent, of considerable trade. Twenty miles above it, the Missouri joins the Mississippi, 'piercing through a vale, which it enriches and adorns to so wonderful a degree that it scarcely can be equalled. The scenes are so picturesque, so various and surprising, that the senses may rather be said to be ravished than simply pleased.' (III. 124.) He also visited St. Genevieve; and represents the inhabitants, who are a mixture of French and Spaniards, as being generally happy.

Here the guitar resounds, soon after sunset, with the romances and amorous tales of the village swains; and the same hand which toils all day in the wilderness, strikes the tender notes of love in the evening. 'Every house has its group, and every group its guitar, fiddler or singer.' III. 118.

Ashe made no considerable stay, on his voyage down the Mississippi, till he reached Natchez. He represents this river as exhibiting, in its scenery and current, an almost continued succession of beauty, richness and grandeur. Some of his descriptions, though by no means in good taste, recal to our recollection the beauties of Virgil—

Hic ver purpureum: variis hic flumina circum  
Fundit limens flores: hic candida populus antro  
Immet, et lentæ texunt umbracula vites.

The navigation, like that of the Ohio, is interrupted with islands, of

of which the number is increasing. During its floods, which are periodical, a 'first-rate man of war may descend with safety.' Above the territory of the Natchez, the banks exhibit an almost complete vacuity of man and his works. Natchez, including the negroes, who are numerous, has 2,500 inhabitants; and their success in the cultivation of cotton, enables them to give full scope to those dissolute and luxurious propensities for which they have become proverbial. Below this place, the navigation to New Orleans is easy; the banks are occupied by a merry and hospitable race of planters, of French descent; and the whole prospect is eminently beautiful. New Orleans is situated on the east bank of the river, a hundred miles from its mouth,—in a country where the rarest productions of the finest climate of Europe grow in spontaneous abundance; and, including slaves, it contains near 15,000 inhabitants. The climate, however, is unhealthy, and particularly fatal to new-comers. But situated as it is, within a few days sail of the Spanish dominions, and the whole West-Indies, and receiving by the Mississippi and its far-spreading tributaries the productions of so many climates and soils, it bids fair to rival the most prosperous marts of the New World. Since its acquisition, with the rest of Louisiana, by the United States, its commerce has very considerably increased. The inhabitants are a mixture from all nations, but chiefly France and Spain. Those from the other American States constitute, according to Mr Ashe, 'by far the worst part of the population.' But for further details of their manners and pursuits, we must refer such of our readers, as do not think they have enough of his lucubrations, to the book itself,—the narrative of which closes at this point.

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ART. XII. *Greek Marbles brought from the Shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean, and deposited in the Vestibule of the University of Cambridge.* By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL. D. Professor of Mineralogy in that University. 8vo. Cambridge, 1809.

OUR knowledge of antiquity is drawn from two sources,—monuments and ancient authors. The latter, though far more copious, can never be so decisive as the former, both on account of the corruption of manuscripts, and the difficulty of representing to our minds images of things which we have never seen. Here the ancient monuments of art happily step in, and supply what is wanted. When accompanied with proper explanations,

nations, they frequently afford proof more satisfactory than single detached passages from works of contemporary authors. The value of inscriptions is not affected by the circumstance, that some have been forged. The instances of this sort of falsification are but few; and the words of a very competent judge on this subject are worth transcribing.

‘Inscriptionum Græce loquentium commentitias, si cum Latinis comparemus, deprehendi paucas; neque enim ullum omnino in tanta debacchantium falsariorum libidine, monumenti genus, in quod ii sibi minus licere putaverint. Argumento est, paucissimas usque in hunc diem ab eruditis viris, et in hoc literarum genere plurimum versatis, rejectas esse falsique damnatas.’ *Maffei de Arte Crit. Lapid. L. iii.*

In the little work before us, Dr Clarke has given explanations of the subjects which form his collection, that appear to us to be simple, precise, and free from unnecessary prolixity. We shall proceed, therefore, to make a few observations on them, in the order in which they occur,—premising only the following observation from the Preface.

‘The public,’ says Dr Clarke, ‘are not any way concerned in the difficulties encountered to remove the marbles described in this volume, from remote and barbarous countries to the place where they now are. The collection, such as it is, must be considered, after all, merely as a gleaming: the sickle and sheaf were in other hands. But if future travellers from the University, hereafter visiting the territories in which these monuments were found, contribute also their portion, Alma Mater will have no reason to blush for her poverty in documents so materially affecting the utility and dignity of her establishment. The foundation, at least, of a collection of Greek marbles may be said to have been laid; and, by a description of the parts which compose it, there is reason to hope, some points of antient history may appear illustrated; some passages in the text of classic authors less equivocal. At the same time, if the observations chiefly lead to conclusions remote from any apparent connexion, let it be observed, that the great mass of historic truth is formed by the collection of single facts.’

The first article in the list is, ‘A monumental pillar, of the kind called *Stele*, antiently placed on the vertex of conical sepulchral mounds, such as cover the plains of Tartary, and are seen in almost all parts of the habitable globe. The tombs of persons of the most distinguished rank were once characterized by no other ornament.’ Another sepulchral form, we may observe, was the *Ἡρώον*, or *Ἡρώων*, which, although a passage in Suidas, v. *Ἡρώα*, might lead us to suppose that it was something subterranean, yet appears, from a singular expression in Jamblichus, to have been not unlike the tumulus; *Ἡρώων ἀπικυρώσαντες*, ‘heroo terra accumulata’

*accumulata erecto.* Vit. Pyth. 1. 31. Lucian in the Charon, mentions together *ἥρια, τύμβους, καὶ τάφους*; and, in the inscription in Spon. Itin. 3. 150, the *ἥρων* is said to be crowned.

Of the *tumuli* which are assigned to different persons, and which history seems to authenticate, we may mention two—the earliest and the latest; the one in Greece, the other in Asia,—and both very probably existing at this day. That of Tityus, mentioned by Homer, was seen by Pausanias, near Panopea, in Phocis; the latter, to which we allude, is the tomb of the Emperor Gordian. Ammianus, in his description of the march of Julian's army, says, that having reached Zaitba in Mesopotamia, they saw '*tumulum Gordiani imperatoris longe conspicuum*.' L. 23. c. 5. Zosimus adds, that the tomb was seen from the place where Dura was built; Eutropius and Sextus Rufus also mention it. That effects of great value were supposed to be deposited in these tombs, we learn from the anecdote mentioned in Strabo, respecting the people sent to colonise Corinth by Cæsar; who left, he says, *οὐδὲνα τάφον ἀσκησάμενον* L. 8.

No. 6. is a bas-relief, representing a horse and human figure on each side of the stone. Below, is a Greek epigram, commemorating the death of Timotheus. The representation of this animal on sepulchral monuments has given rise to various conjectures. Chrysostom (Hom. iii. ad Pop. An.) would induce us to imagine, that it originated in the custom of leading horses in funeral processions; but the explanation which we should propose as most satisfactory, is that which is to be found in Passeri, *de ænim. transvectione*, and which is quoted by Caylus, namely, that the horse designated the passage of the soul to Elysium.—See *Recueil d'Antiq.* vol. vi.

No. 7. is a marble tablet with a Greek inscription, from Circassia. It begins, *βασιλεύοντος βασιλῆως Τιβερίου*. It may be here remarked, that there is no money of the Cæsars, with *βασιλεὺς* on it, previous to the time of Antoninus Caracalla. We read, indeed, of *Κομόδου βασιλεύοντος*; but there was a distinction between that and the substantive, as in Latin; '*minus invidiosum dominans, quam dominus*.'—See *Markland ad Statii Syl.* p. 192.

No. 12. is a pillar on the tomb of Euclid of Hermione. Below appears a dog, 'which is often seen (says Dr Clarke) on the sepulchral monuments of Greece.' This serves to illustrate a passage of Petronius. Trimalchio, in giving directions for his tomb, says—'*Valde te rogo, ut, secundum pedes statuæ meæ, catellum pingas.*'

No. 13. 'A sepulchral tablet, found at Patmos, showing the distinction between Cippus and Stelo.' We are pleased to find Dr Clarke insisting on this distinction, particularly as they have often

often been confounded by scholars; and we may confirm what he says by the following passage. ‘Cippus differebat a columna, quod columnæ sint rotundæ; cippi, quadratæ aut incertæ figuræ.’ *Pitisci Lexicon*, v. *Cippus*.

No. 14. is the fragment of the colossal statue of Ceres, taken from the ruins of the temple at Eleusis. An interesting account is here given of this fragment, and of the obstacles which the writer encountered, in a country destitute of all mechanical assistance, in attempting to remove a block of marble of two tons in weight.

The supposition, that it was part of one of the Cariatides, seems now no longer tenable. Were it so, the ornaments upon the *calathus* of the statue would indisputably have corresponded with the order of architecture observed in the temple; which is not the case. In addition to this circumstance it may be mentioned, that travellers who have since visited the spot, have been able to discover no trace whatever, that might warrant even the conjecture; and the artists employed by a late ambassador at the Porte, who were permitted to occupy themselves in researches of this nature, met only with disappointment. There is one circumstance connected with the antiquities of Eleusis, which, as it seems to bear reference to the statue, it may not be superfluous to introduce; especially as the fact has been derived from our own ocular testimony. To the westward of the temple, there lies at this moment the colossal fragment of a lion, executed in the marble of Mount Pentelicus, and corresponding in its proportions to the size of the Ceres. This same statue, τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς θεας, is mentioned by the modern Greeks. See γεωγραφία νεωτερικὴ, ἐν Βέννῃ, 1791;—a work published by some Greeks of Magnesia, in Thessaly.

No. 19. is a scenic mask.—To what Dr Clarke has said, we may add, that Monges, in the Memoirs of the National Institute, i. 5., endeavours to show, that, in the theatre of Saguntum, which contained 12,000 spectators, and in that of Herculaneum, which held upwards of 30,000, the actors made themselves heard without masks; and thus the echea (Vitr. i. 5.) or resounding vases placed in the theatres, so far from being useful, must have impeded the sound, and rendered it less distinct and audible.

Dr Clarke observes ‘the resemblance of this mask to the busts and antient portraits of Socrates.’ But, did the antients all agree to represent Socrates like a Silenus, or Satyr? Epictetus gave him τὸ σῶμα ἐπιχαρὶ καὶ ἡδύ. Arrian. l. iv.; and he, say Fabricius and Heumannus, would not have spoken without reason.

No. 28. is a marble pillar found near the sources of the Scamander, with a Greek inscription, beautiful from its simplicity,

as old as the archonship of Euclid, according to the opinion of Professor Porson. It was most inaccurately given in Chevalier's account of Troy.

After No. 38., Dr Clarke has given a translation from the Greek of the trilingual Rosetta stone. The translation at the end of Duane's Seleucidæ was corrected, at the request of Dr Clarke, by Professor Porson, who left the corrected copy with him; and from that the present version is now given to the public.

Dr Clarke has proposed an explanation of the Medusa's head seen on the breast of the statue of Ceres, which we have already mentioned. We shall here adduce some passages, tending to illustrate and confirm what he has said. 'Medusa's head signified the worship of Ceres: it was also a type of death.' Ceres, or Ἀΐερος, as she is called in the valuable scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, was represented as χθονία, or the earth who receives the dead; and Plutarch says, that by the Athenians, the dead were called Δημητρείοι. See the treatise *De Fac. in Orbe Luna.*

'The head of the Medusa appeared as the type of the moon.' Clemens Alex. says, Γοργόνιον τὴν Σελήνην διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πρόσωπον. Strom. l. v. p. 675.

With regard to the protruded tongue of the Medusa, there is a singular passage in Phurnutus, de Nat. Dec. um. c. 10. οὐ φαλὴ ἐν αὐτῇ Γόργωνος ἔσται κατὰ μέσον τῆς βίβης το στήθεος, ἵνα προεβήκεται τὴν γλῶτταν. See also the King of Aristophanes, v. 387., and beginning of the fifth book of Diodorus Siculus.

'The Medusa's head,' says Dr Clarke, 'is found on many pateræ.' We have observed it on many lamps; and Passeri remarks, 'Medusæ caput frequenter in nostris lucernis signatum occurrit.' *Luccin. Fict. v. i. p. 62.*

A letter is inserted in the appendix, written to the author by the Earl of Aberdeen, giving an account of the contents of a tomb which was opened by him near Athens. In examining this tomb, a curious discovery was made. Lord Aberdeen found, encircling a head, a species of chaplet or band, connected by small bronze wires, and composed of Medusa heads. This ornament, he supposes, refers to some part of the Eleusinian mysteries. For the nature of the chaplet with which the initiated were crowned, the reader may consult the schol. on Aristoph. Ran. v. 333.

We cannot close these few remarks without expressing our gratitude to Dr Clarke, both for the modesty and clearness of this exposition and illustration of those interesting remains of antiquity, and for the indefatigable zeal and exertion by which he has now placed them beyond the reach of ignorance and barbarism. The volume is elegantly printed; and the Greek types are singularly beautiful.

beautiful. It is adorned by four engravings; three from designs by Flaxman, and one from a drawing by Mr Gell, of the ruins of the temple of Eleusis.

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ART. XIII. *Correspondance inedita de Mad. du Deffand, avec D'Alembert, Montesquieu, le President Henault, la Duchesse du Maine; Mesdames de Choiseul, de Staal, &c. &c.* 3 Tomes, 12mo. Paris, 1809.

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*Lettres de Mademoiselle De L'espinaffe, écrites depuis l'Année 1773 jusqu'à l'Année 1776, &c.* 3 Tomes, 12mo. Paris, 1809.

THE popular works of La Harpe and Marmontel have made the names at least of these ladies pretty well known in this country; and we have been induced to place their correspondence under one article, both because their history is in some measure connected, and because, though extremely unlike each other, they both form a decided contrast to our own national character, and, taken together; go far to exhaust what was peculiar in that of France.

Most of our readers probably remember what La Harpe and Marmontel have said of these two distinguished women; and, at all events, it is not necessary for our purpose to give more than a very superficial account of them. Mad. du Deffand was left a widow with a moderate fortune, and a great reputation for wit, about 1750, and soon after gave up her hotel, and retired to apartments in the *couvent* de St Joseph, where she continued to receive, almost every evening, whatever was, most distinguished in Paris for rank, talent, or accomplishment. Having become almost blind in a few years thereafter, she found she required the attendance of some intelligent young woman, who might read and write for her, and assist in doing the honours of her *conversazioni*. For this purpose, she cast her eyes on Madlle. L'espinaffe, the illegitimate daughter of a man of rank, who had been boarded in the same convent, and was for some time delighted with her election. By and by, however, she found that her young companion began to engross more of the notice of her visitors than she thought suitable; and parted from her with violent, ungenerous, and implacable displeasure. Madlle. de L'espinaffe, however, carried with her the admiration of the greater part of her patroness's circle; and, having obtained a small pension from government, opened her own doors to a society not less brilliant than that into which she had been initiated under Mad. du Deffand. The fatigue, however,

however, which she had undergone in reading the old *Marchioness* asleep, had irreparably injured her health, which was still more impaired by the agitations of her own inflammable and ambitious spirit; and she died, before she had attained middle age, about 1776,—leaving on the minds of almost all the eminent men in France, an impression of talent, and of ardour of imagination, which seems to have been considered as without example. Mad. du Deffand continued to preside in her circle till a period of extreme old age; and died in 1780, in full possession of her faculties.

Where the letters that are now given to the world have been secreted for the last thirty years, or by whom they are at last published, we are not informed in either of the works before us. That they are authentic, we conceive, is demonstrated by internal evidence; though, if more of them are extant, the selection that has been made appears to us to be a little capricious. The correspondence of Mad. du Deffand reaches from the year 1738 to 1764;—that of Madlle. de Lespinasse extends only from 1773 to 1776. The two works, therefore, relate to different periods; and, being entirely of different characters, seem naturally to call for a separate consideration. We begin with the correspondence of Mad. du Deffand, both out of respect to her seniority, and because the variety which it exhibits seems to afford room for more observation.

As this lady's house was for fifty years the resort of every thing brilliant in Paris, it is natural to suppose, that she herself must have possessed no ordinary attraction, and to feel an eager curiosity to be introduced even to that shadow of her conversation which we may expect to meet with in her correspondence. Though the greater part of the letters are addressed to her by various correspondents, yet the few which she does write are strongly marked with the traces of her peculiar character and talent; and the whole taken together give a very lively idea of the structure and occupations of the best French society, in the days of its greatest splendour. Laying out of view the greater constitutional gaiety of our neighbours, it appears to us, that this society was distinguished from any that has ever existed in England, by three circumstances chiefly:—In the first place, by the exclusion of all low-bred persons; secondly, by the superior intelligence and cultivation of the women; and, finally, by the want of political avocations, and the absence of political antipathies.

By the first of these circumstances, the old Parisian society was rendered considerably more refined, and infinitely more easy and natural. The general and peremptory proscription of the *bourgeois*, excluded, no doubt, a good deal of vulgarity and coarseness; but it had a still better effect in excluding those feelings  
of



of mutual jealousy and contempt, and that conflict of family pride and consequential opulence, which can only be prevented from disturbing a more promiscuous assembly by means of universal and systematic reserve. Where all are noble, all are equal;—there is no room for ostentation or pretension of any sort;—every one is in his place every where; and the same manners being familiar to the whole society from their childhood, manners cease in a great measure to be an object of attention. Nobody apprehends any imputation of vulgarity, and nobody values himself on being free from it. The little peculiarities by which individuals are distinguished, are ascribed, not to ignorance or awkwardness, but to caprice merely, or to peculiarity of disposition; and not being checked by contempt or derision, are indulged, for the most part, as caprice or disposition may dictate; and thus the very highest society is brought back, and by the same causes, to much of the freedom and simplicity of the lowest.

In England, we have never had this arrangement. The great wealth of the mercantile classes, and the privilege which every man possesses of aspiring to every situation, has always prevented any such separation of the high and the low-born even in ordinary society, and made all large assemblages of people to a certain degree promiscuous. Great wealth, or great talents, being sufficient to raise a man to power and eminence, are necessarily received as a sufficient passport into private company, and fill it, on the large scale, with such motley and discordant characters, as visibly to endanger either its ease or its tranquillity. The pride of purse, and of rank, and of manners, mutually provoke each other; and vanities which were undiscovered while they were universal, soon become visible in the light of opposite vanities. With us, therefore, society, when it passes beyond select clubs and associations, is apt either to be distracted with little jealousies and divisions, or finally to settle into constraint, insipidity and reserve. People meeting from all the extremes of life, are afraid of being misconstrued, and despair of being understood. Conversation is left to a few professed talkers; and all the rest are satisfied to hold their tongues, and despise their neighbours in their hearts.

The superior cultivation of French women, however, was productive of still more substantial advantages. Ever since Europe became civilised, the females of that country have stood more on an intellectual level with the men than in any other,—and have taken their share in the politics and literature, and public controversies of the day, far more largely than in any other nation with which we are acquainted. For more than two centuries, they have been the umpires of polite letters, and the depositaries and the

the agents of those intrigues by which the functions of government are usually forwarded or impeded. They could talk, therefore, of every thing that men could wish to talk about; and general conversation, consequently, assumed a tone, both less frivolous and less uniform, than it has ever attained in our country.

The grand source, however, of the difference between the good society of France and of England, is, that, in the former country, men had nothing but society to attend to; whereas, in the latter, almost all who are considerable for rank or for talents, are continually engrossed with politics. They have no leisure, therefore, for society, in the first place: in the second place, if they do enter it at all, they are apt to regard it as a scene rather of relaxation than exertion; and, finally, they naturally acquire those habits of thinking and of talking, which are better adapted to carry on business and debate, than to enliven people assembled for amusement. In England, men of condition have to perform the high duties of citizens and statesmen, and can only rise to eminence by dedicating their days and nights to the study of business and affairs—to the arts of influencing those, with whom, and by whom, they are to act—and to the actual management of those strenuous contentions by which the government of a free state is perpetually embarrassed and preserved. In France, on the contrary, under the old monarchy, men of the first rank had no political functions to discharge—no controul to exercise over the government—and no rights to assert, either for themselves or their fellow-subjects. They were either left, therefore, to solace their idleness with the frivolous enchantments of polished society, or, if they had any object of public ambition, were driven to pursue it by the mediation of those favourites or mistresses who were most likely to be won by the charms of an elegant address, or the assiduities of a skilful flatterer.

It is to this lamentable inferiority in the government and constitution of their country, that the French are indebted for the superiority of their polite assemblies. Their saloons are better filled than ours, because they have no senate to fill out of their population; and their conversation is more sprightly, and their society more animated than ours, because there is no other outlet for the talent and ingenuity of the nation but society and conversation. Our parties of pleasure, on the other hand, are left to beardless youths and superannuated idlers—not because our men want talents or taste to adorn them, but because their ambition, and their sense of public duty, has dedicated them to a higher service. When we lose our constitution—when the houses of Parliament are shut up, our assemblies, we have no doubt, will be far more animated and rational. It is easy to have splendid  
gardens

gardens and parterres, if we will only give up our corn fields and our pastures : nor should we want for magnificent fountains and ornamental canals, if we were contented to drain the whole surrounding country of the rills that maintain its fertility and beauty.

But, while it is impossible to deny that the French enjoyed, in the agreeable constitution of their society, no slight compensation for the want of a free government, it is curious, and not unsatisfactory, to be able to trace the operation of this same compensating principle through all the departments we have alluded to. It is obviously to our free government, and to nothing else, that we owe that mixture of ranks and of characters, which certainly renders our large society less amiable, and less unconstrained, than that of the old French nobility. Men, possessed of wealth and political power, must be associated with by all with whom they choose to associate, and to whom their friendship or support is material. A trader, who has bought his borough but yesterday, will not give his influence to any set of noblemen or ministers, who will not receive him and his family into their society, and agree to treat them as their equals. The same principle extends downwards by imperceptible gradations ;—and the whole community is mingled in private life, it must be owned with some little discomfort, by the ultimate action of the same principles which combine them, to their incalculable benefit, in public.

Even the backwardness or the ignorance of our women may be referred to the same noble origin. Women have no legal or direct political functions in any country in the universe. In the arbitrary governments of Europe, however, they exert a personal influence over those in power and authority, which raises them into consequence, familiarizes them in some degree with business and affairs, and leads them to study the character and the dispositions of the most eminent persons of their day. In free states, again, where the personal inclination of any individual can go but a little way, and where every thing must be canvassed and sanctioned by its legitimate censors, this influence is very inconsiderable ; and women are excluded almost entirely from any concern in those affairs, with which the leading spirits of the country are necessarily occupied. They come, therefore, almost unavoidably, to be considered as of a lower order of intellect, and to act and to be treated upon that apprehension. The chief cause of their inferiority, however, arises from the circumstances that have been already stated. Most of the men of talent in upper life are engaged in pursuits from which women are necessarily excluded, and have no leisure to join in these pursuits which might occupy them in common. Being thus abandoned in a good degree to the society of the frivolous of our sex, it is impossible that they should  
not

not be frivolous in their turn. In old France, on the contrary, the men of talents in upper life had little to do but to please and be pleased with the women; and they naturally came to acquire that knowledge and those accomplishments which fitted them for such society.

The last distinction between good French and good English society, arises from the different position which was occupied in each by the men of letters. In France, certainly, they mingled much more extensively with the polite world,—incalculably to the benefit both of that world, and of themselves. In England, our great scholars and authors have commonly lived in their studies, or in the society of a few learned friends or dependants; and their life has been so generally gloomy, laborious and inelegant, that literature and intellectual eminence have lost some of their honours, and much of their attraction. When a man takes to authorship, he is commonly looked upon as having renounced both the gay and busy world; and the consequence is, that the gay are extremely frivolous, and the active rash and superficial; while the man of genius is admired by posterity, and finishes his days rather dismally, without knowing or caring for any other denomination of men, than authors, booksellers and critics.

This distinction too, we think, arises out of the difference of government, or out of some of its more immediate consequences. Our politicians are too busy to mix with men of study; and our idlers are too weak and too frivolous. The studious, therefore, are driven in a great measure to herd with each other, and to form a little world of their own, in which all their peculiarities are aggravated, their vanity encouraged, and their awkwardness confirmed. In Paris, where talent and idleness met together, a society grew up, both more inviting and more accessible to men of thought and erudition. What they communicated to this society rendered it more intelligent and respectable; and what they learned from it, made them much more reasonable, amiable, and happy. They learned, in short, the true value of knowledge and of wisdom, by seeing exactly how much they could contribute to the government or the embellishment of life; and discovered, that there were sources both of pride and of happiness, far more important and abundant than thinking, writing, or reading.

It is curious, accordingly, to trace in the volumes before us, the more intimate and private life of some of those distinguished men, whom we find it difficult to represent to ourselves under any other aspect, than that of the authors of their learned publications. D'Alembert, Montesquieu, Henault, and several others, all appear in those letters in their true and habitual character, of cheerful and careless men of the world—whose thoughts ran mostly on the little

exertions and amusements of their daily society; who valued even their gréatest works chiefly as the means of amusing their leisure, or of entitling them to the admiration of their acquaintances; and occupied themselves about posterity far less than posterity will be occupied about them. It will probably scandalize a good part of our men of learning and science (though we think it will be consolatory to some) to be told, that there is great reason for suspecting that the most profound of those authors looked upon learning chiefly as a sort of tranquil and innocent amusement; to which it was very well to have recourse when more lively occupations were not at hand, but which it was wise and meritorious, at all times, to postpone to pleasant parties, and the natural play, either of the imagination or of the affections. It appears, accordingly, not only that they talked easily and familiarly of all their works to their female friends, but that they gave themselves very little anxiety either about their sale or their notoriety out of the sphere of their own acquaintances, and made and invited all sorts of jokes upon them with unfeigned gayety and indifference. The lives of our learned men would be much happier, and their learning much more useful and amiable, if they could be persuaded to see things in the same light. It is more than time, however, to introduce the reader to the characters in the volumes before us.

Madame du Deffand's correspondence consists of letters from Montesquieu, D'Alembert, Henault, D'Argens, Formont, Bernstorff, Scheffer, &c. among the men,—and Mesdames De Staal, De Choiseul, &c. among the women. Her own letters, as we have already intimated, form but a very inconsiderable part of the collection;—and, as these distinguished names naturally excite, in persons out of Paris, more interest than that of any witty Marchioness whatsoever, we shall begin with some specimens of the intimate and private style of those eminent individuals, who are already so well known for the value and the beauty of their public instructions.

Of these, the oldest and the most popularly known, was Montesquieu,—an author who frequently appears profound when he is only paradoxical, and seems to have studied with great success the art of hiding a desultory and far-sitical style of reasoning in imposing aphorisms and epigrams of considerable effect. It is impossible to read the *Esprit des Loix*, without feeling that it is the work of an indolent and very ingenious person, who had fits of thoughtfulness and ambition, and had meditated the different points which it comprehends at long intervals, and then corrected them as he best could, by insinuations, metaphors, and vague verbal distinctions. There is but little of him in this collection; but what there is, is extremely characteristic. D'Alembert had proposed

posed to write the articles *Democracy* and *Despotism*, for the *Encyclopedie*; to which proposal he answers with much *naïveté*, as follows.

‘Quant à mon introduction dans l’*Encyclopédie*, c’est un beau pâlais où je serais bien glorieux de mettre les pieds; mais pour les deux articles *Démocratie* et *Despotisme*, je ne voudrais pas prendre ceux-là; j’ai tiré, sur ces articles, de mon cerveau tout ce qui y était. *L’esprit que j’ai est un monde; on n’en tire jamais que les mêmes portraits*: ainsi je ne vous dirais que ce que j’ai dit, et peut-être plus mal que je ne l’ai dit. Ainsi, si vous voulez de moi, laissez à mon esprit le choix de quelques articles; et si vous voulez ce choix, ce fera chez madame du Deffand avec du marasquin. Le pere Castel dit qu’il ne peut pas se corriger, parce qu’en corrigeant son ouvrage, il en fait un autre; et moi je ne puis pas me corriger, parce que je chante toujours la même chose. Il me vient dans l’esprit que je pourrais prendre peut-être l’article *Goût*, et je prouverai bien que *difficile est propriè communia dicere*.’ I. p. 30, 31.

There is likewise another very pleasing letter to M. de Henault, and a gay copy of verses to Madame de Mirepoix;—but we hasten on to a personage still more engaging. Of all the men of genius that ever existed, D’Alembert perhaps is the most amiable and truly respectable. The great extent and variety of his learning, his vast attainments and discoveries in the mathematical sciences, and the beauty and eloquence of his literary compositions, are known to all the world; but the simplicity and openness of his character—his perpetual gentleness and gayety in society—the unostentatious independence of his sentiments and conduct—his natural and cheerful superiority to all feelings of worldly ambition, jealousy, or envy—and that air of perpetual youth and unassuming kindness, which made him so delightful and so happy in the society of women,—are traits which we scarcely expect to find in combination with those splendid qualifications; and to propose altogether a character of which we should have been tempted to question the reality, were we not fortunate enough to be familiar with its counterpart in one living individual.

It is not possible, perhaps, to give a better idea of the character of D’Alembert, than merely to state the fact, and the reason of his having refused to go to Berlin, to preside over the academy founded there by Frederic. In answer to a most flattering and urgent application from that sovereign, he writes thus to M. D’Argens.\*

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\* This learned person writes in a very affected and *preieuse* style. He ends one of his letters to D’Alembert with the following eloquent expression.—‘*Ma santé s’affoiblit tous les jours de plus en plus; et je me dispose à aller faire bientôt mes reverences au pere eternel: mais tandis que je resterai dans ce monde je serai le plus zélé de vos admirateurs.*’

‘ La situation où je suis seroit peut-être, monsieur, un motif suffisant pour bien d’autres, de renoncer à leur pays ; ma fortune est au-dessous du médiocre ; 1700 liv. de rente font tout mon revenu : entièrement indépendant et maître de mes volontés, je n’ai point de famille qui s’y oppose ; oublié du gouvernement comme tant de gens le sont de la Providence, persécuté même autant qu’on peut l’être quand on évite de donner trop d’avantages sur soi à la méchanceté des hommes ; je n’ai aucune part aux récompenses qui pleuvent ici sur les gens de lettres, avec plus de profusion que de lumières. Malgré tout cela, monsieur, la tranquillité dont je jouis est si parfaite et si douce, que je ne puis me résoudre à lui faire courir le moindre risque. ’

— ‘ Supérieur à la mauvaise fortune, les épreuves de toute espèce que j’ai essuyées dans ce genre m’ont endurci à l’indigence, et au malheur, et ne m’ont laissé de sensibilité que pour ceux qui me ressemblent ; à force de privations, je me suis accoutumé sans effort à me contenter du plus étroit nécessaire, et je serois même en état de partager mon peu de fortune avec d’honnêtes gens plus pauvres que moi. J’ai commencé, comme les autres hommes, par désirer les places et les richesses, j’ai fini par y renoncer absolument, et de jour en jour je m’en trouve mieux. La vie retirée et assez obscure que je mène est parfaitement conforme à mon caractère, à mon amour extrême pour l’indépendance, et peut-être même à un peu d’éloignement que les événemens de ma vie m’ont inspiré pour les hommes. La retraite ou le régime que me prescrivent mon état et mon goût m’ont procuré la santé la plus parfaite et la plus égale, c’est-à-dire, le premier bien d’un philosophe ; enfin j’ai le bonheur de jouir d’un petit nombre d’amis, dont le commerce et la confiance font la consolation et le charme de ma vie. Jugez maintenant vous même, monsieur, s’il m’est possible de renoncer à ces avantages, et de changer un bonheur sûr pour une situation toujours incertaine, quelque brillante qu’elle puisse être. Je ne doute nullement des bontés du roi, et de tout ce qu’il peut faire pour me rendre agréable mon nouvel état ; mais, malheureusement pour moi, toutes les circonstances essentielles à mon bonheur ne sont pas en son pouvoir. Si ma santé venoit à s’altérer, ce qui ne seroit que trop à craindre, que deviendrois-je alors ? Incapable de me rendre utile au roi, je me verrois forcé de aller finir mes jours loin de lui, et à reprendre dans ma patrie, ou ailleurs, mon ancien état, qui auroit perdu ses premiers charmes. Peut-être même n’aurois-je plus la consolation de retrouver en France les amis que j’y aurois laissés, et à qui je perce-rois le cœur par mon départ. Je vous avoue, monsieur, que cette dernière raison seule peut tout sur moi.

‘ Enfin (et je vous prie d’être persuadé que je ne cherche point à me parer ici d’une fausse modestie) je doute que je fusse aussi propre à cette place que S. M. veut bien le croire. Livré dès mon enfance à des études continuelles, je n’ai que dans la théorie la connoissance des hommes, qui est si nécessaire dans la pratique quand on a affaire à eux. La tranquillité, et, si je l’ose dire, l’oisiveté du cabinet, m’ont rendu absolument incapable des détails auxquels le chef d’un corps doit

doit se livrer. D'ailleurs, dans les différens objets dont l'Académie s'occupe, il en est qui me sont entièrement inconnus, comme la chimie, l'histoire naturelle, et plusieurs autres, sur lesquels par conséquent je ne pourrais être aussi utile que je le désirerois. Enfin une place aussi brillante que celle dont le roi veut m'honorer, oblige à une sorte de représentation tout à fait éloignée du train de vie que j'ai pris jusqu'ici; elle engage à un grand nombre de devoirs, et les devoirs sont les entraves d'un homme libre.' II. 73—78.

This whole transaction was kept quite secret for many months; and, when it began to take air, he speaks of it to Madame du Defland, in the following natural manner.

'Après tout, que cela se répande ou ne se répande pas, je n'en suis ni fâché ni bien-aise. Je garderai au roi de Prusse son secret, même lorsqu'il ne l'exige plus, et vous verrez aisément que mes lettres n'ont pas été faites pour être vues du ministère de France; je suis bien résolu de ne lui pas demander plus de grâces qu'aux ministres du roi de Congo, et je me contenterai que la postérité lise sur mon tombeau: *il fut estimé de honnêtes gens, et est mort pauvre, parce qu'il l'a bien voulu.* Voilà, madame, de quelle manière je pense. Je ne veux braver ni aussi flatter les gens qui m'ont fait du mal, ou qui sont dans la disposition de m'en faire; mais je ne conduirai de manière que je les réduirai seulement à ne me pas faire du bien.' II. 33, 34.

Upon publishing his *Mélanges*, he was furiously attacked by a variety of acrimonious writers; and all his revenge was to retire to his geometry, and to write such letters as the following to M<sup>lle</sup>. Du Defland.

'Me voilà cliquemuré pour long-temps, et vraisemblablement pour toujours, dans ma triste, mais très-chère et très-paisible géométrie. Je suis fort content de trouver un prétexte pour ne plus rien faire, dans le déchainement que mon livre a excité contre moi. Je n'ai pourtant ni attaqué personne, ni même désigné qui que ce soit, plus que n'a fait l'auteur du *Méchant*, et vingt autres, contre lesquels personne ne s'est déchainé. Mais il n'y a qu'heur et malheur. Je n'ai besoin ni de l'amitié de tous ces gens-là, puisque assurément je ne veux rien leur demander, ni de leur estime, puisque j'ai bien résolu de ne jamais vivre avec eux: aussi je les mets à pis faire.

'Adieu, Madame; hâtez votre retour. Que ne savez-vous de la géométrie! qu'avec elle on se passe de bien des choses!' I. 104—5.

'Mon ouvrage est public, il s'est un peu vendu, les frais de l'impression sont retirés; les éloges, les critiques et l'argent viendront quand ils voudront.'—'Je n'ai encore rien touché. Je vous manderai ce que je gagnerai: il n'y a pas d'apparence que cela se monte fort haut; il n'y a pas d'apparence non plus que je continue à travailler dans ce genre. *Je ferai de la géométrie et je lirai Tacite.* Il me semble qu'on a grande envie que je me taise, et en vérité je ne demande pas mieux. Quand ma petite fortune ne suffira plus à ma subsistance, je me retirerai dans quelque endroit où je puisse vivre et



mourir à bon marché. Adieu, Madame. Estimez, comme moi, les hommes ce qu'ils valent, et il ne vous manquera rien pour être heureuse. On dit Voltaire raccommode avec le roi de Prusse, et Mampertuis retombé. Ma foi, les hommes sont bien foux, à commencer par les sages. Il. 50, 51.

‘ Eh bien ! vous ne voulez donc pas, ni Formont non plus, que je me claquemure dans ma géométrie ? J'en suis pourtant bien tenté. Si vous saviez combien cette géométrie est une retraite douce à la paresse ! et puis les sots ne vous lisent point, et par conséquent ne vous blâment ni ne vous louent : et comptez-vous cet avantage là pour rien ? En tout cas, j'ai de la géométrie pour un an, tout au moins. Ah ! que je fais à présent de belles choses que personne ne lira.

‘ J'ai bien quelques morceaux de littérature à traiter, qui seroient peut être assez agréables ; mais je chasse tout cela de ma tête, comme mauvais train. La géométrie est ma femme, et je me suis remis en ménage.

‘ Avec cela, j'ai plus d'argent devant moi que je n'en puis dépenser. Ma foi, on est bien fou de se tant tourmenter pour des choses qui ne rendent pas plus heureux : on a bien plutôt fait de dire : Ne pourrois je pas me passer de cela ? Et c'est la recette dont j'use depuis long-temps. Il. 52, 53

With all the foibles and carelessness of character, nothing could be more firm and inflexible when truth and justice were in question. The President Hénault was the oldest and first favourite of Mad. Du Deffand ; and, at the time of publishing the *Encyclopædia*, Mad. Du Deffand had more power over D'Alembert than any other person. She wished very much that some thing should be said of her favourite in the *Introductory Discourt.*, which took a review of the progress of the arts and sciences ; but D'Alembert resisted, with heroic courage, all the entreaties that were addressed to him on this subject. The following may serve as specimens of the tone which he maintained on this occasion.

‘ Je suis devenu cent fois plus amoureux de la retraite et de la solitude que je ne l'étois quand vous avez quitté Paris. Je dine et soupe chez moi tous les jours, ou presque tous les jours, et je me trouve très bien de cette manière de vivre. Je vous verrai donc quand vous n'aurez personne, et aux heures où je pourrai espérer de vous trouver seule ; dans d'autres temps, j'y rencontrerois votre président, qui m'embarrasseroit, parce qu'il croiroit avoir des reproches à me faire, que je ne crois point en mériter, et que je ne veux pas être dans le cas de le désobliger, en me justifiant auprès de lui. Ce que vous me demandez pour lui est impossible, et je puis vous assurer qu'il est bien impossible, puisque je ne fais pas cela pour vous. En premier lieu, le *Discours préliminaire* est imprimé, il y a plus de six semaines : ainsi je ne pourrois pas l'y fourrer aujourd'hui, même quand.

quand je le voudrois. En second lieu pensez vous de bonne foi, madame, que dans un ouvrage destiné à célébrer les grands génies de la nation et les ouvrages qui ont véritablement contribué aux progrès des lettres et des sciences, je doive parler de l'Abrégé chronologique? C'est un ouvrage utile, j'en conviens, et assez commode; mais voilà tout en vérité: c'est là ce que les gens de lettres en pensent, c'est là ce qu'on en dira quand le président ne sera plus: et quand je ne serai plus moi, je suis jaloux qu'on ne me reproche pas d'avoir donné d'éloges excessifs à personne.' II. 35, 36.

'J'ai une confession à vous faire: j'ai parlé de lui dans l'Encyclopédie, non pas *Chronologiq.*, car cela est pour Newton, Petau et Scaliger, mais à *Chronologiq.* J'y dis que nous avons, en notre langue, plusieurs bons abrégés chronologiques: le sien, un autre qui vaut pour le moins autant, et un troisième qui vaut mieux. Cela n'est pas dit si crûment, ainsi ne vous fâchez pas. Il trouvera la louange bien méritée, surtout la partageant avec d'autres; mais Dieu et vous, et moi me vous toute seule, ne me feroient pas changer de langage.' Il fera sur l'Académie tout ce qui lui plaira; mais conduisez-moi à prouver que je ne désire point d'en être, et en vérité je le serois sans lui, si j'en avois bien envie; mais le plaisir de dire la vérité librement quand on n'outrage ni n'attaque personne, vaut mieux que toutes les Académies du monde, depuis la Française, jusqu'à celle de Dugast. — Puisque je suis déjà d'une Académie, c'est un petit agrément de plus que d'être des autres: mais si j'avois mon expérience, et quinze ans de moins, je vous réponds que je ne serois d'aucune.' II. 35—36.

En l'Académie we may pass on to M. Dufalours the French ambassador at Constantinople in 1748, who writes several very interesting and amiable letters from that residence to M<sup>rs</sup> Du Defland. His account of the Turk we think, is excellent.

'Le commun est très-grossier, très-ignorant, très-superstitieux; les gens lettrés, parmi eux, très-taciturnes et très-silencieux; tous fort intéressés, d'assez bonne foi cependant; demandant avec bassesse, recevant avec orgueil; assez reconnaissans quand on les oblige et qu'on en a besoin; philosophes sans art, mais par tempérament; aujourd'hui grands, demain dans le néant, toujours égaux; le peuple dévot de bonne foi à Mahomet; les grands, déistes, mais hypocrites à l'excès; assez polis, pourvu que l'on convienne qu'on peut-être poli sans révérences et sans complimens, et qu'on ne s'arrête qu'à des choses dites avec simplicité, qui paroissent naturelles, et venir du cœur.' II. 138, 139.

Il est tout en Diplomatic Society, has merit.

'Le roi étant le plus grand prince de l'Europe, son ambassadeur est ici le premier, et à toute l'endosse d'un assemblage tumultueux: sa maison est le rendez-vous des ennuyeux il y a tous les jours du monde à dîner, point de soupers de quadrilles ou reversis, peu de conversation. Les ambassadeurs, ou ministres, toujours occupés de cérémonial,

cérémonial, gênent ou fatiguent beaucoup. Les négocians, plus instruits de leurs intérêts que d'autre chose, ne sont pas d'une grande ressource. Le carnaval est un peu plus animé ; il y a bal au palais de France tous les Dimanches : quelquefois cinquante ou soixante femmes viennent y danser, et y soupent ce jour-là ; ce qui fait un assez beau spectacle, par leurs coiffures à la Grecque, que je trouve assez belles : peut-être que l'illusion ne consiste que dans la nouveauté de ce coup d'œil. La plus grande partie de ces femmes parlent assez mal l'Italien ; je l'entends un peu, mais je ne le parle point ; elles parlent très bien Grec, moi point du tout. En général, elles parlent peu, pensent encore moins : il n'y a que ce qui regarde leur vanité, leur jalousie, enfin toutes leurs passions, qu'elles conduisent tout comme en France.' II. 140, 141.

We may now take a peep at the female correspondents,—in the first rank of whom we must place Madame de Staël, so well known to most of our readers by her charming Memoirs. This lady was attached to the court of the Dutchess of Maine ; and her letters, independent of the wit and penetration they display, are exceedingly interesting, from the near and humiliating view they afford of the miserable ennui, the selfishness and paltry jealousies which brood in the atmosphere of a court,—and abundantly avenge the lowly for the outward superiority that is assumed by its inhabitants. There are few things more instructive, or more compassionate, than the picture which Mad. de Staël has drawn, in the following passages, of her poor princess dragging herself about in the rain and the burning sun, in the vain hope of escaping from the load of her own inanity,—seeking relief, in the multitude of her visitors, from the sad vacuity of friendship and animation around her,—and poorly trying to revenge herself for her own unhappiness, by making every body near her uncomfortable.

' Je lus avant-hier votre lettre, ma reine, à S.<sup>a</sup>A. Elle était dans un accès de frayeur du tonnerre, qui ne fit pas valoir vos galanteries. J'aurai soin une autre fois de ne vous pas exposer à l'orage. Nous nageons ces jours passés dans la joie, nous nageons à présent dans la pluie. Nos idées, devenues douces et agréables, vont reprendre toute leur noirceur. Pardessus cela est arrivé, depuis deux jours, à notre princesse un rhume, avec de la fièvre : ce nonobstant et malgré le temps diabolique, la promenade va toujours son train. Il semble que la Providence prenne soin de construire pour les princes des corps à l'usage de leurs fantaisies, sans quoi ils ne pourraient attraper âge d'homme.' I. 161, 162.

' En dépit d'un troisième orage plus violent que les deux précédens, nous arrivons d'une chasse ; nous avons essuyé la bordée au beau milieu de la forêt. J'espérais éviter comme à l'ordinaire, cette belle partie ; mais on a adroitement tiré parti des raisons que j'avais alléguées pour m'en dispenser ; ce qui m'a mis hors d'état de reculer. C'est dommage qu'un art si ingénieux soit employé à désoler les gens.' I. 164.

‘ Je suis très-fâchée que vous manquiez d’amusemens : c’est un nécessaire à la santé ; notre princesse le pense bien ; car. étant véritablement malade, elle va sans fin, sans cesse, quelque temps qu’il fasse. ’ I. 168.

‘ Nous faisons, nous disons toujours les mêmes choses : les promenades, les observations sur le vent, le cavagnole, les remarques sur la perte et le gain, les mesures pour tenir les portes fermées quelque chaud qu’il fasse, la désolation de ce qu’on appelle les étouffes, au nombre desquels je suis, et dont vous n’êtes pas, qualité qui redouble le désir de votre société. ’ I. 197.

‘ Le désir d’être entouré augmente de jour en jour, et je prévois que si vous tenez un appartement sans l’occuper, on aura grand regret à ce que vous ferez perdre, quoique ce puisse être. Les grandes, à force de s’étendre, deviennent si minces qu’on voit le jour au travers : c’est une belle étude de les contempler, je ne sais rien qui ramène plus à la philosophie. Je passe bien à la vôtre de ne se pas départir des commodités ; mais je désapprouve qu’on se fasse un tourment du sein d’être à son aise, comme je le vois souvent. ’ I. 207, 208.

‘ Rien n’est égal à la surprise et au chagrin où l’on est, ma reine, d’avoir appris que vous avez été chez Madame la Duchesse de Modène. Un amant bien passionné et bien jaloux supporte plus tranquillement les démarches les plus suspectes, qu’on n’endure celle-ci de votre part. “ Vous allez vous dévouer là, abandonner tout le reste ; voilà à quoi on étoit réservé : c’est une destinée bien cruelle ! ” &c. J’ai dit de qu’il y avoit à dire pour ramener le calme ; on n’a voulu rien entendre. Quoique je ne doive plus m’étonner, cette scène a encore trouvé moyen de me surprendre. Venez, je vous conjure, ma reine, nous rassurer contre cette alarme : ne louez point la personne dont il s’agit, et surtout ne parlez pas de son affliction ; car cela seroit pris pour un reproche. ’ II. 22, 23.

All this is miserable : but such are the necessary consequences of being bred up among flatterers and dependants. A prince has more chance to escape this heartlessness and insignificance ; because he has high and active duties to discharge, which necessarily occupy his time, and exercise his understanding ; but the education of a princess is a work of as great difficulty as it may come to be of importance. We must make another extract or two from *Mad. de Staël*, before taking leave of her.

‘ Madame du Chatelet et Voltaire, qui s’étoient annoncés pour aujourd’hui et qu’on avait perdus de vue, parurent hier, sur le minuit, comme deux spectres, avec une odeur de corps embaumés qu’ils semblaient avoir apportée de leurs tombeaux. On sortait de table. C’étoient pourtant des spectres affamés : il leur fallut un souper, et qui plus est des lits qui n’étoient pas préparés. La concierge, déjà couchée, se leva à grande hâte. Gaya, qui avait offert son logement pour les cas pressans, fut forcé de le céder dans celui-ci, déménagea avec

avec autant de précipitation et de déplaisir qu'une armée surprise dans son camp, laissant une partie de son bagage au pouvoir de l'ennemi. Voltaire s'est bien trouvé du gîte : cela n'a point du tout consolé Gaya. Pour la dame, son lit ne s'est pas trouvé bien fait : il a fallu la déloger aujourd'hui. Notez que ce lit elle l'avait fait elle-même, faute de gens, et avait trouvé un défaut de... dans les matelas, ce qui, je crois, a plus blessé son esprit exact que son corps peu délicat. — Nos revenans ne se montrent point de jour, ils apparurent hier à dix heures du soir : je ne pense pas qu'on les voie guère plus tôt aujourd'hui ; l'un est à décrire de hauts faits, l'autre à commenter Newton ; ils ne veulent ni jouer ni se promener : ce sont bien des non-valeurs dans une société, ou leurs doctes écrits ne sont d'aucun rapport. — Madame du Chatelet est d'hier à son troisième logement : elle ne pouvait plus supporter celui qu'elle avait choisi ; il y avait du bruit, de la fumée sans feu (il me semble que c'est son emblème.) Le bruit, ce n'est pas la nuit qu'il l'incommode, c'est qu'elle m'a dit, mais le jour, au fort de son travail : cela dérange ses idées. Elle fait actuellement la revue de ses principes : c'est un exercice qu'elle réitère chaque année, sans quoi ils pourraient s'échapper, et peut-être s'en aller si loin qu'elle n'en retrouverait pas un seul. Je crois bien que sa tête est pour eux une maison de force, et non pas le lieu de leur naissance : c'est le cas de veiller soigneusement à leur garde. Elle préfère le bon air de cette occupation à tout amusement, et persiste à ne se montrer qu'à la nuit close. Voltaire a fait des vers galans, qui réparent un peu le mauvais effet de leur conduite musicale. I. 178, 179, 182, 185, 186.

After all this experience of the follies of the great and the learned, this lively little woman concludes in the true tone of French poetical philosophy.

O ma reine ! que les hommes et leurs femmes sont de plaisans animaux ! Je ris de leurs manœuvres le jour que j'ai bien dormi ; quand le sommeil me manque, je suis prête à les assommer. Cette variété de mes dispositions me fait voir que je ne dégénère pas de mon espèce. Moquons-nous des autres, et qu'ils se moquent de nous, c'est bien fait de toute part. I. 181.

Among the lady writers in these volumes, we do not know if there be any entitled to take precedence of la Duchesse de Choiseul, who writes thus learnedly on the subject of ennui to Madame du Deffand.

Savez-vous pourquoi vous vous ennuyez tant, ma chère enfant ? C'est justement par la peine que vous prenez d'éviter, de prévoir, de combattre l'ennui. Vivez au jour la journée, prenez le temps comme il vient, profitez de tous les momens, et avec cela vous verrez que vous ne vous ennuierez pas : si les circonstances vous sont contraires, cédez au torrent et ne prétendez pas y résister. —

Je m'aperçois, ma chère enfant, que je vous dis des choses bien communes ; mais accoutumez-vous à les supporter, 1° parce que je

ne suis pas en état de vous en dire d'autres ; 2° parce qu'en morale elles sont toujours les plus vraies, parce qu'elles tiennent à la nature. Après avoir bien exercé son esprit, le philosophe le plus éclairé sera obligé d'en revenir, à cet égard, à l'axiome du plus grand sot, de même qu'il partage avec lui l'air qu'il respire. — Les préjugés se multiplient, les arts s'accroissent, les sciences s'approfondissent ; mais la morale est toujours la même, parce que la nature ne change pas ; elle est toujours réduite à ces deux points : être juste pour être bon, être sage pour être heureux. Sadi, poète Persan, dit que la sagesse est de jouir, la bonté de faire jouir. J'y ajoute la justice. —

‘ La vie que je mène ici est la plus uniforme possible ; mais de cette uniformité même naissent une infinité de petites variétés qui tiennent à sa nature, qui ne coûtent pas de peine à arranger, ni de fatigue pour en jouir, et qui ne sont que plus douces. Enfin, si nos plaisirs ne sont pas grands, du moins nos peines sont légères. Je suis bien et très bien, et si bien que je m'abonnerois à être toujours comme cela : ce qui prouve que je n'ai pas encore acquis le dernier période de la philosophie, car elle devrait me rendre tous les lieux et tous les genres de vie égaux. ’ II. 125—128.

In an epiphane she adds,

‘ Je n'ai jamais eu de la jeunesse que cette heureuse Juperie que l'on m'a sitôt et si inhumainement arrachée ; mais ce n'est pas le regret de sa perte qui me fait chercher la solitude. Quoique les connoissances que j'ai acquises ne me dédommagent pas de l'ignorance que j'ai perdue, j'ai assez d'autres dédommagemens d'ailleurs pour me trouver aussi heureuse que si j'étois jeune et dupe. Je vis dans l'espérance de l'être encore (dupe s'entend) ; et ce moment de plaisir vaut bien la peine d'être acheté, et sera toujours autant de pris sur l'ennemi. Mais c'est l'active et bruyante oisiveté de ma vie journalière qui m'oblige à chercher ces momens de reppe, aussi nécessaires à mon âme qu'à mon corps. Il y a trois choses dont vous dites que les femmes ne conviennent jamais : l'une d'entre elles est de s'ennuyer. Je n'en conviens pas non plus ici : malgré vos soupçons, je vois mes ouvriers, je crois conduire leurs ouvrages. A ma toilette, j'ai cette petite Corbie qui est laide, mais fraîche comme une pèche, folle comme un jeune chien ; qui chante, qui rit, qui joue du clavecin, qui danse, qui saute au lieu de marcher, qui ne sait ce qu'elle fait, et fait tout avec grâce, qui ne sait ce qu'elle dit, et dit tout avec esprit, et surtout une naïveté charmante. La nuit je dors, le jour je rêve, et ces plaisirs si doux, si passifs, si pêtes, sont précisément ceux qui me conviennent le mieux. ’ II. 131, 135.

It is time now that we should come to Madame du Desland herself ; — the wittiest, the most selfish, and the most ennuyé of the whole party. Her wit, to be sure, is very enviable and very entertaining ; but it is really consolatory to common mortals, to find how little it could amuse its possessor. This did not proceed in her, however, from the fastidiousness which is sometimes supposed

supposed to arise from a long familiarity with excellence, so much as from a long habit of selfishness, or rather from a radical want of heart or affection. La Harpe says of her, ' Qu'il étoit difficile d'avoir moins de sensibilité et plus degoïsme.' With all this, she was greatly given to gallantry in her youth; though her attachments, it would seem, were of a kind not very likely to interfere with her peace of mind. The very evening her first lover died, after an intimacy of twenty years, La Harpe assures us, ' Qu'elle vint ' souper en grande compagnie chez Madame de Marchais, où ' j'étais; et on lui parla de la perte qu'elle venait de faire. Hélas! il est mort ce soir à six heures; sans cela, vous ne me verriez pas ici. Ce furent ses propres paroles; et elle soupa comme à son ordinaire, c'est-à-dire fort bien; car elle était très-gourmande.' (Pref. p. xvi.) She is also recorded to have frequently declared, that she could never bring herself to love any thing,—though, in order to take every possible chance, she had several times attempted to become *devote*—with no great success. This, we have no doubt, is the secret of her ennui; and a fine example it is of the utter worthlessness of all talent, accomplishment and glory, when disconnected from those feelings of kindness and generosity, which are of themselves sufficient for happiness. Madame du Deffand, however, must have been delightful to those who sought only for amusement. Her tone is admirable; her wit flowing and natural; and though a little given to detraction, and not a little importunate and *exigeante* towards those on whose complaisance she had claims, there is always an air of politeness in her raillery, and of knowledge of the world in her murmurs, that prevents them from being either wearisome or offensive.

Almost all the letters of her writing which are published in these volumes, seem to have been written in the month of July 1742, when she spent a few weeks at the waters of *Forges*, and wrote almost daily to the President Henault at Paris. This close correspondence of theirs fills one of these volumes; and, considering the rapidity and carelessness with which both parties must have written, must give, we should think, a very correct, and certainly a very favourable idea of the style of their ordinary conversation. We shall give a few extracts very much at random. She had made the journey along with a Mad. de Péquigni, of whom she gives the following account.

' Mais venons à un article bien plus intéressant, c'est ma compagne. O mon Dieu! qu'elle me déplaît! Elle est radicalement folle; elle ne connoit point d'heure pour ses repas; elle a jeûné à Gisors à huit heures du matin, avec du veau froid; à Gournay, elle a mangé du pain trempé dans le pot, pour nourrir un Limousin,

ensuite un morceau de brioche, et puis trois assez grands, biscuits. Nous arrivons, il n'est que deux heures et demie, et elle veut du riz et une capilotade ; elle mange comme un singe ; ses mains ressemblent à leurs pattes ; elle ne cesse de bavarder. Sa prétention est d'avoir de l'imagination et de voir toutes choses sous des faces singulières, et comme la nouveauté des idées lui manque, elle y supplée par la bizarrerie de l'expression, sous prétexte qu'elle est naturelle. Elle me déclare toutes ses fantaisies, en m'assurant qu'elle ne veut que ce qui me convient ; mais je crains d'être forcé à être sa complaisant ; cependant je compte bien que cela ne s'étendra pas sur ce qui intéressera mon régime. Elle comptoit tout à l'heure s'établir dans ma chambre pour y faire ses repas, mais je lui ai dit que j'allois écrire : je l'ai priée de faire dire à Madame Laroche les heures où elle vouloit manger et ce qu'elle voudroit manger, et où elle vouloit manger ; et que, pour moi, je comptois avoir la même liberté : en conséquence je mangerai du riz et un poulet à huit heures du soir. »

II. 191, 192.

After a few days she returns again to this unfortunate companion.

« La Pécunière n'est d'aucune ressource, et son esprit est comme l'espace : il y a étendue, profondeur, et peut-être toutes les autres dimensions que je ne saurais dire, parce que je ne les sais pas ; mais cela n'est que du vide pour l'usage. Elle a tout senti, tout jugé, tout éprouvé, tout choisi, tout rejeté ; elle est, dit-elle, d'une difficulté singulière en compagnie, et cependant elle est toute la journée avec toutes nos petites madames à jaboter comme une pie. Mais ce n'est pas cela qui me déplaît en elle : cela m'est commode dès aujourd'hui, et cela me sera très agréable sitôt que Formont sera arrivée. Ce qui m'est insupportable, c'est le dîner : elle a l'air d'une folle en mangeant ; elle dépèce une poularde dans le plat où on la sert, ensuite elle la met dans un autre, se fait rapporter du bouillon pour mettre dessus, tout semblable à celui qu'elle rend, et puis elle prend un haut d'aile, ensuite le corps dont elle ne mange que la moitié ; et puis elle ne veut pas que l'on retourne le veau pour couper un os. de peur qu'on n'amollisse la peau ; elle coupe un os avec toute la peine possible, elle le ronge à demi, puis retourne à sa poularde ; après elle pele tout le dessus du veau, ensuite elle revient à ronger sa poularde : cela dure deux heures. Elle a sur son assiette des morceaux d'os rongés, de peaux sucées, et pendant ce temps, ou je m'ennuie à la mort, ou je mange plus qu'il ne faudrait. C'est une curiosité de lui voir manger un biscuit ; cela dure une demi-heure, et le total, c'est qu'elle mange comme un loup : il est vrai qu'elle fait un exercice enragé. Je suis fâchée que vous ayez de commun avec elle l'impossibilité de rester une minute en repos. Enfin voulez-vous que je vous le dise ? elle est on ne peut pas moins aimable : elle a sans doute de l'esprit ; mais tout cela est mal digéré, et je ne crois pas qu'elle vaille jamais davantage. Elle est aisée à vivre ; mais je la défierais d'être difficile avec moi : je me souviens



soumets à toutes ses fantaisies, parce qu'elles ne me font rien ; notre union présente n'aura nulle suite pour l'avenir. Si je n'avais pas l'occupation de vous écrire je m'ennuierais à la mort ; mais cela remplit une bonne partie de la journée, et me voilà toute accoutumée à me coucher de bonne heure. Je crois avoir fait un excès quand dix heures et demie me surprennent debout.' III. 39—41.

The rest of her company do not come any better off. The lady she praises most, seems to come near to the English character.

'Madame de Bancour a trente ans, elle n'est pas vilaine ; elle est très douce et très-polie, et ce n'est pas sa faute de n'être pas plus amusante ; c'est faute d'avoir rien vu : car elle a du bon sens, n'a nulle prétention et est fort naturelle ; son ton de voix est doux, naïf et même un peu niais dans le goût de Jeliot ; si elle avait vécu dans le monde, elle serait aimable : je lui fais conter sa vie ; elle est occupée de ses devoirs, sans austérité ni ostentation ; si elle ne m'ennuyait pas, elle me plairait assez.' III. 26.

The following are some of her wanderings over her benishment.

'Il me prend des étonnemens funestes d'être ici : c'est comme la pensée de la mort ; si je ne m'en distrais, j'en mourrais réellement. Vous ne sauriez vous figurer la tristesse de ce séjour ; mais si fait, puisque vous êtes à Plombières : mais non ; c'est que ce n'est point le lieu, c'est la compagnie dont il est impossible de faire aucun usage. Heureusement depuis que je suis ici, j'ai un certain hébêtement qui ferait que je n'entendrais pas le plus petit raisonnement : je végète.' — 'Je ne crois pas qu'aucun remède puisse être bon lorsqu'on s'ennuie autant que je fais : ce n'est pas que je supporte mon mal patiemment ; mais jamais je ne suis bien-aise, et ce n'est que parce que je végète que je suis tranquille : quand dix heures arrivent je suis ravi, je vois la fin de la journée avec délices. Si je n'avais pas mon lit et mon fauteuil, je serais cent fois plus malheureuse.' III. 96—98.

The following, though short, is a good specimen of the tone in which she treats her banishment.

'Je crois que vous me regrettez, c'est-à-dire, que vous pensez beaucoup à moi. Mais (comme de raison) vous vous divertissez fort bien : vous êtes comme les quêtistes, vous faites tout en moi, pour moi et par moi ; mais le fait est que vous faites tout sans moi et que vos journées se passent gaiement, que vous jouissez d'une certaine liberté qui vous plaît, et vous êtes fort aise que pendant ce temps-là je travaille à me bien porter. Mes nuits ne sont pas trop bonnes, et je crois que c'est que je mange un peu trop : hier je me suis retranché le bœuf, aujourd'hui je compte réformer la quantité de pain.' — 'N'allez point vous corriger sur rien, j'aime que vous me parliez ormeaux, ruisseaux, moineaux, etc., et ce m'est une occasion très-agréable de vous donner des démentis, de vous confondre, de vous tourmenter, c'est je crois ce qui contribue le plus à me faire passer mes eaux.' III. 126—7—9.

We have scarcely left ourselves room to give any of the gentleman's part of this correspondence. It is very pleasantly and gaily sustained by him,—though he deals mostly in the tittle-tattle of Paris, and appears a little vain of his own currency and distinction. We extract the following paragraphs, just as they turn up to us.

‘Jé ne crois pas que l'on puisse être heureux en province quand on a passé sa vie à Paris ; mais heureux qui n'a jamais connu Paris, et qui n'ajoute pas nécessairement à cette vie les maux chimériques, qui sont les plus grands ! car on peut guérir un seigneur qui gémit de ce qu'il a été grêlé, en lui faisant voir qu'il se trompe, et que sa vigne est couverte de raisin ; mais le grêlé métaphysique ne peut être combattue. La nature, ou la providence n'est pas si injuste qu'on le veut dire ; n'y mettons rien du nôtre, et nous serons moins à plaindre ; et puis regardons le terme qui approche, le marteau qui va frapper l'heure, et pensons que tout cela va disparaître.

‘Ah ! l'inconcevable Pont de Veyle ! il vient de donner une parade chez M<sup>lle</sup> le duc d'Orléans : cette scène que vous connaissez du vendeur d'opéttan. Au lieu du Forcalquier, c'était le petit Gauffin qui faisait le Giles ; et Pont de Veyle a distribué au moins deux cents boîtes avec un couplet pour tout le monde : il est plus jeune que quand vous l'avez vu la première fois ; il s'amuse de tout, n'aime rien, et n'a conservé de la mémoire de la défunte que la haine pour la musique française.’ I. 110–11.

At the end of the letters, there are placed a variety of *portraits* or characters of the most distinguished persons in Madame du Defand's society, written by each other—sometimes with great freedom, and sometimes with a such flattery—but almost always with wit and penetration. We give the following by Madame Du Defand as a specimen, chiefly because it is shorter than most of the others.

‘Madame la duchesse d'Aiguillon a la bouche enfoncé, le nez de travers, le regard fol et hardi, et malgré cela elle est belle. L'éclat de son teint l'emporte sur l'irrégularité de ses traits.

‘Sa taille est grossière, sa gorge, ses bras sont énormes ; cependant elle n'a point l'air pesant ni épais : la force supplée en elle à la légèreté.

‘Son esprit a beaucoup de rapport à sa figure : il est pour ainsi dire aussi mal dessiné que son visage, et aussi éclatant : l'abondance, l'activité, l'impétuosité en sont les qualités dominantes. Sans goût, sans grace, et sans justesse, elle étonne, elle surprend, mais elle ne plait ni n'intéresse.

‘C'est quelquefois un prophète qu'un démon agite, qui ne prévoit ni n'a le choix de ce qu'il va dire : ce sont plusieurs instrumens bruyans dont il ne résulte aucune harmonie. C'est un spectacle chargé de machines et de décorations, où il se trouve quelques traits merveilleux sans suite et sans ordre, que le parterre admire, mais qui est sifflé des loges.

‘ On pourrait comparer Madame la Duchesse d’Aiguillon à ces statuts faites pour le centre et qui paraissent monstrueuses étant dans le parvis. Sa figure ni son esprit ne veulent point être vus ni examinés de trop près ; une certaine distance est nécessaire à sa beauté : des juges peu éclairés et peu délicats sont les seuls qui puissent être favorables à son esprit.

‘ Semblable à la trompette du jugement, elle est faite pour ressusciter les morts : ce sont les impuissans qui doivent l’aimer, ce sont les sourds qui doivent l’entendre. ’ III. 154–156.

‘ There are three characters of Madame Du Deffand herself, all very flattering. That by the President Henault is the least so. It ends as follows.

‘ Cependant, pour ne pas marquer trop de prévelition et obtenir plus de croyance, j’ajouterai que l’âge, sans lui ôter ses talens, l’avait rendue jalouse et méfiante, cédant à ses premiers mouvemens, maladroite pour conduire les hommes dont elle disposait naturellement ; enfin de l’humeur inégale, injuste, ne cessant d’être aimable qu’aux yeux des personnes auxquelles il lui importait de plaire, et, pour finir, la personne par laquelle j’ai été le plus heureux et le plus malheureux, parce qu’elle est ce que j’ai le plus aimé. ’ III. 188.

He is infinitely more partial to a Madame de Flamarens, whose character he begins with considerable elegance as follows.

‘ Madame de Flamarens a le visage le plus touchant et le plus modeste qui fut jamais ; c’est un genre de beauté que la nature n’a attrapé qu’une fois : il y a dans ses traits quelque chose de rare et de mystérieux, qui aurait fait dire, dans les temps fabuleux, qu’une immortelle, sous cette forme, ne s’était pas assez déguisée. ’ III. 196.

We take our leave now of these volumes ; and of the brilliant circle and brilliant days of Mad. du Deffand. Such a society probably never will exist again in the world ;—for can we say we are very sorry for it. It was not very moral, we are afraid ; and we have seen, that the most distinguished members of it were not very happy. When we say that it must have been in the highest degree delightful to those who sought only for amusement, we wish it to be understood, not only that amusement does not constitute happiness, but that it can afford very little pleasure to those who have not other sources of happiness. The great extent of the accomplished society of Paris, and the familiarity of its intercourse, seems to have gradually brought almost all its members to spend their whole lives in public. They had no notion, therefore, of domestic enjoyments ; and their affections being dissipated among so many competitors, and distracted by such an incessant variety of small occupations, came naturally to be weakened and exhausted ; and a certain heartless gaiety to be extended indiscriminately to the follies and the misfortunes of their associates.

Bating some little fits of gallantry, therefore, there could be no devotedness of attachment, and no profound sympathy for the sufferings of the most intimate friends. Every thing, we find accordingly, was made a subject for epigrams; and those who did not make jests at their friends' calamities, were glad, at any rate, to forget them in the society of those who did. When we recollect, too, that the desertion of all the high duties of patriots and statesmen, and the insulting and systematic degradation of the great body of the people were necessary conditions of the excellence of this society, we cannot hesitate in saying, that its brilliancy was maintained at far too great a cost; and that the fuel which was wasted in its support, would have been infinitely better applied in diffusing a gentler light, and a more genial heat, through the private dwellings of the land.

We have occupied ourselves so long with Mad. du Deffand and her associates, that we can afford but a small portion of our attention for Madlle. de Lespinasse. A very extraordinary person we will allow her to have been; and a most extraordinary publication she has left us to consider. On a former occasion,\* we took some notice of the account which Marmontel has given of her character and conduct, and expressed our surprise that any one, who had acted the unprincipled and selfish part which he imputes to her, should be thought worthy, either of the admiration he expresses, or of the friendship and patronage of so many distinguished characters, or of the devoted attachment of such a man as D'Alembert. After reading these letters, we see much reason to doubt of the accuracy of Marmontel's representation; but, at the same time, find great difficulty in settling our own opinion of the author. Marmontel describes her as having first made a vain attempt upon the heart of M. de Guibert, the celebrated author of the *Tactics*,—and then endeavoured to indemnify herself by making a conquest of M. de Mora, the son of the Spanish ambassador, upon whose death she is stated to have died of mortification; and, in both cases, she is represented as having been actuated more by a selfish and pearly ambition, than by any feeling of affection. The dates, and the tenor of the letters before us, enable us to detect many inaccuracies in this statement; while they throw us into new perplexity as to the true character of the writer. They begin in 1773, after M. de Mora had been recalled to Spain by his relations, and when her whole soul seems to be occupied with anguish for this separation; and they are all addressed to M. de Guibert, who had then recently recommended himself to her, by the tender interest he took in her affliction. From the very beginning, however, there is more of love in them, than we can

well reconcile with the subsistence of her first engrossing passion : and, long before the death of M. Mora, she expresses the most vehement, unequivocal, and passionate attachment to M. Guibert. Sometimes she has fits of remorse for this ; but, for the most part, she seems quite unconscious, either of inconsistency or impropriety ; and M. Guibert is, in the same letter, addressed in terms of the most passionate adoration, and made the confident of her unspeakable, devoted, and unalterable love for M. Mora. So she goes on,—most furiously and outrageously in love with them both at the same time,—till the death of M. Mora, in 1774. This event, however, makes no difference in her feelings or expressions ; she continues to love his memory just as ardently as his living successor in her affection ; and her letters are divided, as before, between expressions of heart-rending grief and unbounded attachment—between her *besoin de mourir* for M. Mora, and her delight in living for M. Guibert. There are still more inexplicable things in those letters. None of Guibert's letters are given,—so that we cannot see how he responded to all these raptures ; but, from the very first, or almost from the first, she complains bitterly of his coldness and dissipation ; laments that he has a heart incapable of tenderness ; and that he feels nothing but gratitude or compassion for a being whom he had fascinated, exalted and possessed with the most ardent and unbounded passion. We cannot say that we see any clear traces of her ever having hoped, or even wished that he should marry her. On the contrary, she recommends several wives to him ; and at last he takes one with her approbation and consent, while the correspondence goes on in the same tone as before. The vehemence and excess of her passion continue to the last of the letters here published, which come down to within a few weeks of her death, in 1776.

The account which we have given appears ridiculous ; and there are people, and wise people, who, even after looking into the book, will think Madlle. de Lespinasse deserving of nothing but ridicule, and consign her and her ravings to immeasurable contempt. Gentle spirits, however, will judge more kindly ; and there are few, we believe, who feel interest enough in the work to read it through, who will not lay it down with emotions of admiration and profound compassion. Even if we did not know that she was the chosen companion of d'Alembert, and the respected friend of Turgot, Condillac, Condorcet, and the first characters in France, there are, in the strange book before us, such traces of a powerful, generous and ardent mind, as necessarily to command the respect even of those who may be provoked with her inconsistencies, and wearied out with the vehemence of her sorrow. There is something so natural, so eloquent,

quent, and so pathetic in her expression—a tone of ardour and enthusiasm so infectious, and so much of the true and agonizing voice of heartstruck wretchedness, that it burdens us with something of the weight of a real sorrow; and we are glad to make ourselves angry at her unaccountableness, in order to get rid of the oppression. It ought to be recollected also, that during the whole course of the correspondence, this poor girl was dying of a painful and irritable disease. Tortured with sickness, or agitated with opium, her blood never seems in all that time to have flowed peaceably in her veins, and her nerves and her passions seem to have reacted upon each other in a series of cruel agitations. Why she is so very wretched, and so very angry, we do not indeed always understand; but there is no mistaking the language of real emotion; and while there is something wearisome, perhaps, in the uniformity of a vehemence of which we do not clearly see the cause, there is something truly *dechirant* in the natural and piteous iteration of her eloquent complainings, and something captivating and noble in the fire and rapidity with which she pours out her emotions. The style is as original and extraordinary as the character of its author. It is quite natural, and even neglected—altogether without gaiety or assumed dignity; and yet full of elegance and spirit, and burning with the flames of a heart abandoned to passion, and an imagination exalted by enthusiasm. It is not easy to fall into the measure of such a composer, in rummaging over a miscellany of amusement; but we cannot avoid adding a few extracts, if it were only to make what we have been saying intelligible to some at least of our readers.

‘ Je me sentois une répugnance mortelle à ouvrir votre lettre : si je n’avois craint de vous offenser, j’allois vous la renvoyer. Quelque chose me disoit qu’elle irriteroit mes maux, et je voulois me ménager. La souffrance continuelle de mon corps affaisse mon ame : j’ai encore eu la fièvre, je n’ai pas fermé l’œil, je n’en puis plus. De grace, par pitié, ne tourmentez plus une vie qui s’éteint, et dont tous les instans sont dévorés par la douleur et par les larmes. Je ne vous accuse point, je n’exige rien, vous ne me devez rien : car, en effet, je n’ai pas eu un mouvement, pas un sentiment auquel j’ai consenti ; et quand j’ai eu le malheur d’y céder, j’ai toujours été la force ou la faiblesse qui m’entraînoit. Vous sçavez que vous ne me devez aucune reconnaissance, et que je n’ai rien de vous à vous faire aucun reproche. Soyez donc libre, retournez à ce que vous aimez, et à ce qui vous convient, plus que vous ne craignez de moi. Laissez-moi à ma douleur, laissez-moi m’occuper sans interruption du seul objet que j’ai adoré, et dont le souvenir m’est plus cher que tout ce qui reste dans la nature. Mon Dieu ! je ne devois pas me plaindre, j’aurois dû le sçavoir ; c’est vous qui m’avez fait vivre, qui faites le

tourment d'une créature que la douleur consume, et qui emploie ce qui lui reste de forces à invoquer la mort. Ah ! vous en faites trop, et pas assez pour moi. Je vous le disois bien il y a huit jours, vous me rendez difficile, exigeante : en donnant tout, on veut obtenir quelque chose. Mais, encore une fois, je vous pardonne, et je ne vous hais point : ce n'est pas par générosité que je vous pardonne, ce n'est pas par bonté que je ne vous hais pas ; c'est que mon ame est lasse, qu'elle meurt de fatigue. Ah ! mon ami, laissez-moi, ne me dites plus que vous m'aimez ; le baume devient du poison ; vous calmez et déchirez ma plaie pour à tour. Oh ! que vous me faites mal ! que la vie me pèse ! que je vous aime pourtant, et que je serois désolée de mettre de la tristesse dans votre ame ! Mon ami, elle est trop partagée, trop dissipée, pour que le vrai plaisir y puisse pénétrer. Vous voulez que je vous voie ce soir ; et bien, venez donc. II. 206—208.

Combien de fois aurois-je pu me plaindre ; combien de fois vous ai-je caché mes larmes ! Ah ! je le vois trop bien : on ne sauroit ni retenir, ni ramener un cœur qui est entraîné par un autre penchant ; je me le dis sans cesse, quelquefois je me crois guérie ; vous paraissez, et tout est détruit. La réflexion, mes résolutions, le malheur, tout perd sa force au premier mot que vous prononcez. Je ne vois plus d'asile que la mort, et jamais aucun malheureux ne l'a invoquée avec plus d'ardeur. Je retiens la moitié de mon ame : sa chaleur, son mouvement vous importuneroit, et vous éteindroit tout-à-fait ; le feu qui n'échauffe pas, incommode. Ah ! si vous saviez, si vous lisiez comme j'ai fait jouir une ame forte et passionnée, du plaisir d'être aimée ! Il comparoit ce qui l'avoit aimé, ce qui l'aimoit encore, et il me disoit sans cesse : " Oh ! elles ne sont pas dignes d'être vos écolières ; votre ame a été chauffée par le soleil de Lima, et mes compatriotes semblent être nés sous les glaces de la Laponie. " Et c'étoit de Madrid qu'il me mandoit cela ! Mon ami, il ne me touoit pas, il jouissoit ; et je ne crois point me louer, quand je vous dis qu'en vous aimant à la folie, je ne vous donne que ce que je ne puis pas garder ou retenir. II. 215—217.

Oh, mon Dieu ! que l'on vit fort lorsqu'on est mort à tout, excepté à un objet qui est l'univers pour nous, et qui s'empare tellement de toutes nos facultés, qu'il n'est plus possible de vivre dans d'autres terres que dans le moment où l'on est. Eh ! comment voulez-vous que je vous dise si je vous aimerois dans trois mois ? Comme je suis, je, avec ma pensée, me distraire de mon sentiment. Mais quand je vous vois, lorsque je vous vois, lorsque votre présence est en moi sans mon ame, je puis vous rendre compte de tout ce que je ressens de votre mariage ; mon ami, je n'en sais rien, mais je me console. Ah ! me guérison, je vous le disois, et vous êtes assés juste pour ne m'en pas blâmer. Ah, au contraire, il portoit le désespoir dans mon ame, je ne me plaindrois pas, et je souffrirois bien peu de temps. Alors vous seriez assez sensé et assez délicat pour approuver un parti qui ne vous coûteroit que des regrets passagers,

sagers, et dont votre nouvelle situation vous distrairait bien vite ; et je vous assure que cette pensée est consolante pour moi : je m'en sens plus libre. Ne me demandez donc plus ce que je ferai lorsque vous aurez engagé votre vie à une autre. Si je n'avais que de la vanité et de l'amour-propre, je serois bien plus éclairée sur ce que j'aprouverai alors. Il n'y a guère de méprise aux calculs de l'amour-propre, il prévoit assez juste : la passion n'a point d'avenir ; ainsi en vous disant : je vous aime, je vous dis tout ce que je sais et tout ce que je sens. Oh ! mon ami, je me sens capable de tout, excepté de plier : j'aurois la force d'un martyr, pour satisfaire ma passion ou celle de la personne qui m'aimerait : mais je ne trouve rien en moi qui me réponde de pouvoir jamais faire le sacrifice de mon sentiment. La vie n'est rien en comparaison, et vous verrez si ce ne sont là que les discours d'une tête exaltée. Oui, peut-être ce sont là les pensées d'une ame exaltée, mais à laquelle appartiennent les actions fortes. Serait ce à la raison qui est si prévoyante, si foible dans ses vues, et m. me si impuissante dans ses moyens, que ces pensées pourroient appartenir ? Mon ami, je ne suis point raisonnable et c'est peut-être la force d'être passionnée que j'ai mis toute ma vie tant de raison à tout ce qui est soumis au jugement et à l'opinion des indifférens. Combien j'ai usurpé d'éloges sur ma modération, sur ma noblesse d'ame, sur mon désintéressement, sur les sacrifices prétendus que je faisois à une mémoire respectable et chère, et à la maison d'Alb. . . ! Voilà comme le monde juge, comme il voit. Eh, bon Dieu ! sots que vous êtes, je ne mérite pas vos louanges : mon ame n'étoit pas faite pour les petits intérêts qui vous occupent ; toute entière au bonheur d'aimer et d'être aimée, il ne m'a fallu ni force, ni honnêteté pour supporter la pauvreté, et pour dédaigner les avantages de la vanité. J'ai tant joui, j'ai si bien senti le prix de la vie, que, s'il falloit recommencer, je voudrois que ce fût aux mêmes conditions. Aimer et souffrir, le ciel, l'enfer, voilà à quoi je me dévouerois, voilà ce que je voudrois sentir, voilà le climat que je voudrois habiter ; et non cet état temperé dans lequel vivent tous les sots et tous les automates dont nous sommes environnés. II, 232-233.

All this is raving no doubt ; but it is the raving of real passion, and of a lofty and powerful spirit. It is the eloquent raving of the heart ; and, when we think that this extraordinary woman wrote all this, not in the days of youthful youth, when the heart is strong for suffering, and takes a stronger interest in the vehemence even of its painful emotions, but after marriage, misery, and with death before her eyes—advancing on the last possible steps, it is impossible not to feel an intense interest in all of this, resentment, and admiration. One still feels the same.

Oh ! que vous serez sur mon âme, lorsque vous me prouverez qu'il doit être content de vous. Je ne suis pas si sotte, mais, mais vous me forcez souvent à le dire. Mais, mais que vous me faites est aigu et profond ! Mon ami, je ne suis pas si sotte, et je meurs de vous en pensant que ce n'est pas de vous. J'ai beau



me dire que je ne méritai jamais le bonheur que je regrette ; mon cœur cette fois fait taire mon amour-propre ; il me dit que, si je dus jamais être aimée, c'étoit de celui qui auroit assez de charme à mes yeux, pour me distraire de M. de M..... et pour me retenir à la vie après l'avoir perdu. Je n'ai fait que languir depuis votre départ ; je n'ai pas été une heure sans souffrance ; le mal de mon ame passe à mon corps ; j'ai tous les jours la fièvre, et mon médecin, qui n'est pas le plus habile de tous les hommes, me répète sans cesse que je suis consumée de chagrin, que mon pouls, que ma respiration annoncent une douleur active ; et il s'en va toujours en me disant : nous n'avons point de remède pour l'ame. Il n'y en a plus pour moi ; ce n'est pas guérir que je voudrois, mais me calmer, mais retrouver quelques momens de repos pour me conduire à celui que la nature m'accordera bientôt. ' III. 146, 7.

' Je n'ai plus assez de force pour mon ame—elle me tue. Vous ne pouvez plus rien sur moi, que me faire souffrir. Ne tachez donc plus à me consoler, et cessez de vouloir me faire le vice de votre morale, après m'avoir fait celle de votre légèreté.—Vous ne m'avez pas vue, parce que la journée n'a que douze heures, et que vous aviez de quoi les remplir par des intérêts et des plaisirs qui vous sont, et qui doivent vous être plus chers que mon malheur. Je ne réclame rien, je n'exige rien, et je me dis sans cesse que la source de mon bonheur et de mon plaisir est perdue pour jamais. ' III. 59.

' We cannot leave our readers with these painful impressions and shall add just one word or two of what is gayest in these desolating volumes.

' M. Grimm est de retour ; je l'ai accablé de questions. Il peint la Czarine, non pas comme une souveraine, mais comme une femme aimable, pleine d'esprit, de saillies, et de tout ce qui peut séduire et charmer. Dans tout ce qu'il me disoit, je reconnoissois plutôt cet art charmant d'une courtisane grecque, que la dignité et l'éclat de l'Impératrice d'un grand empire. ' II. 106.

' Avant dîner je vais voir rue de Cléry des automates qui sont prodigieux, à ce qu'on dit. Quand j'allois dans le monde, je n'aurois pas eu cette curiosité ; deux ou trois soupers en donnent satiété ; mais ceux de la rue de Cléry valent mieux ; ils agissent et ne parlent point. Venez-y, en allant au Marais, et je vous dirai la si j'ai la loge de M. le duc d'Aumont. Madame de G..... ne vous croit point coupable de négligence ; elle m'a demandé si j'allois si si votre retraite étoit encore. Ce que les femmes veulent seulement, c'est d'être préférées. Presque personne n'a besoin d'être aimé, et cela est bien heureux ; car c'est ce qui se fait le plus mal à Paris. Ils osent d'abord se quereller, et ils sont calmes et dissipés ! c'est assurément la mort de la sensibilité et de la passion. Pauvres gens ! il faut les traiter comme les folles. Ils sont bien jolis, bien gentils, bien aimables. Adieu, mes amis. ' II. 107, 108.

' We have not ourselves so room to make any reflections ; except only, that the French fashion of living, and almost of dying,

ing, in public, is nowhere so strikingly exemplified, as in the letters of this victim of passion and of fancy. While her heart is torn with the most agonizing passions, and her thoughts turned hourly on suicide, she dines out and makes visits every day; and, when she is visibly within a few weeks of her end, and is wasted with coughs and with spasms, she still has her *salon* filled twice a day with company, and drags herself out to supper with all the countesses of her acquaintance. There is a great deal of French character, indeed, in both the works of which we now take our leave;—a great deal to admire, and to wonder at—but very little, we think, to envy.

ART. XIV. *Report of the Committee of the African Institution, read at the General Meeting, on the 15th of July 1807; together with the Rules and Regulations which were then adopted for the Government of the Society.* 8vo. pp. 78. London, Hatchard. 1807.

*Second Report of the Committee of the African Institution, read at the Annual General Meeting, on the 25th of March 1808. To which is added, a List of Subscribers.* 8vo. pp. 61. London, Hatchard. 1808.

*Third Report of the Directors of the African Institution, read at the Annual General Meeting, on the 25th of March 1809. To which is added, a List of Subscribers.* 8vo. pp. 72. London, Hatchard. 1809.

WE regret exceedingly that we have been so long prevented from bringing before our readers the very interesting subject alluded to in these title-pages. This delay, however, has not been without its advantages. Instead of describing a project merely, we are now enabled to state something of its actual success. Two or three years ago, we could only have held forth promises; we can now boast of a certain progress in their fulfilment. And this circumstance is the more to be rejoiced in, because no class of political reasoners have ever been so much, so wantonly exposed to the imputations of 'theory,' 'romance,' 'enthusiasm,' and 'fanaticism,' as the enlightened advocates of the African negroes. We shall begin with a sketch of the Institution mentioned in the title of this article,—one of the most interesting, certainly, and the most creditable to the feelings and character of our country, that ever found support within its bounds.

Early in the year 1807, the advocates of the abolition happily succeeded in their grand object, through the cordial and vigorous support of the late administration. The eyes of mankind had for some time been opened to the impolicy of a traffic, of which the iniquity had long been almost universally admitted. The many flimsy pretences under which its friends had so often succeeded in obtaining a respite for it, were now exhausted. Mr Pitt, whose eloquence had been exerted so brilliantly against it, but whose influence had, on all questions connected with it, been uniformly in abeyance, was no more. The pretended difficulties which used to be urged as opposing the abolition, were found easily surmountable; and the measure, which that celebrated orator *could* not, in the fulness of his power, carry—which he found quite impracticable at the moment that he was suspending the habeas corpus bill, enforcing the income tax, and shutting up the Bank of England,—which he never could prevail upon his most servile colleagues to support;—which the very clerks in his offices openly voted against;—that great and righteous measure was carried through Parliament with the utmost ease, and with majorities altogether unexampled, by a cabinet which had recently lost its most illustrious member,—which was composed of three or four jarring parties,—which had no very fast hold of the country, and had the court decidedly hostile. In its last moments, indeed, on the eve of its dismissal from power, that ministry, supported only by the excellence of their cause, and bringing to its assistance nothing but their fair and honest zeal, abolished for ever the slave trade, which had for twenty years baffled the round periods of their eloquent predecessor, and had increased yearly and hourly under the pressure of his fostering hostility.\* Those men deserved well of their country, and of mankind. Let us hope that they found, in their own bosoms, the reward which they so richly merited; and that, with less professions than some others, they had charity enough to forgive those active, and, we admit, most powerful

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\* We must always repeat, as often as the occasion occurs, the lamentable statement, that after Mr Pitt had been making at the rate of half a dozen orations per annum against the slave trade, he suffered it to increase more than double under his administration, when an Order in Council might have stopped its growth, as he himself afterwards demonstrated. We believe every abolitionist is now convinced that, although he was unquestionably sincere in his talk on this subject, he was not very zealous; and that his speeches, among the finest ever delivered in Parliament, only showed his willingness to do whatever cost nothing to help the cause. Just so he declaimed against abuses, and lived surrounded with speculators.

powerful friends of the abolition, who were the first to join in the fanatical outcry against them, as soon as they retired from power.

This great measure being thus carried, the virtuous and enlightened supporters of it considered that their labours, however successful, were by no means at an end. They had accomplished much; they had carried their first and greatest point; they had put an end to the trade which checked, or rather blasted in its bud, the improvement of the African continent. But they were disposed to view this only as the removal of an impediment to their further operations, and as the first step towards the attainment of an object, which they conceived themselves called upon, by their principles, to promote still more actively. By the crimes and follies of Europeans, they said, Africa has been kept for ages in darkness and misery; and a heavy debt has been accumulating on all white men, to that race whose interests have been so long sacrificed to theirs. As far as England is concerned, the increase of this debt is now stopped; but that is no reason why she should not think of paying it off. Had she never interfered to check the civilization of Africa, there might have been no particular call upon her to assist actively in promoting it. But as she was the very principal cause of its being retarded, while she trafficked in slaves; so, contended those humane and liberal persons, she ought now to interfere, in order to accelerate its progress, and make up for the time formerly lost through her means.

Without very nicely scrutinizing the soundness of those reasonings, or pretending to assert that they are wholly free from refinement and figurative allusions, every one, we think, must admit, that the feelings which gave rise to them were in the highest degree generous and exalted—worthy of the distinguished persons who had for so many years fought the battles of the abolition, and honourable to the age and the country which gave them birth. Nor can the most cold and calculating politician deny, that a certain degree of care and expense, skillfully applied to the furtherance of African civilization, formed a most appropriate sequel to the destruction of the slave trade—its greatest, and almost its only enemy.

Influenced by such views, a very numerous meeting of the friends of the Abolition was assembled on the 14th of April 1807. A general resolution to form an institution was adopted, and a committee appointed to report upon the proper regulations. In some respects, the particular time was rather unfavourable. Party dissensions ran uncommonly high. The friends of the cause were divided by these disputes. Some of them had recently, to their  
eternal

eternal disgrace, been the prime movers of that intrigue, which chased the late ministry from power, and had spread abroad the base outcry, which threatened to involve the country in all the evils of religious persecution. Even some of the most enlightened friends of the African cause, had departed from a neutrality prescribed to them by every feeling of gratitude, as well as justice; and had joined, from the momentary influence of alarm, we are willing to think, in those wild and pernicious clamours, making themselves subservient to the purposes of a few desperate intriguers, almost all supporters of the slave-trade, and becoming accessory to the attempts of those persons, to deliver over to the fury of a fanatical multitude, the statesmen who had destroyed that infernal traffic. Let us draw a veil over that scene. We cannot view it, and recollect its harsh and discordant features, without affliction and humiliation. We make every allowance for the weakness of human nature,—always, unhappily, most conspicuously shown on the most sacred of subjects. Those dissensions, we fervently hope, are now forgotten on both sides—or, at least, only remembered by the one party, for the purposes of contrition and amendment—and by the other, for the sake of sympathy and forgiveness. Nor should we have noticed them on the present occasion, except for the sake of explaining why the new institution lingered for a long time through a very sickly childhood; and seemed, in the eyes of many, more likely to perish in the cradle, than to reach a mature and useful age. The conduct to which we referred, excited the discontent of vast numbers who were favourable to the cause, and so far disgusted some of its most powerful and zealous advocates, both political and literary, as to prevent them from taking any part in the new plan, until time, the great healer of dissensions among friends, had smoothed the way to the renewal of a cordial cooperation.

It proved a very fortunate circumstance, that the General Constituent Meeting was held before the disputes alluded to had reached any great height. The late, or, as we are disposed to term them, with reference to this subject, the Abolition Ministry had been driven from the helm, on the very day on which they had accomplished their favourite measure. They had seen, a few days afterwards, the original advocates of the abolition give a silent vote in Parliament, negating a resolution approving of their conduct while in power, without making even one solitary remark by way of exception in favour of their last and greatest act. Nevertheless, they could overlook all this, confident that it injured any one rather than themselves, and reflecting that they had been actuated in their conduct towards Africa by hatred of the slave-trade, and not by any poor project of securing Parliamentary support.

port. They accordingly attended the meeting held on the 14th of April, and took an active share in its proceedings. They did not find it so easy to persuade their friends, and the disinterested friends of the abolition throughout the country, to adopt the same rational and dignified views; and, during the turbulent scenes which soon after followed, not only was the African Institution wholly neglected, but the general election displayed, in some places, the novel, and one would fain have thought, inexplicable sight of the original patrons of the cause, opposed by the Abolition interest. We again pass these afflicting events over, as slightly as historical accuracy will permit."

As soon as the tumults and disputes in question had subsided, on the 15th of July another general assembly was held to receive the report of the committee appointed at last meeting. This paper, which is distinguished by great ability, a perfect knowledge of the subject, and an uncommon degree of fairness and candour, forms the first of the works which now lie before us. We earnestly recommend it to the attention of our readers, and regret that our limits do not allow us to present them with a full abstract of it. The general objects of the institution, however, are so successfully defended in it, and the means to be adopted for promoting them are so ably sketched, that we shall briefly advert to some of its parts, beginning with the resolutions adopted by the constituent meeting, as the basis of the association. We extract these as containing the best summary of the views which influenced the formation of this establishment.

1. That this meeting is deeply impressed with a sense of the enormous wrongs which the natives of Africa have suffered in their intercourse with Europe; and from a desire to repair those wrongs, as well as from general feelings of benevolence, is anxious to adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote their civilization and happiness.

2. That the approaching cessation of the Slave-Trade hitherto carried on by Great Britain, America, and Denmark, will, in a considerable degree, remove the barrier which has so long obstructed the natural course of social improvement in Africa; and that the way will be thereby opened for introducing the comforts and arts of a more civilized state of society.

3. That the happiest effects may be reasonably anticipated from diffusing useful knowledge, and exciting industry among the inhabitants of Africa, and from obtaining and circulating throughout this country more ample and authentic information concerning the agricultural and commercial faculties of that vast Continent; and that through the judicious prosecution of these benevolent endeavours, we may ultimately look forward to the establishment, in the room of that traffic, by which Africa has been so long degraded, of a legiti-

mate and far more extended commerce, beneficial alike to the natives of Africa, and to the manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland.

4. That the present period is eminently fitted for prosecuting these benevolent designs;—since the suspension, during the war, of that large share of the Slave-Trade, which has commonly been carried on by France, Spain, and Holland; will, when combined with the effect of the Abolition Laws of Great Britain, America, and Denmark, produce nearly the entire cessation of that traffic along a line of coast extending between two and three thousand miles in length, and thereby afford a peculiarly favourable opportunity for giving a new direction to the industry and commerce of Africa.

5. That for these purposes a Society be immediately formed, to be called *THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.* 1st Report, p. 65—67.

Assuming that the objects thus briefly sketched out are abundantly interesting, the Report proceeds to obviate the difficulties which may appear to lie in the way of their attainment; and particularly ‘to remove the most specious objection to the design, viz. despair of its success.’ The first reason for this despair seems to be founded on the alleged inferiority of the negro,—the narrowness of his intellectual capacity,—and his moral depravity. We have so frequently, in the course of our remarks on the abolition, while that great event was bringing about, discussed the question of the negro character, more particularly in our Eleventh Number, that we need not be stopped long with the subject at present. It is treated here in an animated and impressive manner. We extract the following passages, as very striking.

‘The portrait of the negro has seldom been drawn but by the pencil of his oppressor; and he has sat for it in the distorted attitude of slavery. That there have been found in him such vices as in all ages and countries have been the fruit of private bondage, need not be denied: but that these have been much exaggerated by prejudice and contempt, and still more by policy and party spirit, is no less certain.

While the Aborigines of the West Indies were sinking under the oppression of the Spaniards, they were described by those adventurers as cannibals and monsters; and the Court of Castile gave implicit credit to such calumnies, till it was disabused, when too late, by the humane efforts of Las Casas. The African also is oppressed in the new world, and vilified in the old. His oppressors, like those of the Indians, were at length accused at the bar of their country; and recrimination was the expedient to which some of them resorted, in order to vindicate their conduct. They have denied that the Negro possesses either the feelings, or the moral or intellectual capacity of a human being.

Yet here their testimony has proved to be not a little discordant; so that, with a moderate allowance for the ordinary effects of oppression, the character of the Negro might be vindicated by the admissions or inconsistencies of his enemies.

‘ If he be accused of brutal stupidity by one of these prejudiced witnesses; another, or perhaps the same, taxes him with the most refined dissimulation, and the most ingenious methods of deceit. If the Negroes are represented as base and cowardly; they are, in the same volume, exhibited as braving death in its most hideous forms, with more than human fortitude. Insensibility and excessive passion, apathy and enthusiasm, want of natural affection and a fond attachment to their friends, shipmates and countrymen, are all ascribed to them by the same inconsistent pens. We are told, by almost every colonial writer, that severe coercion is necessary to quicken them to action; yet some of those authorities, and among them the most celebrated advocate of Negro slavery in France, ascribe to them an almost preternatural energy. After working for twenty-four hours without remission, they will, according to the last mentioned writer, voluntarily travel two or three leagues, spend the whole night in dancing and revelling, and return by day-break to take their share in the most arduous labours of the field, without any intermediate repose. They will, he assures us, pass an entire week without sleep, and yet go through their accustomed toil with their usual vigour. In short, he describes them as possessing bodily qualities far superior to those of other men; and states it as a strong argument for effecting a counter-revolution in St Domingo, that if, to such physical powers, intellectual culture were added, the Negroes might conquer the world.\*

‘ But we might appeal also to other hostile testimony, which is less inconsistent with itself; for some colonial writers, amidst their zeal for slavery and the slave trade, have occasionally aspired to the praise of candour in regard to the moral character of the Slaves, and have expressly repelled some of the accusations which have been adduced by other writers of the same party. The ingenuity of the Negroes is admitted or defended by one eminent authority; their gratitude by another, their parental and filial affection by a third, their humanity by a fourth, their docility and improvement under religious instruction, by all who have treated on this subject.

‘ Your Committee are unwilling to swell their Report by extracts in proof of these remarks; but they beg to refer to Mr Bryan Edwards, to M. Malouet, to Dr Ferriar, and to a highly intelligent work published in London in 1803, entitled, “*Practical Rules for the Management and medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies*.” The author has only designated himself as a Professional Planter; but the work is generally ascribed to the late Dr Collins of St Vincent, a celebrated apologist of the slave trade. *First Report*, p. 18—22.

‘ These and various other observations are made upon the general character of the Africans. But there is one quality which has been, by their interested enemies, more especially denied to them

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\* Barre de St Vincent, p. 375, 380.



—and it is the most important in reference to the objects of the Institution;—we mean, industry, and a capacity of voluntary labour. It has been affirmed, by the men who were hunting after pretexts for enslaving those unfortunate tribes, that there was no other way of making them work,—that they were incapable of any but compulsory exertions,—and that the lash alone could move them to labour. We have, on the occasions above alluded to, shewn how fallacious all such notions are, and proved that they arose from a mistake, wilful, we verily believe, in most cases, of the character of the negro debased by slavery, for his natural character;—that, in short, men have argued for the incapacity of the negro man to work voluntarily, from the unwillingness of the negro slave to do so. The First Report touches, in a masterly manner, on this topic; and shows, by the facts and reasonings so often appealed to in this Journal, that the slave trade and slavery, alone, have kept Africa in its lamentable state of indolence and barbarism. The most decisive circumstance which can be cited on this head, is the remarkable improvement always observed by travellers in the character and condition of the Africans, in proportion as they penetrate to a distance from the slave-markets on the coast. The report obviates, in like manner, the objection, that, in our colonies, free negroes and mulattoes are little prone to industry.

‘It has indeed been reported to them, that, when in a state of freedom in our Colonies, they are never known to work in the field, or in any other laborious occupation. This fact has been repeatedly adduced as an argument for the necessity of Slavery and the Slave-Trade: but the argument is quite fallacious, and can impose on those only who are utterly unacquainted with colonial affairs. The truth is, that the free Negroes and Mulattoes in the West Indies do not often work in husbandry or other coarse kinds of labour, because such occupations, being the ordinary business of Slaves, are not only disreputable, but far less profitable than others, in which every free workman may find full employment. There, no Negro obtains his freedom but by means of facilities superior to that of throwing the hoe, or carrying a basket; and hardly any Negro, born to freedom, is uninstructed in some trade or profession more lucrative than ordinary labour, unless, which rarely happens, he is rich enough to live without any exertion of his own industry. The argument therefore is just as fair, as if the indolence of Englishmen were to be inferred from the fact, that our gentry and citizens do not follow the plough.’ *First Report*, p. 33, 34.

The failure of the Sierra Leone plan, is next considered. To account for this, it is quite sufficient to reflect, that it was undertaken in 1791, on the supposition, then so natural, of the slave trade being about to cease;—that, instead of this expectation being

ing realized, the traffic in question increased daily and hourly in growth;—that the Company in vain besought Parliament to check the trade, at least in the narrow district where the colony was planted;—and that this benevolent establishment had thus to struggle, not only with all the difficulties which check the growth, and frequently terminate the existence of such communities, but with an evil of the greatest magnitude, affecting the very essence of its plan and constitution. In truth, while the slave trade continued, the Sierra Leone Company were making a feeble resistance, in favour of African civilization, against the whole resources of the traders leagued to promote the barbarism of the negroes. We must also allow, that a colonial and mercantile speculation was little calculated to promote the objects in view, even if the slave traffic had not existed; and the terms upon which this speculation was undertaken, were such as precluded almost all chance of its succeeding. On this head, the following remarks deserve peculiar attention.

‘ In attempting to found a new colony, which, if successful, was to give to this country great commercial advantages, the Company took upon itself the whole charge of the civil government, of the public works, and of the military defence of the settlement. At the same time, no part of the possible profits was secured exclusively to itself. If the richest channels of commerce had been eventually opened at Sierra Leone, every one of his Majesty’s subjects would have had the same right to trade there as the Company or its members. No monopoly, no commercial privilege, was obtained or asked.

‘ In the case that has arisen, the want of such a consideration for the liberal undertaking of the Company, may have been of little importance to its interests: but that undertaking was without any precedent in modern times; and its singular liberality might alone furnish an adequate reason for its failure.

‘ In no other part of the world, since the value of colonial commerce, and the expense of colonial establishments have been known, have men associated to settle in an uncivilized country upon terms like these. The mother country, sure of reaping the fruits of their success, has commonly undertaken the charge of their government and protection; and, it may be added, that this charge has borne no small proportion to the early value of even the most prosperous colony.

‘ Let, for instance, an inquiry be made, what was the charge of civil government, what the cost of fortifications, of military garrisons, and of the various other public services connected with the settlement of Dominica and St Vincent; and it would probably appear, that more than the whole amount of the capital of the Sierra Leone Company was sunk by the public in each of those islands, after their cession by France in 1763, before they were made in any

degree valuable to this country. But in Sierra Leone, all these expenses were borne by the Company, till it could defray them no longer; and, when the colony was totally laid waste in the last war by invasion, the Company sustained the whole cost of its restitution. The assistance since received from Parliament has come too late to save the stock of the proprietors, though it may possibly be the source of much future benefit to the nation.

‘When these circumstances are considered, even if we admit that the undertaking of the Company, regarded as a mere commercial enterprise, has failed, we may yet safely affirm, that its failure has been less discouraging than that of the first settlers in the most valuable of our colonial possessions. It is notorious that, in the ceded islands before adverted to, though now, or lately, in a state of high prosperity, almost every private capital, that was at first embarked in their cultivation, was lost to the adventurers. So extensive was the ruin, that the very easy purchase money of lands reserved to the government, though forming the first lien upon them, remained for the most part unpaid; and Mr Edwards questions, whether a shilling of the nominal sales ever found its way into the treasury.’ *First Report*, p. 46—49.

It must, however, be remembered, that the Sierra Leone plan, though it failed as far as the Company’s stock was concerned, and though it produced no great improvement in Africa when opposed to the slave trade, has established a depôt highly useful for future attempts of a more judicious description—has furnished a variety of encouraging information respecting the capacity and habits of the natives—and has enabled the new Institution also to procure various instruments wherewith their operations may be recommenced. That benevolent scheme, too, has been productive of another very material advantage, which we cannot so well describe as in the words of the first Report.

‘But a still higher advantage, derived from the labours of the Sierra Leone Company is, that the principles upon which we proceed, and the objects which we aim to accomplish, will not, in that important part of Africa, excite either surprise or distrust.

‘The greatest of all obstacles perhaps to the civilization of the natives of Africa by European means, would be the diffidence in our intentions which they might reasonably entertain. A poor negro might well conceive, that a white man could have no other design, in counting his acquaintance, than to make a slave of him, and carry him from the coast. But the experience of fifteen years has now convinced the inhabitants of at least that part of the Continent which is in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, that benevolence and good faith may really reside under a white complexion; that there are Englishmen who abhor the slave-trade, and who, far from kidnapping the merchant or labourer who puts himself in their power, desire nothing but his improvement and happiness.

‘Nor

‘ Nor can it be supposed that the knowledge of this surprising fact is confined to the immediate vicinity of Sierra Leone. Its novelty has, no doubt, caused it to be known in more distant countries: so that Englishmen, who may now solicit a commercial intercourse, even with a people of a country considerably remote from that settlement, may gain credit for their real purpose, and not be suspected of meditating violence and fraud under the mask of fair negotiations.

‘ It is probable that no experience, much short of that term which has elapsed since the settlement of Sierra Leone, would have sufficed to produce this consequence; and the progress of conviction may have been aided, even by the perseverance of the Company, under its misfortunes.’ *First Report*, p. 53—55.

We cannot pursue any farther this very interesting Report. We have spoken highly of its merits; and our readers will be the less surprised, when we inform them, that common fame ascribes it to the pen of Mr Stephen. It is certainly equal to any of his former productions; and though drawn up with almost unexampled rapidity, is distinguished by a chaster manner than usually marks his animated and impressive vein of eloquence. It is now, however, necessary that we should turn to another view of the subject, and contemplate the means by which the new Institution purposes to accomplish the noble and captivating objects above delineated and defended.

First of all, the African Institution, wise by the example of the Sierra Leone Company, disclaims in the outset all projects of a colonial or commercial nature. It embarrasses itself with no concerns of government—no mercantile speculations—no factories or forts—not even with the possession of a single ship, or an acre of ground. This clears the way for exertion, not only by removing every suspicion of unworthy or doubtful motives, but by throwing off a thousand clogs which must have hampered an establishment of a different character. For obvious reasons, the Society also disclaims all schemes of religious mission; and avowing, upon that important subject, not certainly any kind of indifference, but a wise and necessary neutrality, it leaves in other hands the task of propagating the gospel among the Africans, and confines its own exertions to the introduction of that civilization which is the best preparative for the truths of Christianity. Not to mention other reasons for this salutary caution, it has one most important and beneficial effect. It opens wide the doors of the Institution to all sects and denominations of Christians,—whom it thus invites to cooperate for purposes equally subservient to every form of worship, and every modification of religious belief.

Such being the wise precautions by which the Institution steers

clear of former errors, let us see to what particular objects its exertions are proposed to be directed. We cannot exhibit these in a more authentic or satisfactory shape, than by extracting the following passage from the fundamental laws of the Society.

'The means which it is proposed to employ for the purpose of promoting civilization and improvement in Africa, are of the following kind.

1. To collect and diffuse, throughout this country, accurate information respecting the natural productions of Africa, and, in general, respecting the agricultural and commercial capacities of the African Continent, and the intellectual, moral and political condition of its inhabitants.

2. To promote the instruction of the Africans in letters and in useful knowledge, and to cultivate a friendly connexion with the natives of that Continent.

3. To endeavour to enlighten the minds of the Africans with respect to their true interests; and to diffuse information amongst them, respecting the means whereby they may improve the present opportunity of substituting a beneficial commerce in place of the slave trade.

4. To introduce amongst them such of the improvements and useful arts of Europe as are suited to their condition.

5. To promote the cultivation of the African soil, not only by exciting and directing the industry of the natives, but by furnishing, where it may appear advantageous to do so, useful seeds and plants, and implements of husbandry.

6. To introduce amongst the inhabitants beneficial medical discoveries.

7. To obtain a knowledge of the principal languages of Africa, and, as has already been found to be practicable, to reduce them to writing, with a view to facilitate the diffusion of information among the natives of that country.

8. To employ suitable agents, and to establish correspondences, as shall appear advisable; and to encourage and reward individual enterprise and exertion in promoting any of the purposes of the Institution.' *First Report*, p. 69—71.

We should, however, omit the most important, and by far the most practicable service, which the Institution proposes to render the cause of Africa, if we did not add that which occurs in the same document, though it is, by some oversight, or by some still greater error, omitted in the preceding list—we mean the resolution adopted from the beginning, and since steadily pursued, of watching over the strict execution of the abolition laws—of procuring all information respecting the evasion or breach of those laws, which daring speculators may attempt—of keeping the attention of the government alive, and quickening the exertions of the crown-officers on those points—of suggesting, from time to time; such

im-

improvements in those laws as a practical experience of their imperfections, or the change of circumstances may point out; and, finally, of promoting, as far as possible, by communicating information and other appropriate methods, the abolition of the African slave-trade in foreign countries. If the whole exertions of this establishment were confined to this one object—of every other means of improving Africa were left to the natural course of things—if the Institution only claimed the merit of succeeding to the Abolition Society, and of promoting the execution of the law by the same resources of information and ability—by the same inexhaustible resources of zealous perseverance, which enabled that body to triumph over the slave traffic, and obtain the enactment of the law—we would acknowledge that this merit was of the highest order, and that the new Institution deserved,—and we could give it no higher praise, to be ranged with the committee of the learned, the amiable, the enlightened, Granville Sharpe.

Our readers will probably have anticipated, that we regard some of the objects, now enumerated, as much more valuable, because more attainable than others. The rigorous execution of the abolition, we are disposed to place in the first class. This service is quite essential to the improvement of Africa. It is one which a body, like the African Institution, is well adapted to perform;—it is one which no government can safely be entrusted with; and least of all a government composed of noted friends to the slave-trade, like that which was established at the same time with the Institution itself. Next to this primary object, which we implore the directors of the Society ever to keep steadily before their eyes, without suffering more ambitious and alluring projects to seduce them from it,—we conceive the most practicable part of the plan to be that which consists in procuring, by means of travellers and correspondents, useful information respecting Africa, and diffusing the same throughout this country. Nothing can lead more surely, though other plans may seem to conduce more directly, to the improvement of that great Continent. Of the labours of the African Association we would speak with all the respect which its praiseworthy object prescribes: but they have of late years languished most unhappily; and there is reason to suspect that their plan is an inefficient one, or that their means have been too scanty, or that the prevalence of anti-abolition influence among their leading members produced an unfavourable effect on their operations. Certain it is, that they have done little; and no less certain, we fear, that they began at the wrong end of Africa, attempting to penetrate through districts either possessed by, or contiguous to, the Moors, instead of attending to the more southern points of the Continent.

Adapted to this object, is that which stands seventh on the list above given—the acquisition of the African languages with a view to facilitate an intercourse with the natives: and the most practicable as well as the most important of the more active operations contemplated by the Institution, is the introduction of useful arts and inventions among the natives—especially of the more beneficial medical discoveries, and some of the common mechanical and agricultural arts. When we reflect how much skill, ingenuity and industry, has been found among the negro tribes at a distance from the coast, we cannot have any doubt that a simple communication of European inventions will have the happiest effects, both in improving the more civilized tribes, and in teaching arts to such as have hitherto been kept from making any considerable progress in the arts, by the various evils of the slave-trade. But, if any one doubts of this, let him consult the highly interesting accounts, published by the Quakers in America, of their progress in improving the least tractable of all savages, the Indians of the back settlements;—in drawing them from the hunting, into the agricultural state,—and in weaning them from the most idle, dissolute, and fatal habits, to those of sober and industrious peasants. We formerly laid before our readers the details of this subject; and they are decisive of the question of practicability, as far as relates to the improvement of the Africans, by the most useful and salutary of all missionaries—husbandmen and mechanics; who preach industry by their example,—gain confidence by their inoffensive lives,—and teach the arts of civilized life by quietly practising them among rude tribes. This is the principle of the Quaker missions; and we earnestly recommend it to the African directors, as fit to be their fundamental principle, also.

With such views was the Institution established in 1807; and the management of its affairs was confided to the most able and active of the abolitionists. The Duke of Gloucester stood among the foremost of these;—he presided as president. And, of the directors who chiefly carried on its ordinary business along with that distinguished Prince, we shall only mention the names of Messrs Wilberforce, Thornton, Vansittart, W. Smith, Brougham, Clarkson, G. Sharp, Allen, and Stephen, and Macaulay.—Mr Macaulay, to the infinite advantage of the Society, undertook the laborious and difficult office of secretary, until a permanent arrangement could be effected for filling it. A respectable subscription was entered into. About three thousand pounds were speedily raised. At the end of 1808, this had increased to 4374*l.*;—of which 531*l.* arose from annual subscriptions. Since that time, the funds have been augmented by many donations; and the list of annual contributors has increased. We cannot enter further into

into the details; but we must notice one very liberal benefaction, from the peculiar circumstances of the case. That humane and peaceful sect of Christians, the Quakers, whose unceasing exertions for the abolition contributed so eminently to the success of the measure, did not seem at first to take a very active part in the new Institution: as a body, at least, they did not come forward in its support. That they wished well to it, however, no man could doubt; and several of its most distinguished members belonging to the connexion of Friends. Not many months ago, a donation of *five hundred guineas* was transmitted from a person of that sect to the Institution, in such a manner, and with such precautions, that the name of the benefactor could by no means be discovered. We lament, among others, that we are thus prevented from adding our tribute of gratitude more specifically to this amiable and generous man.

We shall now pursue our notices of the progress already made by the Institution. These must necessarily be general; but we refer the reader, for the details, to the published Reports. The second, made at the general meeting, 25th March 1803, and the third, on the 25th March 1809, (the anniversary of the abolition), contain a variety of most interesting particulars, relative to the progress of the Society, but to the state of the African continent.

Communications have been made to the governor of Sierra Leone, empowering him to encourage the acquisition of the Arabic and Susoo languages, by Europeans in that colony. The former has been extended, by the Mahometan conquests, over a large part of the west coast. The latter, beside being spoken generally on the coast for 150 miles north of the colony, is understood by the Foulahs and Mandingoes; and is the mother tongue of the extensive country of Jolonkadoo, where the Niger is said to take its rise. Its acquisition has been greatly facilitated by the labours of Mr Brunton, a missionary, to whose learning and zeal we owe a Susoo grammar and vocabulary, with several other tracts. The governor has been directed, to engage proper teachers to superintend the proficiency of the scholars, and to encourage both by appropriate rewards.

The Board has also sent to the same settlement three African youths, who had been carefully educated in this country, and had been especially qualified to act as schoolmasters, by instruction in Mr Lancaster's system of education. They had made great progress in their studies; and had acted for some time as teachers at the Lancastrian school of the Royal Military Asylum. They likewise had some knowledge of drawing; and two of them were well acquainted with the weaving of cotton. The go-



vernor of Sierra Leone has been directed to encourage the schools established under those young men, by all his influence with the native chiefs; and he has also been empowered to send over to this country such other African youths as may be qualified to attain a similar proficiency in arts not easily to be acquired at that settlement.

A large quantity of the finest cotton seed has been sent by the Board for distribution in Africa; it being wisely judged, that, under the pressure of the Orders in Council, no article is likely so well to repay the cost of its cultivation. Above fifteen tons had been transmitted at the date of the last anniversary (March 1809); and a part of it had arrived—was sown—and thriving exceedingly. Instructions for its culture and preparation, from the sowing, to the period of its final embarkation, have been likewise distributed among the natives, with the parcels of the seed; and seven cotton gins, with the iron work for twelve more, were sent out, to serve for present use, as well as to furnish models for similar machinery.

It being stated that a species of the palm-tree, abounding in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, yields excellent hemp, and a specimen having been produced to the Board, the proper utensils for examining this point, have been sent out; and directions have been also given to try the use of the mangrove bark in tanning, which the reports already received authorise us to expect will succeed perfectly. A machine for expressing castor-oil has also been furnished, the nut growing in great luxuriance on the African coast. The Board has further sent out plants of the white mulberry, Peruvian bark, campher, tobacco and tea tree, under the superintendence of a person skilled in gardening.

Of the premiums offered by the Board, two have been claimed, and one awarded. The latter has been given to Messrs Andersons, merchants in London, for the importation of 10,000 lib. of cotton, the growth of the island of Tapo, in Sierra Leone river. It was of good quality, and sold for 2s. 8d. per pound. Had it been properly gathered and cleaned, it would have fetched a higher price. Another quantity sent home brought 2s. 10d., though labouring under similar defects. Messrs Andersons have since greatly increased their plantations: not less than six hundred acres over and above their former grounds, were prepared for planting in May 1808. The premium for rice was claimed for eleven tons; but was withheld, because those were imported, not into this country, but the West Indies, contrary to the conditions. The cultivation of several articles, as coffee, pepper, and palm-oil, to which the soil and climate of Africa are peculiarly well adapted, have hitherto been greatly impeded by the state of the duties.

duties in this country. The Board has accordingly made proper representations to the Government on this point, and entertain little doubt that these will prove effectual.

The most important object, however, of all, remains to be noticed. The Board has been actively employed, in giving effect to the abolition act, by bringing to light the evasions or violations of it by the arts of slave-merchants abroad, and their coadjutors in this country. The difficulty of obtaining such proofs as may bring these nefarious practices to condign punishment, need scarcely be pointed out. It would be highly impolitic in the Board to disclose, in a public Report, their information on this subject, or to state the proceedings which they are adopting, for the purposes of justice and prevention. We shall preserve the same silence; merely stating that our readers may be assured the Institution does not slumber over this its chief duty; and entreating such of them as have the means of giving information, which may assist in detecting the practices in question, to transmit it without delay, either to the publishers of this Journal, or to the Institution in London. \*

The furtherance of the abolition by foreign powers, is another most important object of solicitude with the Board; and to assist this, they have resolved to translate and circulate abolition tracts in the countries where the trade continues to find protectors. They also have never ceased to draw the attention of his Majesty's ministers to it, and have received assurances of as effectual a cooperation as circumstances will permit. We confess, however, that, from such a government, little is to be expected in this way. If two of the ministers were formerly favourable to the cause, one of those is now out of office; and who or what the new ones may be,—whether they are for or against the question, it is impossible for us to say, who are barely acquainted with their names. We look to Parliament for a more active and powerful interference on this point; and shall dismiss the topic with remarking, in fairness to Lord Castlereagh, who lately held the seals for the colonial department, that, though always a decided enemy of the abolition, as soon as the act passed, he showed himself, on all occasions, disposed fairly, and even actively, to assist in enforcing it.

Our readers will now expect some account of the effects which the abolition has already produced in Africa. We shall begin with an extract from Governor Ludlam's account of the effects produced by the last efforts of the slave-trade,—by the exertions

\* The address of the secretary, Mr Macaulay, is, Birchen Lane, London.

of the traders as soon as the day of the abolition was fixed. It is dated *November* 1807.

"The war in Rokelle is suspended: all parties seem to have been too busy in *trade* to think of regular war. The same is the case in Sherbro. In both places, they are catching each other openly and secretly, and on all manner of pretences; but not fighting.

"I believe, however, that more money will be lost than gained in the slave trade this year. Most of those who did not go off very early, have met with many difficulties in obtaining their slaves, and provisions sufficient to carry them off. They have also suffered much in their crews, officers as well as men.

"Several vessels are reported to have been lost or cut off, chiefly to leeward; and several insurrections have happened. The reason is said to be, that a great number of Beach-men,\* and Grumettas† have been sent off, in consequence of the unusual demand for slaves." *2d Rep.* p. 17.

As a contrast, we present the following very pleasing extracts from the Third Report, comprising later accounts from the same respectable quarter.

"Letters from the governor of Sierra Leone, dated in May last, (1808) state, that the colony was on the most friendly terms with the surrounding natives; and that its influence among them had of late rapidly increased. None of those massacres, which were predicted as an inevitable consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, had occurred in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone! Only one trial for witchcraft had taken place for a long time; whereas formerly such trials used to be very frequent: and although, in that one case, the accused had been found guilty, she had not been put to death; but, after some time, had been set at liberty.

"There is no fear," observes the governor, "but that the natives in this neighbourhood will have abundant employment. Hitherto they have been chiefly busied in the manufacture of salt, which is in great demand. Their rice fields have certainly been prepared this year a fortnight or three weeks earlier than usual, from which I prognosticate well.

"All the wars round us are suspended for the present. I do not say that they are suspended in consequence of the abolition; but the abolition is very likely to prevent their revival.

"There can be no doubt, that the communication between the coast and the interior is in a fair way of being more open."—"In the breeding of cattle, we are greatly improving: their numbers increase, and

\* "This is the name given to the persons, residing on the coast, who act as interpreters to the captains of ships, and assist them in conducting their trade."

† "Or domestic servants. These have always been considered as not liable to be sold, unless when convicted of crimes to which the crime of slavery is attached."

and they thrive well." And, in a subsequent letter, it is stated, that oxen are now used in the draught, much to the advantage of the colony.

He thus concludes one of his letters—

"This has certainly been one of the quietest and most uninteresting years I have known in Africa. I have neither trials for witchcraft, nor wars, nor kidnappings, to speak of in my journal. Perhaps we have the abolition to thank for it."

In a letter, of so late a date as November last, (1809) the governor writes—"I have no doubt, that, if things go on as they do, this will soon be the first place on the coast of Africa." And he expresses his sincere belief, that "commerce and agriculture will overspread this almost depopulated part of Africa;" and that, "if the colony receives encouragement from the British government, it will, in no very long time, repay the benefits received."

The information from Goree is also very encouraging. A letter from that island, dated in December last, represents Major Maxwell, the present commandant of that island, as indefatigable in his exertions to promote cultivation and civilization in that part of Africa. He has a plantation on the opposite shore, which he keeps in a high state of cultivation, chiefly with a view to stimulate the natives to follow his example. He has been supplied with some of the cotton seed transmitted to the coast of Africa by the Directors; and has had a cotton gin constructed after the model of one of those lately sent out.

A communication has also been received from the Gold Coast respecting the political state, and the agricultural faculties, of that part of Africa; which tends to encourage the hope, that much may be done towards its improvement, if adequate means are employed to that end. *3d Rep.* p. 16—19.

These facts speak whole volumes; and we need only add, that a very considerable increase of the lawful and direct trade with the African coast has already supplied, in part, the blank occasioned by the cessation of the traffic in slaves.

We have now brought to a close our notice of the important and interesting subjects treated of in the works before us. To these tracts we again beg leave to refer our readers. It will afford us the most pure satisfaction to think that, among those who peruse the pages of this widely circulated Journal, some honest and enlightened men may be found, whose attention, not previously called to the subject, shall be fixed by the foregoing details; and we shall rejoice greatly and sincerely to learn that our efforts have added a single active associate to the Institution whose history we have been tracing. Much has been done in the formation of the Society—somewhat in the commencement of its operations. But we earnestly hope that these are only the slender beginnings of an establishment, whose mature strength, and final grandeur, are destined to throw its origin into the shade.

ART. XV. *Short Remarks on the State of Parties at the Close of the Year 1829.* 8vo. pp. 30. London, 1829.

**F**EW of our readers, I think, are capable of insulting them, at such a moment as the present, with any notice of the squabbles of Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, or the more pacific reprimands of Lords Melville and Mulgrave. The parties to which we wish to call their attention, are not the parties in the Cabinet,—nor even the parties in Parliament,—but the parties in the Nation;—that nation, whose opinions and whose spirit ought to admonish and controul both Cabinet and Parliament, but which seems to us to be itself breaking rapidly into two furious and irreconcilable parties, by whose collision, if it be not prevented, our constitution and independence must be speedily destroyed. We have said before, that the root of all our misfortunes was in the state of the people, and not in the constitution of the legislature; and the more we see and reflect, the more we are satisfied of this truth. It is in vain to cleanse the conduits and reservoirs, if the fountain itself be tainted and impure. If the body of the people be corrupt or depraved, it is vain to talk of improving their representation. We have not time, now, to enter fully into this most important subject; but we shall speak fearlessly what we strongly feel; and expose ourselves to any thing, rather than the reproach of having poorly suppressed a voice that will at all events be very widely heard, at a crisis when we feel it to be our duty to raise it to its highest pitch.

The dangers, and the corruptions, and the prodigies of the times, have very nearly put an end to all neutrality and moderation in politics; and the great body of the nation appears to us to be divided into two violent and most pernicious factions;—the courtiers, who are almost for arbitrary power,—and the democrats, who are almost for revolution and republicanism. Between these stand a small, but most respectable band—the friends of liberty and of order—the old constitutional Whigs of England,—with the best talents and the best intentions, but without power or popularity,—calumniated and suspected by both parties, and looking on both with too visible a resentment, aversion and alarm. The two great divisions, in the mean time, are daily provoking each other to greater excesses, and recruiting their hostile ranks, as they advance, from the diminishing mass of the calm and the neutral. Every hour the rising tides are eating away the narrow isthmus upon which the adherents of the constitution are stationed; and every hour it becomes more necessary for them to oppose some barrier to their encroachment.

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If the two opposite parties are once permitted to flock together in open conflict, there is an end to the freedom, and almost to the existence of the nation,—whatever be the result,—although that is not doubtful: and the only human means preventing a consummation to which all things seem so obviously tending, is for the remaining friends of the constitution to unbend from their cold and repulsive neutrality, and to join themselves to the more respectable members of the party to which they have the greatest affinity; and thus, by the weight of their character, and the force of their talents, to temper its violence and moderate its excesses, till it can be guided in safety to the defence, and not to the destruction of our liberties. In the present crisis, we have no hesitation in saying, that it is to the popular side that the friends of the constitution must turn themselves; and that, if the Whig leaders do not first conciliate, and then restrain the people,—if they do not save them from the leaders they are already choosing in their own body, and become themselves their leaders, by becoming their patrons, and their cordial, though authoritative, advisers;—they will in no long time sweep away the Constitution itself, the Monarchy of England, and the Whig aristocracy, by which that Monarchy is controuled and confirmed, and exalted above all other forms of polity.

This is the sum of our doctrine; though we are aware that, to most readers, it will require more development than we can now afford, and be exposed to more objections than we have left ourselves room to answer. To many, we are sensible, our fears will appear altogether chimerical and fantastic. We have always had these two parties, it will be said—always some for carrying things with a high hand against the people—and some for subjecting every thing to their nod; but the conflict has hitherto afforded nothing more than a wholesome and invigorating exercise; and the constitution, so far from being endangered by it, has hitherto been found to flourish, in proportion as it became more animated. Why, then, should we anticipate such tragical effects from its continuance?

Now, to this, and to all such questions, we must answer, that we can conceive them to proceed only from that fatal ignorance or inattention to the signs of the times, which has been the cause of so many of our errors and misfortunes. It is true, that there have always been in this country persons who leaned towards arbitrary power, and persons who leaned towards a popular government. In all mixed governments, there must be such men, and such parties; some will admire the monarchical, and some the democratical part of the constitution; and, speaking very generally, the rich, and the timid and the indolent, as well as the base and the servile, will have a natural tendency to the one side; and the

the poor, the bold and enterprising, as well as the envious and the discontented, will be inclined to range themselves on the other. These things have been always, and always must be. They have been hitherto, too, without mischief or hazard; and might be fairly considered as symptoms at least, if not as causes of the soundness and vigour of our political organization. But this has been the case only, because the bulk of the nation has hitherto, or till very lately, belonged to no party at all. Factions existed only among a small number of irritable and ambitious individuals; and, for want of partisans, necessarily vented themselves in a few speeches and pamphlets—in an election riot, or a treasury prosecution. The partisans of Mr Wilkes, and the partisans of Lord Bute, formed but a very inconsiderable part of the population. If they had divided the whole nation among them, the little breaches of the peace and of the law at Westminster, would have been changed into civil war and mutual proscriptions; and the constitution of the country would have been overwhelmed in the conflict. In those times, therefore, the advocates of arbitrary power and of popular license were restrained, not merely by the constitutional principles of so many men of weight and authority, but by the absolute neutrality and indifference of the great body of the people. They fought like champions in a ring of impartial spectators; and the multitude who looked on, and thought it sport, had little other interest than to see that each had fair play.

Now, however, the case is lamentably different; and it will not be difficult, we think, to point out the causes which have spread abroad this spirit of contention, and changed those calm spectators into fierce and impetuous combatants. We have formerly endeavoured, on more than one occasion, \* to explain the nature of that great and gradual change in the condition of European society, by which the lower and middling orders have been insensibly raised into greater importance than they enjoyed, when their place in the political scale was originally settled; and attempted to show in what way the revolution in France, and the revolutionary movements of other countries, might be referred to the progress and the neglect of that great movement. We cannot stop now to resume any part of that general discussion; but referring such of our readers as may wish to understand our whole theory, to the passages cited below, we proceed to observe, that the events of the last twenty years are of themselves sufficient to account for the state to which the country has been reduced, and

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\* Vol. x. p. 12, &c. Id. p. 14, &c. Vol. xiv. p. 290, &c.

and for the increased number, and increased acrimony of the parties that divide it.

The success of a plebeian insurrection—the splendid situations to which low-bred men have been exalted in consequence of that success—the comparative weakness and inefficiency of the sovereigns and nobles who opposed it, and the contempt and ridicule which has been thrown by the victors upon their order, have all tended to excite and aggravate the *bad* principles that lead men to despise existing authorities, and to give into wild and extravagant schemes of innovation. On the other hand, the long-continued ill success of our antijacobin counsels—the sickening uniformity of our boastings and failures—the gross and palpable mismanagement and incapacity of our government—the growing and intolerable burden of our taxes—and, above all, the imminent and tremendous peril into which the whole nation has been brought, have made a powerful appeal to the *good* principles that lead men into similar feelings, and roused those who are the least apt to busy themselves with political considerations, to cry out in vast numbers for reformation and redress. The number of those who have been startled out of their neutrality by those feelings of suffering and apprehension, very greatly exceeds, we believe, that of those who have been tempted from it by the stirrings of an irregular ambition; but both are alike disposed to look with jealousy upon the advocates of power and prerogative—to suspect falsehood and corruption in every thing that is not clearly explained—to resent every appearance of brightness or reserve—to listen with eager credulity to every tale of detraction against public characters—and to believe with implicit rashness whatever is said of the advantages of popular controul.

Such are the natural and original causes of the increase of that popular discontent which has lately assumed so formidable an aspect, and is in fact far more widely spread and more deeply rooted in the nation, than the tongue and contemptuous will believe. The enumeration, however, would be quite incomplete, if we were not to add, that it has been religiously helped by the contempt, and revulsion, and defiance, which has been so loudly and unwisely expressed by the opposite party. Instead of endeavouring to avoid the occasions of dissension, and to soothe and conciliate those whom it can never be creditable to have for enemies, it has been the uniform policy of the advocates of strong government to exasperate them by menaces and defiance—to defend, with insolence, every thing that is attacked, however obviously indefensible;—and to insult and defy their opponents by a needless ostentation of their own present power, and their resolution to use it in support of their most offensive and unjustifiable measures. This

unfortunate



unsoftened tone, which was first adopted in the time of Mr Pitt, has been pretty well maintained by most of his successors; and has done more, we are persuaded, to revolt and alienate the hearts of independent and brave men, than all the errors and inconsistencies of which they have been guilty.

In running thus rapidly over the causes which have raised the pretensions, and aggravated the discontents of the people, we have, in fact, stated the chief cause of the increased acrimony and pretensions of the advocates for power. The same spectacle of popular excess and popular triumph which excited the dangerous passions of the turbulent and daring, struck a corresponding alarm into the breasts of the timid and prosperous,—and excited a furious antipathy in those of the proud and domineering. As fear and hatred lead equally to severity, and are neither of them very far-sighted in their councils, they naturally attempted to bear down this rising spirit by menaces and abuse. All hot-headed and shallow-headed persons of rank, with their parasites and dependants—and indeed almost all rich persons, of quiet tempers and weak intellects, started up into furious anti-jacobins, and took at once a most violent part in those political contentions, as to which they had, in former times, been confessedly ignorant and indifferent. When this tone was once given from passion and mistaken principle in the actual possession of power, it was readily taken up by mere servile venality. The vast multiplication of offices and occupations in the gift of the government, and the enormous patronage and expectancy, of which it has recently become the centre, has drawn a still greater number, and of baser natures, out of the political neutrality in which they would otherwise have remained, and led them to counterfit, for hire, that unfortunate violence which necessarily produces a corresponding violence in its objects.

Thus has the nation been set on fire at the four corners; and thus has an incredible and most alarming share of its population been separated into two hostile and irritated parties, neither of which can now subdue the other without a civil war, and the triumph of either of which would be equally fatal to the constitution.

The force and extent of these parties is but imperfectly known, we believe, even to those who have been respectively most active in arraying them; and the extent of the adverse party is rarely ever suspected by those who are zealously opposed to it. There is least error, however, in the estimate of the partisans of arbitrary government. They are in power, and show themselves;—but, for this very reason, their real force is probably a great deal less than it appears to be. Many wear their livery out of necessity or convenience, whose hearts are with their adversaries; and many clamour loudly in their cause, who would clamour more loudly against

gainst them, the moment they thought that scale was going back in the world. The democratical party, on the other hand, is scattered and obscurely visible. It is not for the immediate interest of any one to acknowledge it, and scarcely any one is proud of its badge or denomination. It lurks, however, in private dwellings,—it gathers strength at homely firesides,—it is confirmed in conferences of friends,—it breaks out in pamphlets and journals of every description,—and shows its head now and then in the more tumultuous assemblies of populous cities. In the metropolis especially, where the concentration of numbers gives them confidence and importance, it exhibits itself very neatly, though not altogether in its actual force. How that force now stands in comparison with what is opposed to it, it would not perhaps be very easy to calculate. Taking the whole nation over head, we should conjecture, that, as things now are, they would be pretty equally balanced; but, if any great calamity should give a shock to the stability of government, or call imperiously for more vigorous councils, we are convinced that the partisans of popular government would be found to outnumber their opponents in the proportion of three to two. When the one party had failed so fatally, it seems to be a natural resource to make a trial of the other; and, if civil war or foreign conquest should really fall on us, it would be a movement almost of instinctive wisdom, to displace and to punish those under whose direction they had been brought on. Upon the slightest alarm, too, all the venal and unprincipled adherents of the prerogative would inevitably desert their colours, and go over to the enemy,—while the throne would be left to be defended only by its regular forces, and its immediate dependants, reinforced with a few bands of devoted Tories, mingled with some generous but downcast spirits, under the banner of the Whig aristocracy.

But, without pretending to settle the numerical or relative force of the two opposing parties, we wish merely to press it upon our readers, that they are both so strong and so numerous, as to render it quite impossible that the one should now crush or overcome the other, without a ruinous contention; and that they are so exasperated, and so sanguine and presumptuous, that they will push forward to such a contention in so long time, unless they be superstitiated or appeased by some powerful interference. That the number of the democrats is vast, and is daily increasing with a visible and dangerous rapidity, any man may satisfy himself, by the common and obvious means of information. It is a fact which he may read legibly in the prodigious sale, and still more prodigious circulation, of Cobbett's Register, and several other weekly papers of the same general description: he may learn it in every street of all the man-  
facturing

facturing and populous towns in the heart of the country; and may, and must hear it most audibly, in the public and private talk of the citizens of the metropolis. All these afford direct and palpable proofs of the actual increase of this formidable party. But no man, who understands any thing of human nature, or knows any thing of our recent history, can need direct evidence to convince him, that it must have experienced a prodigious increase. In a country where more than a million of men take some interest in politics, and are daily accustomed to refer the blessings or the evils of their condition to the conduct of their rulers, is it possible to conceive, that a third part at least of every man's income should be taken from him in the shape of taxes,—and that, after twenty years of boastful hostility, we should be left without a single ally, and in imminent hazard of being invaded and conquered by a revolutionary foe, without producing a very general feeling of disaffection and discontent, and spreading through the body of the nation a great disposition to despise and distrust their governors, and to judge unfavourably of the form of government itself which could admit of such gross ignorance or imposition?

• The great increase of the opposite party, again, is but too visible, we are sorry to say, in the votes in Parliament, in the existence of the present administration, and in the sale and the tenor of the treasury journals. But, independent of such proof, this too might have been safely inferred from the known circumstances of the times. In a nation abounding with wealth and loyalty, enamoured of its old institutions, and indebted for its freedom, in a great degree, to the spirit of its landed aristocracy, it was impossible that the excesses of a plebeian insurrection should not have excited a great aversion to every thing that had a similar tendency; and in any nation, alas! that had multiplied its taxes, and increased the patronage of its government to three times their original extent, it could not but happen, that multitudes would be found to barter their independence for their interest, and to exchange the language of free men for that which was most agreeable to the party upon whose favour they depended.

If the numbers of the opposed factions, however, be formidable to the peace of the country, the acrimony of their mutual hostility is still more alarming. If the whole nation were divided into the followers of Mr Cobbett and Sir Francis Burdett, and the followers of Mr John Gifford and Mr John Bowles, does not every man see that a civil war and a revolution would be inevitable? Now, we say, that the factions into which the country is divided, are not very different from the followers of Mr Cobbett and Mr Gifford; and that, if they are allowed to defy and provoke each other into new extravagance and increased hostility, as they have been doing lately,

lately, we do not see how that most tremendous of all calamities is to be avoided. If those who have influence with the people, go on a little longer to excite in them a contempt and distrust of the public characters, and of all institutions of authority, while the most conspicuous of our public men go on to justify, by their conduct, that contempt and distrust;—if the people are taught, by all who now take the trouble to win their confidence, that Parliament is a mere assemblage of unprincipled place-hunters, and that *ins* and *outs* are equally determined to defend corruption and speculation, and if Parliament continues to busy itself with personalities,—to decline the investigation of corruptions,—and to approve, by its votes, what no sane man in the kingdom can consider as admitting of apology;—if those to whom their natural leaders have given up the guidance of the people, shall continue to tell them that they may easily be relieved of half their taxes, and placed in a situation of triumphant security, while the government continues to multiply its impositions, and to waste their blood and treasure in expeditions which make us detestable and ridiculous in the eyes of the world, while they bring the danger nearer to our own door;—if, finally, the people are a little more persuaded that, without a radical change in the constitution of the Legislature, they must continue in the condition of slaves to a junto of boroughmongers, while Parliament rejects with disdain every proposal to correct the most palpable defects of that constitution;—Then we say that the wholesome days of England are numbered,—that she stands upon the verge of the most dreadful of all calamities,—and that all the freedom and happiness which we undoubtedly enjoy, and all the morality and intelligence, and the long habits of sober thinking and kindly affection which adorn and exalt our people, will not protect us from the horrors of a civil war. The storm is most evidently brewing over our heads at this moment; and, if it cannot be dispersed before it burst upon them, we do not see where is our chance of being saved from destruction.

The issue of this unhallowed conflict will not be long doubtful. The experience of all countries, and of our own country at a time far less perilous, has shown, that popular insurrections are almost always successful. The governors, indeed, have vast advantages in the actual possession of an organized power; but, if this be not sufficient to prevent the insurrection, there is scarcely any chance of its being able to beat it down. Every country, then, becomes equally fatal to a government in such a situation. If it make an attempt at conciliation, it is suspected of timidity, and encourages the passionate and daring: if it arm itself with severity and terror, it rouses against it the deeper and more formidable resentment of the generous and brave. In our case, too, the insurgents would not only have the physical force of the country on their side, but would have far more

activity, economy, and patience; and, in all probability, far more enterprise and talent, than would be left for the defence of the party who had provoked the aggression. The triumph of such a party, however, would be the ruin of English liberty, and of her peace, happiness and prosperity. Those who have merely lived in our times, must have seen, and they who have read of other times, or reflected on what man is at all times, must know, independent of that lesson, how much *stance*, and how much *time*, must concur with genius and patriotism, to form a good or a stable government. We have the frame and the materials of such a government in the constitution of England; but, if we rend asunder that frame, and scatter those materials—if we put out the light of our living polity,

“We know not where is that Promethean fire

That may its flame relumine.”

The stability of the English constitution depends upon its monarchy and aristocracy; and their stability, again, depends very much on the circumstance of their having grown naturally out of the frame of society—upon their having struck their roots deep through every stratum of the political soil, and having been moulded and impressed, during a long course of ages, by the usages, institutions, habits and affections of the community. A popular revolution would overthrow the monarchy and the aristocracy; and, even if it were not true that revolution propagates revolution, as waves give rise to waves, till the agitation is stopped by the iron boundary of despotism, it would still require ages of anxious discomfort, before we could build up again that magnificent fabric, which now requires purification rather than repair; or secure that permanency to our new establishments, without which they could have no other good quality.

Such we humbly conceive to be the course, and the causes, of the evils which we believe to be impending. It is time now to inquire whether there be no remedy. If the whole nation were actually divided into revolutionists and high-monarchy men, we do not see how they could be prevented from fighting, and giving us our chance of a despotism or a tumultuary democracy. Fortunately, however, this is not the case. There is a third party in the nation—small, indeed, in point of numbers, compared with either of the others—and, for this very reason, low, we fear, in present popularity—but essentially powerful from talents and reputation, and calculated to become both popular and authoritative, by the fairness and the firmness of its principles. This is composed of the Whig royalists of England,—men who, without forgetting that all government is from the people, and for the people, are satisfied that the rights and liberties of the people are best maintained by a regulated hereditary monarchy, and a large, open aristocracy; and who are as much averse, therefore, from every attempt to undermine the throne, or to discredit the no-

bles, as they are indignant at every project to insult or to  
 slave the people. In the better days of the constitution, this  
 party formed almost the whole opposition, and bore no inconsiderable  
 proportion to that of the courtiers. It might be said to  
 have with it, not only the greater part of those who were jeal-  
 ous of the prerogative, but all that great mass of the population  
 which was neutral and indifferent to the issue of this contest. The  
 new-sprung factions, however, have swallowed up almost all this  
 disposable body, and have drawn largely from the ranks of the  
 old constitutionalists. In consequence of this change of circum-  
 stances, they can no longer act with any sort of effect, as a  
 separate party; and are far too weak to make head, at the  
 same time, against the overbearing influence of the crown, and  
 the rising pretensions of the people. It is necessary, therefore,  
 that they should now leave this attitude of stubborn defiance,  
 mediation; and, if they would escape being crushed along with  
 the constitution on the collision of the two hostile bodies, they  
 must identify themselves cordially with the better part of one  
 of them, and thus soothe, ennoble, and controul it, by the infu-  
 sion of their own spirit, and the authority of their own wisdom  
 and experience. Like faithful generals, whose troops have muni-  
 mied, they must join the march, and mix with the ranks of the  
 offenders, that they may be enabled to reclaim and repress them;  
 and save both them and themselves from a sure and a shameful de-  
 struction. They have no longer strength to overawe or repel ei-  
 ther party by a direct and forcible attack; and must work, there-  
 fore, by gentle and conciliatory means, upon that which is most  
 dangerous, most flexible, and most capable of being guided to  
 noble exertions. Like the Sabine women of old, they must throw  
 themselves between their kindred combatants; and stay the fatal  
 and unnatural feud by smiles and embraces, and diffusives of kind-  
 ness and flattery.

If this be plainly the general policy which they ought to pur-  
 sue, there can be little hesitation as to the side to which they  
 must address themselves. To the Court they cannot go; because  
 the Court will not receive them, except as renegadoes and uncon-  
 ditional refugees,—because, coming in that character, they will  
 never be able to infuse any of their wisdom or temperance into the  
 courtiers,—and finally, because such a measure would irretrievably  
 ruin their characters with the people, and rivet in the public mind  
 that distrust and contempt of all public characters which is not  
 among the least alarming symptoms of the present revolutionary  
 temper. It remains, therefore, that they must associate them-  
 selves with the popular party: and we shall explain, in a few  
 words, both our reasons for urging this association, and the extent  
 of the sacrifices by which we think it may be effected.

The first and the most conspicuous reason for this election is,

that is from the people that the most immediate and irreparable evil is to be apprehended; and that there is no way now left to repress them, except by going among them as friends and advisers, by redressing their real grievances, and undeceiving them as to those that are either imaginary or imaginary. Any attempt, now, to bully and intimidate the disaffected, must be as fruitless as it must always have been absurd and unattractive; and the prospect is just as desperate, of bringing them back to patience and submission by coldness and alienation—by dignified censures of their extravagance, or contempt of their rashness and folly. Every thing of this sort, now, will only irritate and offend; and unite the party more firmly among themselves, and alienate them more from all the rest of the community, without having the most remote tendency either to weaken or to reclaim them. Even those, therefore, who do not love or care for the people, are now called upon to pacify them, by granting, at least all that can reasonably be granted; and not only to redress their grievances, but to comply with their desires, in so far as they can be complied with, with less hazard than must evidently arise from disregarding them.

Another obvious and strong reason for this reconciliation is, that a very great proportion of those who are now enrolled under the banners of democracy, would be very glad to flock to the standard of a legitimate Whig chieftain, if it were once openly unfurled in the cause of the people. While they are treated with a distant haughtiness and suspicion, they will stick to their own leaders; but they would be proud to march under a nobler guidance. And though the more desperate, and ambitious and mischievous of the party might oppose such a coalition, all the respectable and temperate would hail it with delight, and submit to a far more efficient controul than can well be anticipated by those who have only seen them when irritated by insult and disdain.

The last invincible reason for a thorough reconciliation between the Whig royalists and the great body of the people is, that it is a gross solecism and absurdity to suppose, that such a party should exist without being supported by the affections and approbation of the people. The advocates of prerogative have the support of prerogative; and they who rule by corruption, have the means of corruption in their hands—but the friends of national freedom must be recognized by the nation. If the Whigs are not supported by the people, they can have no support; and therefore, if the people are seduced away from them, they must go after them and bring them back; and are no more to be excused for leaving them to be corrupted by demagogues, than they would be for leaving them to be oppressed by tyrants. If a party is to exist at all, therefore, friendly at once to the liberties of the people and the integrity of the monarchy, and holding that liberty is best secured by a monarchical establishment, it is abso-

lutely necessary that it should possess the confidence and attachment of the people; and if it appear any time to have lost the first of all its duties, and the necessary premise to the discharge of all the rest, is to regain it by every effort consistent with probity and honour.

Now, it is very true, that the present alienation of the body of the people from the constitutional champions of their freedom, originated in the excesses and delusion of the people themselves; but it is not less true, that the Whig royalists have increased that alienation by the haughtiness of their deportment—by the marked displeasure and contempt with which they have disavowed most of the popular proceedings—and the tone of needless and imprudent distrust and reprobation with which they have treated pretensions that were only partly inadmissible. They have given too much way to the offence which they must naturally have received from the rudeness and irreverence of the terms in which their grievances were stated, and have felt too proud an indignation when they saw vulgar and turbulent men presume to lay their unpurged hands upon the sacred ark of the constitution. They have disdained too much to be associated with coarse coadjutors, even in the good work of resistance and reformation; and have hated too virulently the demagogues who have inflamed the people, and despised too heartily the people who have yielded to so gross a delusion. All this feeling, however, though it may be natural, is undoubtedly both misplaced and imprudent. The people are, upon the whole, both more moral and more intelligent than they ever were in any former period; and therefore, if they are discontented, we may be sure they have cause for discontent; if they have been deluded, we may be satisfied that there is a mixture of reason in the sophistry by which they have been perverted. To know, therefore, how their affections may be regained, and their violence disarmed, it is only necessary to inquire, what are their reasonable causes of discontent, and what are the demands in which it is right that they should be gratified.

And here, as a final reason for instantly associating with the more temperate of the popular party, we have no hesitation in saying, that the people appear to us to be clearly on the right in the greater part of the demands they have brought forward, and that their confidence may be won at any time, merely by a capital and vigorous prosecution of some very laudable objects.

The three points upon which the popular advocates have chiefly insisted, and as to which they complain most loudly that all their remonstrances have been neglected, are, the *Retrenchment* of our expenditure—the *Punishment* or practical *Responsibility* of delinquent statesmen—and a *Reform* in the representation of the people. Upon one and all of these points, we say, that they ought to be gratified; and that it has now become the duty of every man, who



is interested in the permanence of the constitution, to support and abet them.

With regard to retrenchment, we are not, indeed, by many degrees, so sanguine as to the extent to which it may be carried, as some of those who have declaimed on it, with so remarkable an effect on the people; but we are decidedly of opinion, that it ought to be enforced with the utmost rigour and the most unflinching severity; and that no public expenditure should be permitted, except for the evident utility or dignity of the country. We would abolish all sinecure places; and, while we provided splendidly for the great functionaries of the government, we would utterly take away all those sources of forced and inglorious gain, by which the meanest of their dependents are loaded with obscure and enormous opulence. The people feel no resentment at seeing a Lord Chancellor, or a Speaker of the House of Commons, surrounded, at their expense, with the most costly magnificence. The better and the greater part are proud of his splendour; but it is with very different feelings that they see an apothecary-general fattening in slothful inactivity, and consuming the hard raised contributions of a thousand straitened families. Compared with the sum total of our necessary expenditure, we do not indeed think that any practicable retrenchments will appear very considerable; but, at the same time, it is of infinite importance that they should be adopted;—both because they cut off one source of almost avowed corruption—and because they remove a most provoking and invidious spectacle from the eyes of a suffering and indignant people. When they are fainting under great and necessary exertions, it is cruel to make them provide for the lazy splendour of a few useless individuals: and the cost of investing the favourites of ministers with the trappings of undeserved fortune, may well be spared at the moment we are mourning for the death of European independence, and girding ourselves sorrowfully to battle in defence of our own.

The next point is one of still greater importance; and one, as to which, we conceive it to be still clearer that all true friends to the constitution ought to go along with the voice of the people. It has always appeared to us, indeed, that the great practical vice of our government, was the want of a real responsibility in ministers, and the impossibility of inflicting any punishment, even where they had been guilty of the grossest mismanagement. After lavishing thousands of lives and millions of money,—after sacrificing the character and the interests of the country abroad, and irretrievably tainting its constitution at home, the exploded statesman is permitted to retire, loaded with wealth, and hung round with honours, and to wait unquestioned in a private station, till some intrigue lifts him again into office. Now, this systematic lenity,—this expected and never-failing impunity, has had a most pernicious effect both upon the people and upon the

government; and we are now suffering, and are likely to suffer, incalculable evils in consequence.

The people, who hear the ministerial delinquent arraigned, in terms of sufficient emphasis, by his parliamentary opponents, and yet see him, when removed from power, taking his place unmolested beside them, are naturally apt to conclude, or at least are easily taught to believe, that neither party have any real concern for the wrongs of the country; that the whole object of the accusers is to get into the place of the delinquents; and that being there, they have no sort of inclination to set an example of punishing offences of which they themselves intend to be guilty on the first convenient opportunity; and thus the character of all public men is vilified and degraded, and an universal distrust or despair of public virtue is propagated through the whole mass of the people. If it were only to counteract this most fatal impression, therefore—if it were only to give a pledge of their own serious abhorrence of the practices which have displaced their antagonists—it would be the duty of those who had proved the guilt of a minister, to proceed against him to punishment—to pacify the people by the immolation of one victim—and to establish a precedent, which, in the event of their own misconduct, would insure their immediate condemnation. This, however, is but a narrow view of the benefit to be derived, and the evils to be dispelled; by exacting from delinquent or incapable statesmen, the full penalty of their bond, and insisting upon making that responsibility real, which every one verbally acknowledges to be due. It is a great evil, that a mistaken lenity revolts the people, and gives rise to suspicions that are often unfounded; but it is a far greater evil, and that, in contemplation of which responsibility was introduced into our constitution, that corrupt and incapable persons are thus encouraged to sit down in the high places of the government; and to undertake, lightly and wantonly, a task, in which it appears almost as safe and honourable to fail as to succeed. Ministers were made responsible, however only that the spectacle of their punishment might deter unfit or unworthy persons from venturing to occupy their places;—and the whole benefit of that provision is lost, therefore, if, after being displaced for corruption or incapacity, they are permitted to live on in security, with all their wealth and their honours—and to close their days, without censure, in the land which they have endangered or debased.

Laying corruption out of the question, we will confess, that this habit of dispensing with punishment, even in the case of incapacity, appears to us to be in the highest degree pernicious, and likely, in such times as the present, to lead to the most fatal consequences. In the days of peace, and tranquillity, when we were safe from without, and had most of our people quiet and

unanimous wish, the game of politics was played for a much lower stake, and a little unskillfulness entailed no very serious calamity. Now, however, when the very existence of the country depends upon the judicious management of her rulers,—when the lives and liberties of twenty millions of people are committed, at every hour, to the discretion of their governors, it does not seem reasonable, that a game of such mighty hazard should be without danger only for him who voluntarily undertakes to play it. That men should be found to rush confidently forward to such an awful task as the management of English politics at such a crisis as the present, has always appeared to us a matter of melancholy astonishment. But, since we know the fact to be so, and know, too, with what qualifications and what preparation that task has sometimes been undertaken, it is surely necessary that we should try to deter the vain, the rash, and the officious, by attaching a severe and inevitable punishment to the detection of their incapacity. The father who shot the apple from the head of his son, had another shaft for himself, if he had failed in the perilous experiment; and he who does not hesitate to commit the fate of his country to his own prudence and discretion, surely cannot complain, if his own life and character be made to depend on the issue.

We trust we are not more vindictive than other persons, and think we are fully aware of the value and the beauty of mutual toleration and indulgence for human failings; but we profess we can see nothing in the least degree harsh or unreasonable in subjecting an incapable statesman, who has brought evil on the country, to severe and exemplary punishment, even though there should be no evidence of mischievous principles or intention. If a man, utterly ignorant of medicine, pretends to play the part of a physician, and kills his neighbour by a preposterous prescription, the law punishes him as a murderer. If another, equally ignorant of politics, sets up for a redresser of grievances, and, with the best intentions, takes arms against the existing government, he must submit to the fate of a traitor. What then shall we say of him who, instead of destroying the life of one man, or endangering the peace of one city by his ignorance and presumption, has sent thousands upon thousands to untimely graves, and filled the land from border to border with despondency and mourning? Is he indeed to be held guiltless of this blood and this misery? or is it not both just and necessary that he should be subjected to substantial and exemplary punishment, and so rewarded by public resentment, as to make his fate a terror and a warning to all who might be tempted to come after him? There are no private crimes at all comparable, in the magnitude of the evils they produce, to that of a rash or ignorant administration of public affairs in the critical period of a nation's destiny; and it is a circumstance which it is only the more necessary to repress by punishment, as it is one to which the moral feelings of mankind are

but seldom directed, and to which there exist at all times, so very powerful temptations.

We think, therefore, that upon this most important point, the voice of the people is entirely in unison with that of the constitution; and that the administration of public affairs will never be either wise, pure or consistent, till corrupt and incapable persons are frightened from the office by the certainty of the severe investigation and the unrelenting punishment of their blunders,—and till it have ceased to be possible for a court favourite to make shipwreck of the lives and the characters of the noblest of his countrymen, and then retire from office in the unchallenged enjoyment of honours, favours and emoluments. Those who have exposed and discredited such an administration, and by that exposure have at last overthrown it, are bound to follow up their victory with vengeance, and to execute justice on the criminal whom they have denounced and convicted. An eternal and systematic remission of punishment,—a regular amnesty upon surrender, leads naturally to suspicions of weakness, or insincerity, or both; nor can those who mean well give a better pledge of their being in earnest in condemning the faults of others, than by establishing a precedent by which they themselves may be punished, if they ever come to resemble what they have censured. When the country is bleeding in every vein, from the wounds inflicted by convicted folly and incapacity, it cannot be satisfied with the honourable dismissal of those by whose most guilty presumption it has suffered; nor can it have any security against the repetition of similar offences, while those who have brought the former to light, appear to be shy of inflicting the vengeance they have threatened.

We write this at the present crisis, with a feeling of eager and painful anxiety, in which we believe most of our readers sympathise. The Parliament of England is now occupied with the investigation of the most inglorious and deplorable undertaking that ever disgraced the councils of the country; and the hearts of the whole nation are watching eagerly for their decision,—not, however, to be guided by it in their opinion of the merits of that expedition, but in their opinion of the Parliament itself that is to pronounce that decision. There is no man of common sense, of common observation, or common feeling, that does not know that the mind of the nation is made up, and upon sufficient grounds, on the former question; and we verily believe, that there is not a single individual in the kingdom, of any party or any description, that does not think that our operations were begun in ignorance, presumption and folly; and that they were protracted by the most contemptible indecision, or the most cold-blooded and unfeeling obstinacy. No determination of any assembly will alter this impression,—no vote of any majority will make

one individual was in his inward conviction. But, if there should be a vote and a majority in opposition to that universal conviction, we own that we shall tremble for the consequences, both as to the people and the constitution. There can be no such triumph for the revolutionists, as such a determination; and no blow half so fatal could be struck at the peace and constitution of the country, or at the authority and respectability of the government. We care nothing at all about Lord Castlereagh or Mr Perceval; and very near as little about the individuals by whom they may be succeeded: but we do care for the people, and for the monarchical constitution of England; and we cannot anticipate, without horror, an event that will indicate such a complete separation between the people and their representatives, and expose the legislature to so many plausible and disgraceful imputations. Before these sheets issue from the press, it is probable that this momentous decision will be given; and, according as it is with or against the fixed and notorious opinion of the country, will it be easy or difficult to soothe and conciliate the people,—will it be possible or impossible for Parliament to regain their confidence and affection.

The last point as to which the people have been clamorous, and have found scarcely any abettors among the old friends of the constitution, is that of a Reform in the representation. Upon this point, we have spoken largely on former occasions; and have only to add, that though we can neither approve of *such* a reform as some very popular persons have suggested, nor bring ourselves to believe that any reform would accomplish the objects that seem to be in the view, of its most zealous advocates, we have always been of opinion that a reform should be granted. The reasons of policy which have led us to this conviction, we have stated briefly on a former occasion. But the chief and the leading reason for supporting the proposal at present is, that the people are zealous for its adoption, and are entitled to this gratification at the hands of their representatives. We laugh at the idea of there being any danger in disfranchising a few rotten boroughs, or communicating the elective franchise to a great number of respectable citizens; and as to the supposed danger of yielding to the desires of the people, we can only say, that we are much more strongly impressed with the danger of thwarting them. The people have far more wealth and far more intelligence now, than they had in former times; and therefore they ought to have, and they must have, more political power. The danger is not in yielding to this swell, but in endeavouring to resist it. If properly watched and managed, it will only bear the vessel of the state more proudly and steadily along;—if neglected, or rashly opposed, it will dash her on the rocks and shoals of a sanguinary revolution.

We, in short, are for the monarchy and the aristocracy of England, as the only sure supports of a permanent and regulated free-

dom; but we do not see how either is now to be preserved, except by surrounding them with the affection of the people. The admirers of arbitrary power, blind to the great lesson which all Europe now holds out to them, have attempted to dispense with this prelection; and the demagogues have taken advantage of their folly to excite the people to withdraw it altogether. The friends of the constitution must now bring it back; and must reconcile the people to the old monarchy and the old Parliament of their land, by restraining the prerogative within its legitimate bounds, and bringing back Parliament to its natural habits of sympathy and concord with its constituents. The people, therefore, though it may be deluded, must be reclaimed by gentleness, and treated with respect and indulgence. All indications, and all feelings of jealousy or contempt, must be abjured. Whatever is to be granted, should be granted with cordial alacrity; and all denials should be softened with words and with acts of kindness. The wounds that are curable, should be cured; those that have festered more deeply, should be cleansed and anointed; and into such as it may be impossible to close, the patient should be allowed to pour any innocent balsam, in the virtues of which he believes. The irritable state of our body politic will admit of no other treatment—incisions and cauteries would infallibly bring on convulsions and insanity.

We had much more to say; but we must close here; nor indeed could any warning avail those who are not aware already. He must have gazed with idle eyes on the recent course of events, both at home and abroad, who does not see that no government can now subsist long in England, that is not bottomed in the affection of the great body of the people; and who does not see, still more clearly, that the party of the people is every day gaining strength, from the want of judgment and of feeling in those who have defied and insulted it, and from the coldness and alienation of those who used to be their patrons and defenders. If something is not done to conciliate, these heartburnings must break out into deadly strife; and impartial history will assign to each of the parties their share of the guilt that will be incurred. The first and the greatest outrages will probably proceed from the people; but a deeper curse will fall on the corrupt and supercilious government that provoked them: nor will *they* be held blameless, who, when they might have repressed or moderated the popular impulse by attempting to direct it, chose rather to take counsel of their pride, and to stand by, and see the constitution torn to pieces, because they could not approve entirely of either of the combatants.

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